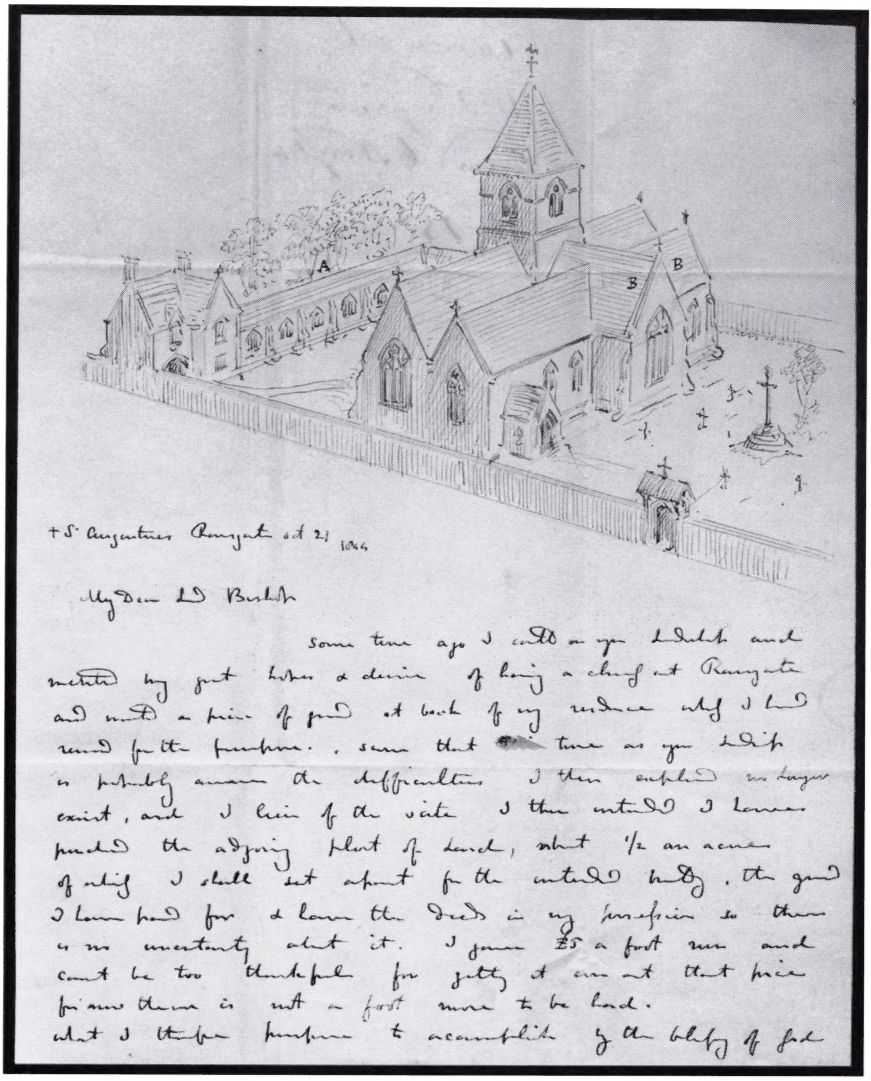
OXFORD

THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF A.W.N. PUGIN

volume 2 1843 to 1845

MARGARET BELCHER


A
B
B
+ S. Augustines Ramsgate oct 27 1844
My Dear Ld Bishop
some time ago I called on you Ld Bishop and
mentioned my great wish & desire of being a chaplain at Ramsgate
and named a piece of ground at back of my residence why I had
named for the purpose. I am sure that at the time as you Ld Bishop
is probably aware the difficulties I then explained no longer
exist, and I have if the sale I then intended I have
purchased the adjoining plot of land, about ½ an acre
of which I shall set apart for the intended building, the ground
I have had for & have the deeds in my possession so there
is no uncertainty about it. I gave £5 a foot more and
cannot be too thankful for getting it on at that price
for now there is not a foot more to be had.
what I therefore purpose to accomplish by the help of God

Frontispiece Pugin's vision of his church of St Augustine, set down in a letter to Thomas Griffiths of 27 October 1844

The Collected Letters of A.W.N. PUGIN

Edited with notes and an introduction
by
MARGARET BELCHER

Volume 2 1843–1845

DAMAGED

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Acknowledgements

It is a pleasure to thank the descendants of Pugin who have given permission to publish his letters. For consent to include transcripts or quotations from manuscripts, or copies of manuscripts, of Pugin or of others in their possession or their care, I am indebted and grateful to the following people and institutions: Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York; the Master and Fellows of Balliol College, Oxford; T. A. Bates and the Northumberland Record Office, Newcastle on Tyne; the Beinecke Library, Yale University; Baron and Baronne Emmanuel de Bethune; the Archbishop of Birmingham; the Birmingham City Archives, Birmingham Central Library; the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery; the Superior and Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory; David Blissett; the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford; the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York; the British Library; the Centro Internazionale di Studi Rosminiani, Stresa, Italy; the Devon Record Office, Exeter; the Diocese of Down and Connor; the Abbot and community of Downside Abbey, Somerset; David Franklin; the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Charles Goldie; the Humberside County Record Office, Beverley; the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; the University Library, Keele University; the Lambeth Palace Library, London; the Lancashire Record Office, Preston; the Squire de Lisle; the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford; Magdalen College School, Oxford; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Viscount Midleton and the Surrey History Centre; the Abbot and community of Mount St Bernard, Leicestershire; the Myers Family Trust, Timothy J. McCann and other descendants of George Myers; the National Archives of Ireland, Dublin; the Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, to which thanks are due also for the presence of letters to R. W. Fitzpatrick in Volume 1; the Duke of Northumberland for the use of the Drummond papers; the Oxfordshire Architectural and Historical Society; the Pennsylvania State University Libraries; Pusey House, Oxford; the Royal Academy of Arts, London; the Royal Institute of British Architects, London; St Edmund Hall, Oxford; the Trustees, the Headmaster, and the custodian of the Douay museum of St Edmund's College, Old Hall Green, Ware; Andrew Sanders; the Scarisbrick Estate Trustees; the Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh; the Archbishop of Southwark, London; the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; the President of Ushaw College, Durham; Séamus de Vál; the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Michael Walton and the National Maritime Museum, London; the Warwickshire County Record Office; the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, London; the Yale Center for

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Margaret Belcher
Christchurch, New Zealand
December 2001

Introduction

Goods which John Hardman has made to Pugin's design are being shipped all over the world by the mid-1840s: a cross to Mrs Bingham in Paris; candlesticks to Monsignor James Hamilton at the Palazzo Savonelli in the Piazza dei Santi Apostoli in Rome; a thurible and cruets to R. S. White in Cadiz; a 'Travelling Altar, Complete', to Bishop Collier in Port Louis; pyxes, a ciborium, a chalice and paten, a bell, to Bishop Murphy in Adelaide. In August 1844 William Alexander Allan, addressing Hardman as 'the zealous co-operator of M[r]. Pugin's designs for the restoration of Ancient Catholic Church Ornaments', orders an oak tabernacle and a lamp for the 'Catholics of Antigua'. Hardman's business in Birmingham expands; he moves to new premises during 1845; and before the year is out, Pugin persuades him to take on the execution of his designs for stained glass: eight windows for Ushaw College are recorded at 24 November 1845, the first entry in the Stained glass daybook.

The collaboration with J. G. Crace is another venture embarked upon in the period covered by this volume; the correspondence with the interior decorator of Wigmore Street, London, seems to begin in early 1844, and lasts until Pugin's death.

Church-building continues, in villages, towns, and cities: St Mary's at Brewood, St Mary's in King's Lynn, St Mary's in Liverpool. In 1844 no fewer than three churches designed by Pugin are opened in the month of August: St Mary's, Newcastle on Tyne, the church of the monastery of Mount St Bernard, and the church that became the cathedral of St Barnabas in Nottingham.

As in previous years, publication is a way for Pugin to spread his ideas to places which objects in his manner might not reach. *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England* is issued in 1843, to be followed in 1844 by what is by far his most magnificent book, the *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, with a learned text and over seventy splendid chromolithograph plates. The price is, naturally, high but the demand, from Anglicans at least as much as from Catholics, is sufficient to justify a second edition, enlarged, in 1846.

Without doubt, the most important development in the years in this volume is the recall to Westminster. Charles Barry, who relied on Pugin to make the drawings of his plan which won the competition for the new Houses of Parliament in the mid-1830s, asks for Pugin's help again in 1844. The House of Lords is restive in its cramped, temporary accommodation, and Barry recognizes that he cannot complete his great scheme without aid. Starting with the Lords' Chamber, Pugin is called upon to supply designs for all the interior fittings and some external details besides. Thousands of drawings will be produced over the next seven or eight years. Sometimes Barry's patient, painstaking way of trial and experiment strikes Pugin as

irksome, his own personality being so different—quick, fertile, definite; but he knows that he is engaged on the greatest architectural undertaking of the century.

Pugin becomes something of a national public figure: *Punch* makes jokes about him. He is identified with designs in a particular and increasingly popular manner. In March 1845 Mrs Frances Anne Little, Catholic bookseller and stationer of 34 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, purchases from Hardman for one of her clients candlesticks and a tabernacle 'in M^{r} Pugin's or the Gothic style'—in that order.

In lights such as these, Pugin's career appears triumphant, yet the success is not unqualified. In 1843 he suffers his deepest professional disappointment when the plans he draws for the rebuilding of Balliol College in Oxford are refused. He already has experience of what he calls 'wasters', proposals which come to nothing after he has spent time, energy, and money on them, but this commission holds particular significance for him and he feels its lapse keenly. He is genuinely perplexed to account for the rebuff, not understanding how much he is the victim of ecclesiastical politicking in the college. His interest in Tractarianism, so eager in earlier years, loses its edge, and its hopefulness. W. G. Ward's degradation in Oxford and the dissolution of the Cambridge Camden Society are straws in the wind, and when J. H. Newman's conversion eventually occurs, Pugin's notice of it is laconic and perfunctory. His correspondence with J. R. Bloxam dwindles, even though it is through Bloxam's kindly agency that he receives the commissions for a new gateway at Magdalen College in Oxford, a parsonage in Cornwall, and his only complete Anglican church, St Lawrence, Tubney.

Pugin's private life also grows unhappy. Almost without warning, his wife, Louisa, dies. He is a widower once more, this time with six children, the youngest not yet twelve months old. The timing is cruelly ironic. For the past year he has been building a house for himself at Ramsgate; suddenly he has no wife to share it with him, no mother to look after his family. He moves to the new dwelling and has room there to take on his only pupil, Hardman's nephew, J. H. Powell, who lives as part of the household. He is lonely, melancholy, and unsettled, all the same; and his ill-fated attempt to find a third wife in Mary Amherst, the epitome of vacillation, does nothing for his comfort or his peace of mind. Consolation is, however, available in the prospect and, from late in 1845 onwards, in the construction, adjacent to his house, of his church, the church of St Augustine, perhaps his most appropriate memorial.

Editorial procedure

Editorial procedure in this volume is the same as that adopted for Volume 1. All transcripts of Pugin's letters have been made from the manuscripts except for the letter to J. H. Talbot of perhaps May 1843 and the letter to Thomas Wyse. Extracts from the diary of Laura Phillipps are taken from transcripts made by the Squire de Lisle.

Dating is again often tentative, particularly in 1843, a year for which no diary is extant. Despite the wealth of record in the Hardman archive, precise information about work for the new Houses of Parliament is regularly lacking, with the result that while scores of, for example, vanes are entered in MWDB, it is impossible to match them securely to the references in Pugin's letters. As in Volume 1, some letters which are believed to belong to the years covered by this volume but which cannot be more precisely dated are printed at the end of the sequence.

The Guildford Muniment Room became part of the Surrey History Centre, in Woking, while this edition was in progress, but for the sake of continuity with Volume 1 the reference to the old location is kept, even while the new one is added. Items from Guildford retain their numbering in the SHC arrangement but may have the prefix 'G' added to their classification.

The name Barry alone always means Charles Barry, architect of the Houses of Parliament; Powell means John Hardman Powell. Any other member of either family is given further identification.

Abbreviations

AAW	Archives of the Archbishops of Westminster, London
AAW SEC	Archives of the Archbishops of Westminster, London: St Edmund's College papers
Alnwick	Alnwick Castle: Drummond papers
App.	Appendix
BAA	Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives
BCA	Birmingham City Archives
Beinecke	The Beinecke Library, Yale University
BL	British Library, London
BMAG	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
Bodley	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BOr.	Birmingham Oratory
CRO	County Record Office
DDB	Decoration daybook
FdeBP	de Bethune family papers
GMR	Guildford Muniment Room
HCRO	Humberside County Record Office, Beverley
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
JHU	The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore
MCO	Magdalen College, Oxford
MFT	Myers Family Trust
ML	Metalwork letters
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MWDB	Metalwork daybook
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NMM	National Maritime Museum, London
NRO	Northumberland Record Office, Newcastle
PC	Private collection
Penn	Rare Books Room, Pennsylvania State University Libraries

RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects, London
RO	Record Office
SAA K	Southwark Archdiocesan Archives, London: Knill papers
SAA St G	Southwark Archdiocesan Archives, London: St George's papers
SAA T-R	Southwark Archdiocesan Archives, London: Tierney-Rock papers
SCA	Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh
SEH	St Edmund Hall, Oxford
SGDB	Stained glass daybook
SGL	Stained glass letters
SHC	Surrey History Centre
ST	Phoebe Stanton, 'Welby Pugin and the Gothic Revival', Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1950
Stresa	Centro Internazionale di Studi Rosminiani, Stresa, Italy
TCC DT	Trinity College, Cambridge: Dawson Turner papers
V & A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
V & A PD	Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings and Paintings Collection
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven

A. Barry	Barry, Alfred. *The Architect of the New Palace at Westminster.* London, 1868.
Andrews	Andrews, Brian. *Creating a Gothic Paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes.* Hobart: Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery, 2002.
Bard	*A. W. N. Pugin: Master of Gothic Revival,* ed. Paul Atterbury. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
Bartley	Bartley, V. A. *Saint Mary's RC Cathedral: A History and Guide.* Newcastle on Tyne, 1988.
Belcher 1987	Belcher, Margaret. *A. W. N. Pugin: An Annotated Critical Bibliography.* London: Mansell, 1987.
BG&S	*Birmingham Gold and Silver 1773–1973.* Birmingham: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1973.
EWP	Pugin, Edward Welby. *Who was the Art Architect of the Houses of Parliament.* London: Longmans, Green, 1867.
Ferrey	Ferrey, Benjamin. *Recollections of A. N. Welby Pugin, and his Father, Augustus Pugin.* London: Edward Stanford, 1861.

Fisher	Fisher, Michael. *Alton Towers: A Gothic Wonderland.* Stafford: M. J. Fisher, 1999.
Foster	Foster, Joseph. *Alumni Oxonienses.* 4 vols. London, 1887–8.
GP	*Pugin: A Gothic Passion,* ed. Paul Atterbury and Clive Wainwright. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
Gwynn	Gwynn, Denis. *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival.* London: Hollis and Carter, 1946.
Leetham	Leetham, Claude R. H. *Luigi Gentili: A Sower for the Second Spring.* London: Burns & Oates, [1965].
Meara	Meara, David. *A. W. N. Pugin and the Revival of Memorial Brasses.* London: Mansell, 1991.
Pawley	Pawley, Margaret. *Faith and Family: The Life and Circle of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle.* Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1993.
Powell	Powell, J. H. 'Pugin in his home', ed. Alexandra Wedgwood, *Architectural History,* 31 (1988): [171]–[205].
Spencer-Silver	Spencer-Silver, Patricia. *Pugin's Builder: The Life and Work of George Myers.* Hull: University of Hull Press, 1993.
Stanton 1971	Stanton, Phoebe. *Pugin.* London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
T-L	Trappes-Lomax, Michael. *Pugin: A Mediæval Victorian.* London: Sheed & Ward, 1932.
Venn	Venn, J. A. *Alumni Cantabrigienses.* 4 vols. Cambridge, 1940–54.
Walsh	Walsh, Joseph Alexis. *Relation du Voyage de Henri de France en Écosse et en Angleterre,* written by 'M. Le Vicomte Walsh'. Paris, 1844.
Wedgwood 1977	Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: *The Pugin Family,* ed. Alexandra Wedgwood. Farnborough, Hants: Gregg International, 1977.
Wedgwood 1985	Catalogues of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum: Wedgwood, Alexandra. *A. W. N. Pugin and the Pugin Family.* London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1985.
White 1962	White, James F. *The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.

Letters

1843–1845

January to June 1843

To LORD MIDLETON[1] London, Thursday, 5 January 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/43 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Octave of S[t] Thomas Canterbury.

My Lord

1". I beg to acknowledge the safe arrival of your Lordsips order for £315. 0. 0 which I shall pay this afternoon to M[r]. Myers.[2]

2°. I forsee nothing but difficulty respecting the execution of this fountain in the Irish stone.[3] so intricate a peice of geometrical massonry ought really to be done in a material in which skilful massons are accustomed to work. if we import a man from Ireland we shall want 2 others to Look after him to see he does not spoil the stones by cutting away the wrong parts. the expense will be considerable—& I do not see any equivalent in the effect.

3°. I am obliged to go down for a few days to the Duke of Leeds castle & alton Towers.[4] on My return I will do myself the honour of coming down to your Lordsip with drawings for the church at Peper Harow.[5]

4°. I have not received any dimensions of Midleton church yet.[6]

5. In the estimate I sent your Lordsip for Moushill I had reduced the thickness of walls to 14 inches—but I took into account the whole of the *Carpenters* work—Glazing—Iron work fastenings & even to the copper in the back kitchen—& the tender your Lordsip sends me is only for the stone & brickwork.[7] I have alyways said & say still that it is a bad system of doing work to have 3 or 4 people at one job. I know the house could have been perfectly built at the sum I named. I went into it carefully but not if several people are to get profit out of it.

The design I sent is in every way superior by double to those arranged by the Late Lord.[8] it is twice as solid & twice as handsome. I can design a cottage & a good one for about 120 to 150—but the house at Mousehill is more than a cottage—it is a small house—& a comfortable one into the bargain.

I do not Like the idea of Leaving out the brick casing in any of the walls. I am of opinion—that the fine hard Brick will do as well as flags for paving the kitchen—& I reckoned for them in my estimate. Myers tells me they are excellent. I am very sorry to hear that your Lordsip is determinated to Employ M[r]. Moon in building the farm Court.[9] it will be the occasion of unnecessary trouble & anxiety Witht end to myself. I never spare myself any Labour that conduces to the perfection of work but to expend my time in instructing modern humbugs of Builders is more than I can

bear. why should I not have every facility granted to me in carrying out the work intrusted to me—when both myself & Employer are equally beneffited thereby. I have the advantage of a man of tried skill and integrity—one who perfectly understands my principles of work—& my drawings & instead of him I have to deal with an entire stranger—who will require the minutest directions about every Little matter. the drawings now in your Lordsips possesion are quite sufficient for Myers to produce an excellent work—& if a stranger has to execute it—I must get out Large drawings of everything—a dead Loss of time—which I can ill afford. I would willingly make 50 drawings if your Lordsip was benefited, or the work improved in the sligtest degree thereby but merely to help an ignorant mechanic who does not understand the work is disstressing. your Lordship must remember M^r^. Moon asked your Lordsip for the working drawings of the Gateway—& expected to see everything full size—M^r^. Myers has never had other drawings than those your Lordsip saw and which are quite sufficient for him & he has produced a most perfect work from them.[10]

for the future therefore I must really decline executting any work to which I cannot appoint my own builder. I will serve your Lordsip with the greatest fidelity protect your interests as my own—but I must have facilities—I cannot waste time with strangers—& I know that in adhering to this principle I work quite as much to your Lordsips advantage as to the saving of my own time.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

The round church at Cambridge is restoring in some parts *exceedingly Well.*[11]

I am exceedingly obliged for your Lordsips kind intentions respecting the game. I am sorry however at the unfortunate result—by which I expect the Hotel people gained to my Loss.

[1] Pugin had clearly been consulted about improvements to Lord Midleton's property at Oxenford in Surrey before his earliest surviving letter to the viscount was written on 14 February 1842.

[2] Pugin's certificate authorizing payment of £300 to George Myers, his builder, for work carried out for Lord Midleton and of commission of £15 on that amount was issued on 24 December 1842.

[3] Pugin comments already on some of Lord Midleton's ideas for the fountain in the letter to him which may have been written on 13 November 1842.

[4] Francis Godolphin D'Arcy Osborne (1798–1859), seventh Duke of Leeds, had his principal residence at Hornby Castle near Bedale in Yorkshire. The earliest visit to Hornby Castle noted in Pugin's surviving diaries was paid only in the summer of 1847; what business called him thither in 1843 is unknown.

According to his diaries, Pugin first visited Alton Towers, home of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in July 1837.

[5] According to the list of his journeys to Peper Harow in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①, Pugin next visited Lord Midleton on Tuesday 31 January. The restoration of the church of St Nicholas at Peper Harow is first mentioned in Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 30 June 1842.

[6] It is not known what alterations Pugin made to the church at Midleton near Cork in Ireland.

[7] Proposals for work at Mousehill near Peper Harow may have already been under discussion in November 1842.

[8] Lord Midleton succeeded his father, George, fourth Viscount Midleton (1754–1836).

[9] Local tradesmen, James and Henry Moon, of Godalming, were employed to erect the farm buildings at Oxenford. Their estimate, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2①, for the sum of £1,498 is dated 27 March 1843; and a further estimate, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2②, of £283. 10*s.* for bricklaying and carpentry is dated 9 November 1843 at Godalming. Also preserved in 145/39/2 is a long statement of account from Moons for the farm buildings, giving extras, costs, and payments, in 1843 and early 1844; Pugin has countersigned it. Pugin's rough sketches on tracing paper of the 'effect of farm buildings from the road coming in', including 'elm tree A' and 'elm B', and the 'view from inside Park' survive as MSS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/56 and 1248/33/57, and are reproduced as Plate I. The farm buildings, 'still in use for their original purpose' (p. 52), are briefly discussed in A. Wedgwood, 'Domestic architecture', in *GP*. Their most striking feature, the magnificent stone barn, of six bays and capable of holding nine thousand bales of hay, is illustrated on p. 53, but the door in the adjacent picture belongs to the Oxenford gatehouse, not to the barn as stated. The sum of £50 is entered against 'Lord Midleton Barn' on an end-paper of Pugin's diary for 1845.

[10] Moons tendered unsuccessfully for the gatehouse at Oxenford, which was built by Myers, as Pugin's letter of 24 May 1842 to Lord Midleton shows.

[11] The church of the Holy Sepulchre or, as it is locally known, the Round church, one of only four surviving circular medieval churches in England, was the sole restoration which the Cambridge Camden Society undertook on its own responsibility, although it gave advice in many other cases. With Anthony Salvin as architect, work began in November 1841 and was completed late in 1843, the opening being postponed, however, until August 1845 by litigation about the stone altar which had been put up, as *White 1962*, pp. 136–8 and 161–4, relates. The list of ordinary members of the society published in 1843 includes Lord Midleton's name.

Benjamin Webb's diary records that Pugin had already been shown the work at the Round church in May 1842 and that he was to see it again on 23 March 1843 when he 'came up on a visit' to Cambridge and Webb 'Took him to Kings, S. Sepulchre's &c.' (MS Bodley Eng. misc. e. 406, fol. 47r).

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Friday, 6 January 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/12 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Feast of the Epihany

My Lord

yesterday eving I saw the vane for the turret of the Gate house—compleated & I am anxious your Lordship should see it as soon as it arrives before it is fixed—as in my judgment it is the best thing of the kind that has been done scince the old time.[1]

I should feel greatly obliged if your Lordsip would Lend your shild of arms to M^r^. Myers in order that he may carve them on the inner boss of gatehouse.[2] the outer one is now finishing in London. an ox crossing a ford. *oxenford*—with water plant Leaves round the ribs. [*Sketch: shield.* Fig. 1] both of these sheilds I intend to have gilt & painted & for the inner one your Lordships Shield is indispensable.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] In his letter to Lord Midleton of 5 January 1843 Pugin states that he will be seeing Myers that afternoon; presumably he found the vane ready at Myers's workshops.

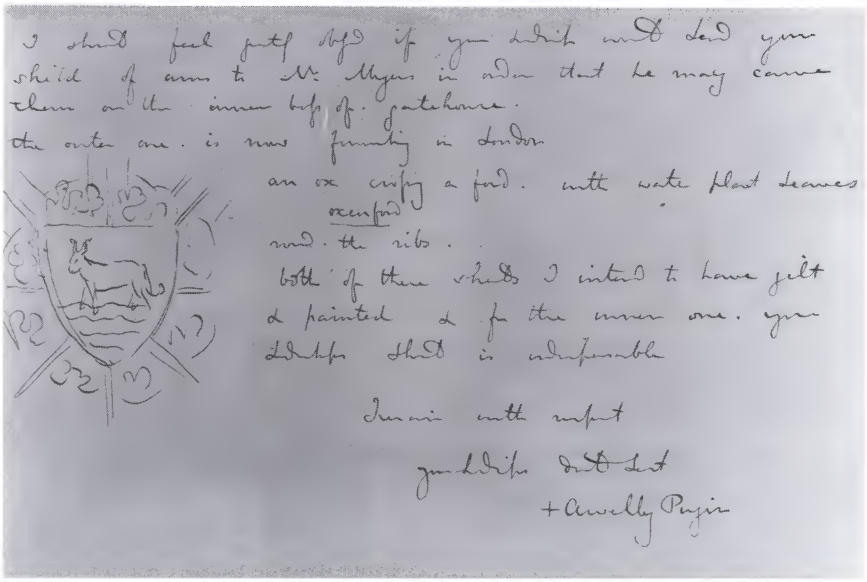

Figure 1 A rebus for Oxenford, suggested in the letter to Lord Midleton of 6 January 1843

[2] The Midleton arms are argent, on a chief vert, two spear's heads of the field, erect, the points embrued gules; the crest is out of a ducal coronet or, a spear head argent, embrued gules; the supporters are two men in armour, proper, each holding a spear in the exterior hand; and the motto is 'A cuspide corona', the Latin meaning 'from the spear a crown'.

To LORD MIDLETON London, Saturday, 7 January 1843?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/27 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Saturday in the octave of the Epiphany.

My Lord

I am truly sorry to find that my Letter caused your Lordsip any annoyance—but suffering as I am at the present time from the negligence of a strange builder whom I was prevailed on to entrust in Yorkshire—I trust I shall be excused for any warmth of expression—No man feels more anxious respecting a building than I do.[1] my heart & soul are in the work—& the slightest failure distresses me beyond measure. I did not apply the Epithet of Humbug to M[r] Mooon—but to the class to which he belongs—for Modern builders build anything & everthing that they think will pay & alwyes work in a slight unsatisfactory manner. If I had not schooled the men I

employ I could never produce my buildings—& the unfortunate occurrence to which I alluded above has only happened through my being in the hands of strangers.

I have not the Least wish of intruding my services on any one, nor would I wish to be employed unless I have the full confidence of those for whom I build. God knows I am deserving of it. I would not in concience see your Lordsip defrauded of a sixpence & when the building I have had the honour of erecting at oxenford is compleated without a shilling of extra cost—or Clerk of works salary—while every portion of the work is as perfectly done as if without estimate I feel assured your Lordsip will be well satisfied that I have been a faithful steward in that matter. of course I was not reffering in my Letter to the erection of houses & cottages—but I do feel exceedly uneasy—respecting the farm buildings—of which the fondations & great gables require especial care & attention.

I shall necessarily be absent a great deal this spring & sumer—& must Leave all this to persons in whom I cannot have any confidence—without even a Clerk of works to act for me. if your Lorddship will relieve me from the responsibilitty well & good but I feel as anxious about a small as a great work—& shall be in continual anxiety—the man who Let my arch in, was a professed church builder—at Least in the modern acceptation of the term—& yet he neglected the necessary precautions—& will cause me infinite trouble & your Lordsip must feel for me when all my care is defeated by an operative.

I had just received this intelligence when your Lordsips Letter arrived & the observations I made in reply were intended to refer especially to the proposed alterations at the church—which will require great skill & which I could not securely undertake with any but my own people.[2] I know practically that your Lordsips work has been done as cheaply as it can consisently be contracted for—& more I am sure you would not desire.

if your Lordsips is fully resolved on executing the farm buildings in the manner you propose—I must specify & set out everything—& do my best—but at the Least *your Bailiff* should act especially *under me* & by *my instructions.*[3]

I fear the expense of the fountain will exceed your Lordsips intentions if worked in the Irish stone—but of course I can have no objection whatever if your Lordsip wishes it. I only meant & think still the increase of effect will not be comensurate with that of cost.

should your Lordsip have ocasion to write My adress for the next week will be at the Earl of Shrewsburys Alton Towers

near cheadle Staffordshire.

trusting this explanation of my views will be be satisfactory and regretting any statement I made should have caused your Lordsip any annoyance

I remain

with respect

your Lordsips devoted Sert

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The reference is to Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 5 January 1843, in which he implies that Moon belongs to the class he dismisses as 'modern humbugs' and that he is 'an ignorant mechanic'. In mentioning Yorkshire Pugin may have in mind his early church of St Anne at Keighley, but not the more recent chapel for Mrs Tempest at Ackworth Grange near Pontefract, which was built by Myers.

[2] The church of St Nicholas at Peper Harow.

[3] The bailiff is George Aylwin.

To ADOLPHE NAPOLÉON DIDRON[1] before Tuesday, 10 January 1843[2]

Text: *Bulletin archéologique*, 2 (1842–3): 404–7[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Monsieur,

Je suis fort content d'apprendre que le désir de restaurer le véritable art chrétien, si longtemps négligé, reprend avec force en France. On doit encourager de pareilles tentatives, et je vous donnerai sur mes travaux, avec le plus grand plaisir, tous les renseignemens qui pourraient vous être utiles.

Mes travaux ne se bornent pas aux monumens religieux; je m'attache encore à la restauration des moindres accessoires, et je m'occupe même des étoffes pour les chapes et les chasubles. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire en effet que rien n'est plus choquant à l'esprit d'un véritable connaisseur de l'art chrétien que de voir une église magnifique avec des autels, des chandeliers et des ornemens dans le style moderne ou *rococo*, comme ceux qu'on trouve dans les plus belles cathédrales de la France et de la Belgique. J'ai donc établi, il y a quatre ans à peu près, des fabriques de tous les objets qui peuvent contribuer à la décoration et à la richesse des monumens ecclésiastiques.

Dans ces fabriques, on confectionne des objets en or, en argent et en cuivre, tels que burettes, calices, ciboires, ostensoirs, chandeliers, lampes, couronnes ardentes, tabernacles en forme de tour, croix processionnelles, reliquaires, châsses, et enfin tout ce qui appartient au culte catholique. J'ai fait copier ces objects d'après des modèles anciens, avec la plus grande exactitude, et je suis parvenu à former des ouvriers qui travaillent tout-à-fait dans l'ancien style.

Les calices, larges à la coupe, sont portés sur des pieds émaillés, même enrichis de pierreries et dessinés dans des formes géométriques. Les chandeliers sont de toute grandeur, mais moins élevés que ceux qui s'exécutent à présent; je n'ai pas trouvé, dans les autorités anciennes, que les chandeliers fussent très élevés autrefois. Je dois vous dire que ces objets sont exécutés dans l'ancienne manière: ils sont ciselés, gravés, émaillés, battus, et non pas coulés en fonte comme on a l'habitude de le faire aujourd'hui. Le procédé de la fonte rend tous ces ouvrages lourds, tandis que les anciens ornemens en métal sont légers, travaillés avec art et sentiment. Pour les ostensoirs et les reliquaires, j'ai imité les plus beaux qu'on trouve en Belgique.

J'ai fait faire, pour les cierges, une couronne ardente qui a trente-six pieds de circonférence; elle est chargée d'écussons couverts d'inscriptions, et suspendue avec

des chaînes ornées. Lorsqu'elle est allumée pour les grandes fêtes, cela produit un effet magnifique.

J'espère que le temps n'est pas éloigné où tous les mauvais lustres, qui proviennent des salles de bal et qu'on voit aujourd'hui dans les églises, seront remplacés par des couronnes de cuivre doré, qui sont d'un caractère tout-à-fait ecclésiastique. J'ai déjà envoyé en Amérique plusieurs ornemens de ce genre, et toutes les églises que j'ai bâties sont décorées d'objets qui portent le même caractère et sont dans le style de l'époque reproduite par le monument.

L'autel de la chapelle de la sainte Vierge, dans l'église de Birmingham, est extrêmement riche, et dans le style gothique du temps de saint Louis; il porte un tabernacle précieux en forme de tour ornée de pierreries et des quatre évangélistes, en émail.[4] Cet autel est tout couvert de bas-reliefs dorés et peints dans le style chrétien; de chaque côté sont suspendus des rideaux richement brodés. Tous nos autels ont des rideaux, comme on en voit dans les tableaux anciens et dans les miniatures. Nous avons plusieurs triptyques avec des portes couvertes de peintures; nous les plaçons au-dessus des autels, dans les chapelles.

J'ai parfaitement réussi à faire des pavés incrustés; l'église de Nottingham sera pavée avec ces briques émaillées de différentes couleurs, chargées d'inscriptions et de divers ornemens colorés en bleu, rouge, jaune et vert.[5] Ces pavés produisent un effet magnifique et rappellent la richesse des vitraux peints.

Les vitraux de couleur, si essentiels aux églises, sont bien faits chez nous. Un morceau de verre épais, attaché par le plomb, ne porte qu'une seule couleur. Je ne cherche pas à faire des tableaux sur verre, mais à suivre la sévérité des anciens verriers qui accordaient leur style avec l'architecture des fenêtres. Vous seriez fort content, j'en suis bien sûr, des vitraux que j'ai placés dans les églises que j'ai fait construire. Tout ce que je cherche, c'est de restaurer ce qu'on faisait anciennement, et non pas d'inventer de nouveaux procédés qui ne réussissent jamais.

Quant aux draps d'or et de soie, quant aux galons, je les ai copiés sur des tombeaux anciens d'évêques et d'autres ecclésiastiques, et j'en ai fait faire une assez grande quantité. J'aurai très grand plaisir de vous envoyer des échantillons de ces galons qui sont fort légers. Avec cette lettre, je vous adresse la gravure de quelques-unes des briques incrustées dont je surveille l'exécution.

La liste suivante des travaux que je dirige pourra vous être utile.

Eglises terminées à Liverpool, Manchester, Carlisle, Wexford en Irlande, Derby, Solihull, Attoxeter [*sic*], Macclesfield, Reading, Pontefract, Birmingham, Radford, Southport, Kenilworth: en tout quatorze.[6]—Eglises en construction à Londres: Woolwich, Nottingham, Cheadle, Newcastle, Kirkhan [*sic*], Gorey, Killaney [*sic*], Tagoat, Shepshead [*sic*]: en tout dix.[7]—Huit couvens de trappistes, des sœurs de la Présentation, des sœurs de charité et des Ursulines, dans le Leicestershire, à Waterford, Gorey, Birmingham, Londres, Liverpool.[8]—L'hôpital Saint-John, à Alton, l'école des frères à Shetchley [*sic*] et à Birmingham, le palais de l'évêque à Birmingham, l'abbaye des bénédictins à Downside.[9]

Autres travaux ecclésiastiques:—Le chœur de l'église à Baribury [*sic*], un grand

vitrail peint à Saint-Nicolas de Liverpool, maître-autel de l'église Sainte-Anne à Leeds, maître-autel et chapelle du Saint-Sacrement à Alton.[10] Des croix en pierre sculptée, à Senisbrick [*sic*], Alton, Oscott et Londres.[11]

Je compte commencer quatre églises nouvelles dans le courant de l'année 1843.[12]

Tous ces bâtimens sont construits dans le véritable style chrétien. Ils sont plus ou moins riches dans les détails; plusieurs ont des murailles et des plafonds chargés de peintures et de dorures. Les autels, les fonts baptismaux, et surtout les jubés qui séparent le chœur et qui portent le grand crucifix, les images de la sainte Vierge et de saint Jean sont tous dans le même style. J'espère que vous viendrez un jour ici pour voir ce que nous avons fait. L'église de Saint-Georges à Londres vous fera plaisir; elle a 246 pieds de long. Le clocher aura 317 pieds de hauteur jusqu'à la croix de la flèche. Je vous adresse un paquet de gravures pour vous donner une idée de ces constructions.

J'aurai grand plaisir à vous envoyer des renseignemens plus précis sur tout ce que vous voulez savoir, et je reste, Monsieur, votre serviteur bien dévoué.

A. Welby Pugin.

[1] A. N. Didron (1806–67), a French ecclesiologist, played a leading role in documenting the Gothic Revival in France. In 1835 he became secretary to the Comité historique des arts et monumens, and in 1844 he founded *Annales archéologiques*, which he edited from its inception until 1865. His desire for Pugin's help in securing English subscribers to his publication is one topic in the letter he writes to Pugin on 22 April 1844, which is preserved in the Franklin collection. His chief business, however, is to comply with Pugin's request for information about the date when an 'exposition de l'industrie' would open in Paris; Pugin's diary makes it plain that he visited that exhibition, and he can be assumed to have accepted the offer Didron makes in his letter of any help he can afford in order to make the visit 'agréable'. When Didron came to England in 1846 he attended the opening of St Giles's church, Cheadle, and was conducted over the building by Pugin; and it is probable that the two men met again when Didron travelled to London to see the Great Exhibition in 1851.

[2] The letter was received in Paris by 11 January 1843, but that it was written at least some days earlier is probable.

[3] Pugin's letter forms part of a report of proceedings printed in the *Bulletin archéologique*, published in Paris by the Comité historique des arts et monumens; addressed to Didron, it was read by him to a meeting of the Comité on 11 January 1843: see *Belcher 1987*, A31. *Ferrey* prints much but not all of this letter, in sometimes rather erroneous French, pp. 235–9. In the records of the Comité Pugin is listed as a corresponding member in 1842 and in 1843; his copy of the periodical for those years, lot 30, was sold at the auction of his library after his death.

[4] The presence of a tabernacle in the shape of a small tower on the altar of the chapel in St Chad's Cathedral would have been particularly gratifying to Pugin, for he had been much hurt when Wiseman condemned the form, as he reveals in writing to Daniel Rock on 2 February 1841.

[5] The church of St Barnabas, on which Pugin began work in July 1841.

[6] St Oswald's, Old Swan, Liverpool; St Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester; St Mary's, Warwick Bridge, Cumbria; the chapel of St Peter's College, Wexford; St Mary's, Derby; St Augustine's, Solihull; St Mary's, Uttoxeter; St Alban's, Macclesfield; St James's, Reading; the chapel at Ackworth Grange, Pontefract; St Chad's, Birmingham; Holy Trinity, Radford, Oxfordshire; St Mary's, Southport; and St Augustine's, Kenilworth, are the churches Pugin refers to. All were, as he says, completed by the end of 1842 but some were finished much earlier. His list might have been longer: the church at Dudley, consecrated in April 1842, is one that he does not mention, and St Anne's, Keighley, an earlier building, is another.

[7] St George's, Southwark, is the church in London indicated; the colon is misleading, for in the total of ten it must be reckoned as one and St Peter's, Woolwich, as another. The remaining churches under construction are St Barnabas's, Nottingham; St Giles's, Cheadle; St Mary's, Newcastle; St John's, Kirkham, Lancashire; St Michael's, Gorey, Co. Wexford; St Mary's Cathedral, Killarney, Co. Kerry; the parish church at Tagoat, Co. Wexford; and St Winifred's, Shepshed, Leicestershire.

All of these commissions are referred to in the correspondence before the end of 1842 except the parish church at The Willows, Kirkham, which was apparently determined upon on 25 July 1842 when Pugin visited the place and, according to his diary, transcribed in *Wedgwood 1985*, 'Settled with Mr. Sherbourne [*sic*]', the local priest, Thomas Sherburne. The church of St John the Evangelist, containing a peal of six bells which, according to *T-L*, p. 355, was the first to be hung in England since the Reformation, was consecrated in April 1845. Drawings for Kirkham, for the organ gallery, signed and dated 1844, for the pulpit, the altar, and an ambry, are held in the MFT collection, and much metalwork is ordered from Hardman in 1845. *Stanton 1971* includes a small view of the exterior and remarks that the interior has been 'cruelly modified' (p. [131]). St Andrew's, Cambridge, could have been included in this list or perhaps in that of churches completed, for by the beginning of 1843 it was 'in daily use', according to an item headed 'Cambridge', *Tablet*, 4 (7 January 1843): 7, although it was not consecrated until April of that year.

[8] The monastery for the Trappists is Mount St Bernard's in Leicestershire; some designs for it, the property of the abbey, are held in the Leicestershire RO. The Presentation convent is at Waterford in Ireland; *T-L*, p. 343, states that the foundation-stone was laid on 3 May 1842. At Gorey, the convent of Our Lady of Loreto, adjacent to St Michael's church, was built from 1842 to 1844, according to R. O'Donnell in *Bard*, p. 145. The convents of Mercy are those at Handsworth in Birmingham, at Bermondsey in London, in Liverpool, and at St George's, Southwark, commenced in 1843. The 'ursuline convent waterford' (fol. 25) is included in Pugin's list of his Irish commissions in MS V & A L.50–1982/3 but without date; it is in 1845 that he notes in his diary that he 'Sent off' on 31 October 'Waterford convent plans', which *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 93, identifies as those for the Ursuline foundation. There is no discussion of this commission in the standard authorities, and no other designs for this teaching order are known.

[9] St John's Hospital, like Alton Castle, is by Alton village, about one mile from Alton Towers; at Spetchley in Worcestershire the Berkeley family of Spetchley Park commissioned a red-brick school built in 1841, of which an illustration is given in *Stanton 1971*; presumably by the first reference to Birmingham Pugin means what was then called St Mary's College at Oscott; the bishop's house there, next to St Chad's, was demolished in 1960. At Downside Abbey in Somerset nothing to Pugin's design was built, although he drew various plans, and the vision of it that he printed as an illustration to the second article on the 'Present state' was so splendid as to cause amazement: J. V. Harting reports to Thomas Heptonstall in a letter written on 30 March 1842 and preserved as MS L.142 at Downside that he 'was quite astonished the other day to see in the Dublin Review the plan & prospect of the intended Monastery at Downside—Why he has swept away every thing you have done already unless perhaps Molly Wests quarters—I can trace nothing else—When this new Building is finished Prior Park, and all our other Colleges indeed, may hide their diminished heads'.

[10] Pugin mentions his work at Banbury in his letter to Rock of 20 August 1841; his pleasure in the new altar he has designed for Leeds is evident in his letter to Frank Amherst of 29 June 1842; the chapel he has furnished at Alton is St Peter's at Alton Towers. The church of St Nicholas at Copperas Hill, Liverpool, was fitted with more than a new window to Pugin's design. A letter from Thomas Youens preserved in ML and dated 4 August 1843 informs Hardman that six brass altar candlesticks of the same kind as those supplied to the church at Old Swan are wanted for St Nicholas's; MWDB charges Youens £12. 12*s.* for '6 Large Battlement Candlesticks' on 18 August 1843. Youens asks also for 'two ornaments to be attached to the ends of our altar curtain rods', and MWDB enters 'A Pair of Iron Gilt Fleu du Leys' for ten shillings. Youens remarks modestly that he is 'bringing the altar & Sanctuary into a mor normal state'. Hardman's Metal sales ledger contains an entry for more candlesticks for Copperas Hill at 20 December 1843 at a cost of £18. 10*s.*; at the same date MWDB enters '6 Large Altar Candlesticks' to Youens for £18. In a letter of 27 November 1844 preserved in ML, Youens expresses his hope of paying the sum of £18. 15*s.* due for his candlesticks soon, but his immediate concern is another matter: the 'Lamp, I am sorry to say, cannot be kept in any order, owing to the tarnish, it looks no better than if it were made of tin'. According to 'Copperas Hill', *Tablet*, 4 (26 August 1843): 533, the church, with its refurbished sanctuary 'magnificently adorned in true Gothic taste', will reopen on 3 September.

[11] 'Senisbrick' is an error in transcription for 'Scarisbrick'. *Ferrey* omits this paragraph and the one before it beginning 'Eglises terminées'.

[12] New churches to Pugin's design were begun in 1843 at Brewood in Staffordshire, at Northampton, at Enniscorthy in County Wexford, and perhaps elsewhere, but it is not possible to tell what he has in contemplation here.

To LORD MIDLETON — Alton Towers, Friday, 13 January 1843?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/22 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers Friday.

My Lord

understanding you have expressed an objection to the coronet round the vane for the gatehouse—I beg to observe that the distinction by number of balls & Leaves is very modern as your Lordsip may perceive by inspecting the coronets on the effigies of the antient nobilty which are of great variety—I thought therefore that in its position round a vane as a mere ornament—the most elegant form of coronet would be unobjectionable but if your Lordsip wishes it particuly—I will give the necessary orders for its alteration.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH — London, Saturday, 14 January 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Jan^{r}. 14th. 1843.
feats of S^{t} Hilary B. Con^{r}.

I hereby Certify certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the Work of S^{t} Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.[1]

✠ AWelby Pugin
Master of the work

£500. 0. 0

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twentyfive pounds being the comission due on the above amount.

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

£25. 0. 0

[1] The first certificate authorizing payment to Myers for the construction of St George's, Southwark, is dated 14 November 1840. Receipts from Myers preserved in SAA St G acknowledge payment of £500 on each occasion on 22 February, 8 April, 16 May, 27 July, 19 August, 28 October, and 23 November 1843, making a total for the year of £3,500. Other documents surviving from 1843 include records of an extra payment of £104 to Myers on 21 March as a bonus of £2 a week, and a sum of £22. 5*s*. 6*d*. paid on 1 December for a supper given to his workmen.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM[1] London, Tuesday, 7 February 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/107 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford. *Postmark*: Chelsea; FE 8 1843 in Hounslow; FE 9 1843 in Oxford

✠ London feast of S[t] Romuald

Rev & Dear Sir

I take an early opportunity of sending you a prospectus of my forthcoming work which I think will please you much, I hope it will be out in a few weeks.[2] My great work the Glossary of Ecclesiastical ornament is progressing rapidly.[3] it will be printed in *gold & colours*. many of the patterns for vest-ments are as Large as the originals—I hope it will have a great effect in reviving the true taste in ecclesiastical ornament. many copies will go to France (Lyons) especially—Germany, Belgium etc. as soon as I see everyth progressing in a fair way I mean to do myself the great pleasure of coming down to oxford—when I hope you will be able to procure me a sight of the Monasticon Gallicūm of which you were kind enough to send me so interesting a List.[4]

belive me dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's first letter to Bloxam was written on 7 September 1840.

[2] The 'forthcoming work' is *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England*: see *Belcher 1987*, A30. Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of 20 November 1842 that he is at work on his new book. The publication appeared in April; the earliest review known is that in the *Artizan*, no. 4 (30 April 1843): 90–1; the price of the book was 10*s*. 6*d*.

[3] Pugin's *Glossary* was published in 1844.

[4] The mutilation of 'everything' is due to a tear caused by the breaking of the seal. Pugin writes to Bloxam about a work which appears to be this 'Monasticon Gallicūm' on 20 November 1842 and 13 December 1842.

To WILLIAM DUNN[1] London, Monday, 13 February 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 14 *Address*: William Dunn Esq[r] / Bath House / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: Chelsea; 14 FE 1843; FE 15 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ London. Feb. 13.

Dear Sir

I have read through the contract you forwarded to me & as regards myself I have only one remark to make but a most important one it is.[2] it is stated that the contractor is to compleat the building to the satisfaction of the Right Revd D[r] Mostyn the Revd M[r] Riddell & myself *and such other architects as they may appoint*.[3] the

whole of this is utterly iregular & I could not consent to it for an instant. I am the proper person to act for the Lord Bishop & M[r] Ridell—I am the master of the work bound in concience to see it properly performed & my approval is the authority on which the contractor received his payments. the sentence as it stands amounts to a vote of want of confidence—& reduces me to a mere cypher in the business. I am willing to believe that it has been inserted rather owing to want of knowing what is usual in these cases than with any such intention towards myself or I could not continue to act for a day—I trust therefore you will have it inserted as I originally wrote it out. you can of course insert—that in *case of my death* the contractor is to complete the work to the satisfaction of such architect as the Lord Bishop & the Revd M[r]. Riddell may appoint.

2. The porch should be finally waulted with stone—but this should be done after the tower is up & the weight on the walls to resist the Lateral thrust—it was never contemplated to be done in the present contract.

3 Respecting the slates the contractor has no objection to substitute Duchesses—or Large—slates for those specified—but I shall maintain they are not so good for the purpose as those I originally named. I selected them from the first as the best slate covering & I am still of the same opinion & shall hold it. It is impossible to desire a better peice of slating than the roofs of S[t] Georges London. we have had a sucession of tremendous gales & one compleat Hurricane that actually unroofed & stript many buildings & we have not lost *a* slate at S[t] Georges. I again repeat when I specified Ladies I did so with the full conviction that they were the best for high roofs that I could procure & my opinion has been quite justified by practice. however I do not wish to press the point as it is not connected with the architectural effect of the building.

M[r]. Myers has I belive some exception to make againts some minor matters connected with the contract. I think it will be as well for him to meet the comittee at Newcastle & have these points arranged there—as it will save much unnecessary writing.

The sheet of 5 Elevations & plan was intended to be signed & kept with contract & is quite sufficient for that purpose.

I remain dear sir
yours most truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's correspondence with William Dunn about the church of St Mary in Newcastle begins on 13 February 1842.

[2] Negotiations with Dunn about the contract and, through him, with the committee in charge of building St Mary's had been carried on by letter since 18 August 1842. Perhaps it was at that time that Pugin sent the draft of a contract which is transcribed in *Bartley*, pp. 203–4, although *Bartley* implies a later date. *Bartley* also prints '*Memoranda of church*' (pp. 23–4), apparently undated, which Pugin wrote for the committee, giving an indication of the features of his design.

[3] Francis Mostyn was vicar apostolic of the northern district in which Newcastle was situated; William Riddell, to whom Pugin first writes on 2 January 1841, was a parish priest there.

To RICHARD WILSON FITZPATRICK[1]

London, Wednesday, 15 February 1843?

Text: MS NLI 13,750 (13)[2] *Address*: Richard Wilson FitzPatrick Esq[r] / 22. upper Grosvenor Street / Park Lane / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; FE 15 1843

Dear Sir

I inclose you the acount of Brass, as the case is over what I told you I will take that on myself.[3] the cheque will be therefor £91. 0. 0 to Mess[rs] Hardman & Iliffe Paradise street Birmingham & my comission for Drawings superintendance &[c]. £4. 11. 0. I can assure you I have done my very best in regard of economy—but the Labour is amazing on one of these rich brasses—& the manufacturers get so Little by them that I am obliged to keep paying them up to have the work done. Now the brass is fixed in the slab it is a Large thing & will require considerable care in setting to its place. I shall be very anxious to hear from you when it is finally fixed as I think it is by far the most importa revival of antient sepulchral design that has been been accomplised.[4]

I remain dear sir
with respect your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's first letter to Fitzpatrick was probably written on 20 May 1842.

[2] The letter is written on the otherwise blank third page of a folded sheet, on the first page of which is printed a prospectus for Pugin's *Apology for the Revival*; that publication contains an illustration of the Fitzpatrick brass. A transcription of the letter is printed in *Meara*, p. 104.

[3] Fitzpatrick commissioned from Pugin in 1842 a memorial brass to be laid in the church of St James in Grafton Underwood, Northamptonshire. The amount of £91, in the next sentence, is made up of £76 for the engraved brass, as stated in Pugin's letter to Fitzpatrick of 30 December 1842, and £15 for the setting of it in its black marble slab and packing it ready for carriage to its site; this second part of the process having actually cost £16, according to Pugin's letter of 30 December 1842, he is undertaking to pay the difference. There is a further, small discrepancy between the amount of Pugin's commission, £4. 10*s*., as he calculates it in the letter written at the end of the year, and the sum of £4. 11*s*. claimed here. The brass was made, as all Pugin's metalwork was, by the firm of John Hardman in Birmingham. Among the invoices preserved in the Hardman deposit are those of John Heath, who charges ten shillings and threepence on 9 February 1843 for fixing the brass with screws, and of the stonemason, William Cook, whose labour in letting the brass into its slab, taking it out, and refixing it, between 7 January and 14 February 1843, costs £15. 5*s*. 3*d*. A drawing for the brass is held in BMAG, L155.84.

John Joseph Heath, of 68 Great Charles Street, Birmingham, was an engraver and copper-plate printer whom Hardman regularly used for memorial brasses.

[4] The breaking of the seal has torn the paper and removed the last letters of 'important'.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM

London, Sunday, 19 February 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/82 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam. / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: Chelsea; FE 20 1843 in Hounslow; FE 21 1843 in Oxford

✠ London Sexagesima Sunday.

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I hope D.V. to be with you on *Wednesday* next the 22[d]. I purpose coming down by one of the morning trains. I hope I shall *catch a sight* of Ward.[1]

with great respect
belive me dear sir
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

I must see your corona in glory.[2]

[1] W. G. Ward, whom Pugin met not later than the end of October 1840; the stress laid on 'catch a sight' continues Pugin's repudiation, begun in his letter to Bloxam of 20 November 1842, of Ward's accusation that Pugin's appearances at Oxford were 'rare'.

[2] A corona was one of the items made for Bloxam's rooms in college which are first referred to in the correspondence in the letter to Bloxam of 24 September 1842.

To FREDERICK OAKELEY?[1] London, Sunday, 19 February 1843

Text: MS copy Balliol College Archives, Formal Archives D. 21. 50[a2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Sexagesima Sunday.

Rev[d]. & dear Sir[3]

I hasten to give you my unreserved judgment on the plans for the proposed additions to Balliol Coll. wh. you forwarded to me.[4] I consider them to be utterly destitute of the true and ancient spirit of design. The Fronts have evidently been composed for external effect, and the various features do not result from any internal necessity; nor are they at all expressive of the interior arrangements. In the first Design[+] I perceived some *abominations*—blank windows introduced in chimneystacks and an Oriel Window pulled out to an extravagan height in the chamber over the Gate-House; which window in its present state is of consistent & beautiful proportions.[5] The 2[d] Design A or B is free from the grosser errors—but still it is quite of the modern *show* school—with its enormous Oriels quite out of place—One such might be required in a fine apartment but 3 in row puts me in mind of Puffs remark about the '*3 morning guns*'.[6] "Give these fellows a good idea & they will work it to death". But seriously speaking—There is no *reality* ab[t]. this Design. Now the *reality* of the Ancient Buildings constitutes their great charm. Ancient Architecture is like Nature—*everything keeps its place.* Nothing can be ugly or offensive, if it is only *naturally treated.* The Kitchens & offices of the old buildings were as grand & fine in their simplicity, as the Halls & Chapels in their richness. If the proposed front of Balliol were treated in this manner, a great sum w[d]. be saved—I sh[d]. say at least 25 per Cent; and a truly collegiate building erected. I object to the Parapets of these Designs as involving great & useless expense. The gable copings chimneystacks &[c] are all

overdone—costly and clumsy. In a word, it is what has been done better or worse over & over again—regular modern collegiate architecture.

In 'Loggans Views of Oxford' there is a most interesting view of the college (Balliol) in its original state; wh. will illustrate my meaning.[7] But many of the Plates in that work are admirable examples of the natural simplicity with which the inferior portions of the collegiate buildings were treated in olden days. The Gate-house, hall, chapel, library became prominent features. But now it is all alike—the same tracery to the students chambers as to the Masters Lodgings.

I trust that the proposed plan of moving the Apartments of the Head to a distant portion of the College will not be carried into effect. It is in utter opposition to the very position of the Superior, and must be attended with bad consequences. When the Abbots ceased to reside with their communities & built separate lodgings, the rule & spirit was fast going to decay. And I believe the same remark is applicable to the Collegiate discipline. It w^{d}. be far better to keep them in their present position and give the exterior of *that* portion of the front greater dignity. It w^{d}. also be well to introduce some local ornament, inscriptions &^{c} with reference to the history & foundation of the College. The design you you sent to me might be for *anything*—a Blind Asylum—or a Wesleyan Missionary College. For *they* build *tracery gothic* now—But *it has no peculiar reference to Balliol.* As to cost, it is impossible for me to give a correct opinion without knowing how much additional internal accommodation is required. But I sh^{d}. think about 10, or £12,000 w^{d}. bring out all that I sh^{d}. judge to be required perfectly well. At least I think I c^{d}. make it do so. Waste not, spare not, is my maxim—and it is wonderful how much farther money will go, when laid out on the old consistent principles. I consider at least $\frac{1}{3}$ of the funds to be wasted in Most modern erections. But when will men learn wisdom? When they cease to be wise in their own conceits and humbly walk in the paths of the ancient architects and allow the various portions of the edifices to tell their own tale, instead of dressing them out to suit the fancies of the day.[8] The Plans you sent me embody all the defects that are common to the age; and the origin of w^{h}. I have endeavoured to point out. In a word, they are not bad enough to be ridiculous, nor good enough to be commendable; and I do not think that they w^{d}. be any improvement on the present front; for we have something we can really admire in the old gate-house; & a subject for indignation in the sash windows—whereas if the proposed Design were executed we sh^{d}. pass by without emotion.

I have now given you my opinion as you wished it conscientiously & unreservedly—and if there are any points on w^{h}. you desire further information, I will afford it to the best of my power.

I purpose D.V. going down on Wednesday to see M^{r}. Bloxam and obtain some interesting information for a Copy of the French Monasticon at present in his possession—if I can execute any commission to you—Let me know for I shall remain at Oxford till Friday & am

with respect
Yours
Signed: AWPugin[9]

[1] Oakeley, who appears to have first attracted Pugin's notice as the author of an article on which Pugin comments in his letter to Bloxam of 13 September 1840, is suggested as a possible recipient of this letter because he made and certifies the copy in which it survives; it is possible, however, that Oakeley made the copy to keep for himself because the letter was addressed to another correspondent; in that case, the most likely recipient is W. G. Ward. According to 'University & clerical intelligence', *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette* (15 April 1843): p. [4], it was on Ward's recommendation that Pugin's opinion was sought; two subsequent scholarly accounts of the affair, however, by John Bryson and John Jones, state that it was Oakeley, the Senior Fellow of Balliol College, who suggested that Pugin be approached. Whoever was responsible, and the two Tractarian Fellows may well have acted in concert, the step began Pugin's involvement in what turned out to be the greatest single disappointment of his professional career.

[2] The MS is headed in what may be Oakeley's hand 'M^{r}. Pugins opinion of the plans, Copy.' and at the end of Pugin's letter Oakeley adds 'A true Copy' and signs 'F. Oakeley'; the last page is inscribed '*Fabric* Pugin's Critique on *Basevi's plans 843*' and 'XIV'.

[3] At the beginning of his transcription the copyist first wrote 'My dear Sir', then cancelled 'My' and wrote 'Rev^{d}. &' above.

[4] The plans for rebuilding the Broad Street front of Balliol College, Oxford, were drawn by George Basevi (1794–1845), an architect who had been a pupil of John Soane and who worked in the classical manner designing, for instance, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge; he had already been employed by the college. His plans were rejected by the Governing Body of the college at a meeting held on 23 February 1841. Various designs submitted by Basevi are preserved at the college.

[5] After 'Design' Oakeley draws a cross and adds at the foot of the page a note '+C' in reference to a drawing designated by that letter. Above the word 'pulled' he writes an alternative 'filled': Pugin's writing has not allowed him to be sure of the reading.

[6] In Sheridan's play *The Critic* (1781), in *The Dramatic Works of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, ed. Cecil Price (Oxford, 1973), Mr Puff, a playwright, watching a rehearsal, discovers the changes that actors have made to his text: 'What the plague!—*three* morning guns!—there never is but one!—aye, this is always the way at the Theatre—give these fellows a good thing, and they never know when to have done with it' (vol. 2, p. 529).

[7] David Loggan, *Oxonia illustrata*, published in Oxford in 1675. The catalogue of the sale of Pugin's books in 1853 shows that he owned a copy, lot 375, of Loggan's *Oxonia et Cantabrigia depicta*, published in two volumes in Oxford and dated '1675–90'; in their '*original calf binding*', they contained '*views of the Colleges, Halls, Dresses, &c.*'

[8] St Paul uses the phrase 'wise in your own conceits' twice in his Epistle to the Romans, 11:25 and 12:16.

[9] The reading 'information for a Copy' may be a misreading of 'information from a Copy'.

To DANIEL ROCK[1] London, Sunday, 19 February 1843

Text: MS SAA T-R 179[2] *Address*: Rev^{d} D^{r} Rock / Buckland / near Farringdon. / Berkshire
Postmark: Chelsea; FE 20 1843 in Hounslow

✠ Sexagesima Sunday.

Rev^{d} & Dear D^{r} Rock

I herewith forward you a prospectus of my new work which will be another grand thrust at the beast.[3] in June (I expect—my glossary of Christian ornament (with *70 plates printed in Gold & colours*) will be published.[4]

I am working away as hard as possible. M^{rs}. Pugin Joins me in kindest respects & believe me ever dear D^{r}. Rock

in haste—your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin[5]

Bohn of york street brings out the Glossary.

[1] Pugin's first known letter to Rock was written on 3 April 1839 but Pugin received a letter from Rock at the time when *Contrasts* was published, as he tells E. J. Willson in his letter of 5 September 1836.

[2] The letter is written, like that to Fitzpatrick of 15 February, on a prospectus for the *Apology for the Revival.*

[3] By 'the beast' Pugin means both Protestantism and the neo-classical style.

[4] Pugin tells Bloxam that he is at work on his *Glossary* in his letter of 13 December 1842, although it was much earlier that he conceived the idea of it, but it was not until 1844 that Henry Bohn, with whom Pugin was already discussing another publication in April 1842, published it.

[5] Louisa Pugin warrants special mention because it was by Rock that she was received into the Catholic Church in 1839.

To LORD MIDLETON

London, Friday, 24 February 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/47 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Lond feast of S[t] Mathias[1]

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work at the Gatehouse oxenford as to entille him to a further payment of two hundred pounds.

✠ AWelby Pugin
Master of the work

£200. 0. 0

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of ten pounds being the comission on the above.

£10. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] A tear to the MS accounts for the shortening of 'London'.

To DANIEL ROCK

London, Friday, 24 February 1843

Text: MS SAA T-R 179 *Address*: Rev[d] D[r]. Rock. / Buckland / near Farringdon. / Berks. *Postmark*: Chelsea; FE 25 1843

✠ London feast of S[t] Mathias

Rev[d] & Dear D[r] Rock

I am quite pained & distressed at the most unjust accusation you have made against me in your Letter. so far from making use of the information I have derived in conversation with you without suitable acknowledgment I have at all times & in all places been Loud & Long in expressing myself most warmly respecting the

benefit I derived from your observations. not only have I done so in private conversation but in 67 Page of my true principles I have printed as follows.[1]

"I once stood on the very edge of a precipice in this respect from which I was "rescued by *the advice & arguments of my respected & revered friend D^r^ Rock to* "*whose Learned researches & observations on Christi antiquity I* ***am highly*** *indebted* "*& to whom I feel it a bounded du to make this public ackowledgment* ***of the great*** "***benefit*** *I have* ***derived from his advice.***[2] now after this explicit declaration in a book whose sale has already exeeded 1200 copies I do not think I am in any way wanting in suitable acknowledgments especially as I have not copied or borrowed from any publication which you have put forth but simply brought out into practical results the hints & observations of conversation. certainly there is no greater similarity between the articles in the Dublin review & your remarks than what would naturaly exist in a treatise on such a subject & I can truly say that I expended great Labour & research from sources that cost me a very considerable sum to obtain—& as for my name being attached to the review I was not *aware of it till I actually saw it* & it was done by Dolman on his own idea & responsibility.[3] I am sure on reflection you must perceive that this acusation is without fondation & I am the Last man on whom it should be made for I am scrupulous in acknowledging benefits received & I care but Little for individual distinction if the cause itself is advanced. in great haste

believe me with respect Dear D^r^ Rock
yours most sincelely
AWelby Pugin

I will procure a rubbing of the scroll work of the brass.

[1] Pugin draws Rock's attention to this acknowledgement already in his letter of 15 July 1841.
[2] The seal tears away part of '*Christian*' and '*duty*'.
[3] In the first fortnight of February 1843 Charles Dolman, the publisher who issued some of Pugin's earlier works, brought out his two articles on the 'Present state' from the *Dublin Review* of May 1841 and February 1842 as a single volume: see *Belcher 1987*, A28.3. Pugin's name appears on the title-page, whereas in the periodical the articles are anonymous. Pugin tells Lord Shrewsbury that he is working very hard at the first of these articles in his letter of 24 December 1840.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH — London, Tuesday, 28 February 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Shrove Tuesday 1843.

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S^t^ Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

£500. 0. 0

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the comission on the above.

✠ AWelby Pugin

£25. 0. 0

To JOHN WEALE[1] London, Monday, 6 March 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.190 *Address*: M^r. J. Weale / Bookseller / 59. high Holborn / London
Postmark: Chelsea; MR 6 1843

Dear Sir

I received a Letter this morning to say that the proof sheet had been sent up to you.

there are too corrections I wish to make.

1^st. at Page 8 2^d Line for *Uniform* print Cruciform.[2]

2^d. I had altered the words (Vitruvius would spew) &^c but it is judge better that they remain as they were.[3] pray Let me have the sheets as fast as possible—I do not think you want to get the book out quick but really it should appear as speedily as possible. I shall be able to give you all the plates ready for Printing next week.[4]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin was in frequent correspondence with the publisher Weale about the production of *True Principles* from 29 January 1841 onwards; here he begins discussions with him about the preparation of the *Apology for the Revival*.

[2] Apropos of the church of St Eustache in Paris, Pugin remarks in the *Apology for the Revival* that 'It is perfectly Christian in its plan and arrangement, being cruciform,' (p. 8, lines 8–9); the word 'uniform' does not appear on p. 8, so the correction seems to have been made.

[3] The sentence, on p. 5 of the published volume, reads: 'Vitruvius would spew if he beheld the works of those who glory in calling him master.' Vitruvius Pollio, a Roman architect and engineer of the first century BC and author of a treatise *De Architectura*, that is, *On Architecture*, which is, in the words of *The Oxford Companion to Art* (1970), 'the only technical handbook of its kind to have survived from antiquity' (p. 1197). Pugin owned two copies in translation, one in German printed in 1575, the other in French of 1673, both sold at the auction of his library in 1853.

[4] The *Apology for the Revival* includes ten plates; Pugin's drawings for them are bound in the MMA volume which contains his letters to Weale.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM London, Tuesday, 7 March 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/97 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Chelsea; MR 7 1843 in Hounslow; MR 8 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. feast of S[t] Thomas Aqui

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I recd a Letter from M[r]. Ward by the same post as yours—& I need hardly tell you that the intelligence was as unexpected as gratifing—I quite agree with you that it is not a case where I ought to stand on conditions but make the best of it as it may be a great means by the blessing of God of reviving the real spirit of antient collegiate architecture.[1] I shall enter on this work with all possible energy—for working on an old foundation is most inspiring—& above all in such a Locality as oxford. I shall probably have to come down for a day to examine the present buildi & get necessary instructions when of course I shall have the pleasure of seeing you.[2] I think You will give me some credit for my *silence* when Last at oxford about the comunication I had from Ward but I can assure you I did not venture to entertain a hope that it would be attended With any result—as regarded myself.[3]

ever with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I wrote to M[r]. Faber but have not heard from him.[4]

[1] Apparently, Ward's letter brought Pugin the formal intimation of the agreement reached by the Governing Body of Balliol College at a meeting on 6 March 1843 that he 'be requested to furnish a design for a new facade towards the Broad Street' (p. 63), according to the transcript of college papers included by John Jones in 'The civil war of 1843', *Balliol College Annual Record* (1978): pp. 60–8. The decision was a compromise: after the rejection of the plans drawn by Basevi, an architect favoured by the conservative and Protestant Richard Jenkyns (1782–1854) who had been Master since 1819, the Fellows, led by the Tractarians Ward and Oakeley, succeeded in their attempt to nominate Pugin but had at the same time to yield to Jenkyns's wishes, for the meeting further resolved that, 'under the peculiar circumstances of the case, even if Mr. P.'s plan should eventually be approved and be thought worthy of being carried into effect, he himself be not employed in the execution of the work'. Jenkyns, opposed at all times to Tractarianism and to Catholicism, could no doubt remember Pugin's pamphlet against the Martyrs' Memorial which was built outside the college walls.

In a bid to disarm Jenkyns's antipathy, Oakeley offers to obtain for him the opinion of Lord Shrewsbury on Pugin's 'practical abilities and skill', in a letter written from Margaret Street, London, on 27 February 1843, preserved in a photocopy in Balliol College Archives, Formal Archives D. 21. 50[b]. 'I never', he continues, 'heard any doubt expressed upon this point; but, as you say, it does not necessarily follow that his practical powers are equal to his genius and theoretical knowledge. Of his great attention to his work there seems no doubt: he gives himself, I understand, wholly to what he is about; and often surprises the workmen by a sudden appearance among them when they are supposing he is 100 miles off.'

Pugin drew up his proposal, for a new chapel, Master's lodging, and kitchen, besides the south front, with astonishing speed but even before it could be submitted Jenkyns called a special meeting on 13 March in order to announce that as Master he could 'neither sanction the employment of Mr. Pugin as an Architect, nor consent to an agreement for carrying into effect by him, or any other Party, any plan which he may furnish for repairing or rebuilding that part of the College in which the house, of right belonging to me as Master, is situate' (p. 63). On 1 April the Fellows met again and assented to the unconstitutional measure Jenkyns then proposed of removing from the college records the pages on which the

minutes of these recent meetings had been written. On 4 April it was decided that Pugin's plans should be set aside, and nothing more than essential repairs be made to the existing buildings. In 1866 Pugin's drawings were lent to Alfred Waterhouse (1830–1905) when he, a Quaker, was commissioned to rebuild the Broad Street façade.

The drawings Pugin made for the college are preserved there; some of them are reproduced by John Bryson in 'The Balliol that might have been', *Country Life*, 133 (27 June 1963): 1558–61, and by Howard Colvin in *Unbuilt Oxford* (New Haven, 1983). Both Bryson and Colvin reproduce some of the smaller drawings which Pugin made of the scheme and which he had specially bound in a booklet covered in crimson velvet with metal mounts and corners as a gift for Ward. MWDB records the making of 'A Set of Gilt & Enamelled Book Ornaments' costing £3. 8*s.* on 5 April 1843, and the Metal ledger in the same deposit records that Pugin was charged £3. 8*s.* on the same day for the 'Book ornaments' for this exquisite volume, in which the descriptive text preceding the drawings is signed 'A W Pugin', with the initials in monogram, and dated 'april 7. 1843'; its coloured title-page is reproduced in Colvin's book. Pugin's elevation of his new chapel is illustrated in John Jones, *Balliol College* (Oxford, 1988), p. [196]. L. B. Litvack in 'The Balliol that might have been: Pugin's crushing Oxford defeat', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 45, no. 4 (December 1986): 358–73, also discusses this unhappy affair.

[2] The breaking of the seal has torn the paper and removed final letters from 'building' or 'buildings'.

[3] Pugin was last in Oxford from Wednesday 22 February to Friday 24 February. Ward, it seems, must have disclosed his intentions to Pugin before Basevi's plans were rejected.

[4] Frederick William Faber (1814–63), who had been an undergraduate at Balliol College, was elected a Fellow of University College, Oxford, in 1837. Pugin was to encounter him several times in subsequent years, especially after he became a Catholic in 1845, but no correspondence with him is known to survive. Faber replied to Pugin on this occasion not later than 10 March 1843.

To LORD SHREWSBURY[1] London, Wednesday, 8 March 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [9] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Wednesday. Ember week

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I purpose D. V running down to alton for a few days by the end of next week.[2] I am very anxious about Cheadle now the works are progressing so rapidly.[3] there are several things wanted & I will make the requisite drawings on the spot—I hope we shall soon make a great shew there. I have every reason to belive a *great work* at oxford is going to be intrusted in my hands—I shall know all about it before I come—but—I know your Lordship takes such Lively interest in all that concerns the revival that I am anxious to comicate the Earliest tidings of good news.[4] This is the season for activity. I expect to have all the *stained Glass in* at Nottingham before Autum.[5] we have all the plain Glazing ready for S^{t} Georges & the chancel window will now proceed rappidly.[6] Wailes will soon begin to draw on me for that—& we shall need the other instalment for Nottingham for all the glazed tiles will be delivered this month—& the oak screens &^{c} are all in hand.[7] I have got
h at Northampton.[8] I am
ingly incessantly at finish
Let me know if I can do anything for y

with great respect belive me my d
your devoted & faithful

to want

[1] The earliest letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury known to survive was written on 22 June 1840.
[2] Other correspondence proves that Pugin was certainly at Alton Towers on Saturday 18 March 1843.
[3] The church of St Giles at Cheadle near Alton Towers, which was being built to Pugin's design with Lord Shrewsbury's money.
[4] An unspecific allusion to the commission for rebuilding Balliol College which Pugin did not in the event receive.
[5] The glass for the church of St Barnabas at Nottingham, to the cost of which Lord Shrewsbury was a generous contributor, was made by William Wailes of Newcastle.
[6] The east window of St George's, Southwark, a Jesse window, was another of Lord Shrewsbury's gifts.
[7] From this point on, the MS is seriously torn and only snatches of what Pugin wrote remain.
[8] This may be a reference to the collegiate chapel of St Felix at Northampton, of which the corner-stone was laid in July 1843 and which was opened in June 1844.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1]

London, Wednesday, 8 March 1843?

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea Feast of S[t] Felix

Dear Sir

I can assure you it is not my fault if we do not see each other oftener. I have been 5 times at S[t] Georges within the Last 10 days—& if you would give me a call when I am in London I need not say how delighed I should be to see you. as soon as the plastering is done I shall get in the stained windows & I think you will see something really good in that way. all I shall Long for is to see the screens & fittings at S[t] Georges—corresponding with the solemnity & style of the building. the sedelia in the chancel should really be fixed before the plastering is finished—& they should have rich canopies in the true style with emblems of the the priest deacon & subdeacon who sit in them—the Sacraria ought also to be fixed in the side walls of the chapels before the plastering for these are not expensive things but when the wall is cut to fix them afterwards there is always a mess. [*Sketch: sedilia*]

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The present whereabouts of the MS and the subject-matter of the letter point to Michael Forristall as the most likely recipient. Forristall was secretary to the committee overseeing the building of St George's, Southwark; Pugin's first letter to him is probably to be dated 24 July 1841.

To JOHN DALTON[1] London, Thursday, 9 March 1843

Text: MS Penn VF Lit *Address*: Rev J. Dalton / Catholic chapel / London Road / Lynn / norfolk. *Postmark*: Chelsea; 10 MR 10 1843 in London; Lynn

✠ Thursday in Ember week

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Dalton

it is quite necessary that I should be furnished with a plan of your ground—with the points of the compass marked before I can prepare the sketches.[2] if you will send me this I will forward you the design to take about. Let me know also if materials are reasonable at Lynn—I fear there is no stone—within some distance but fortunately the is water carriage to the spot.

I have not yet seen your article in the orthodox for I have been working as if for Life at the plates of the new work of which I send you a prospectus.[3] I have no doubt that you have done ample justice to the cause—but such ignorant brutes as (observer) are really below controversy. he is one of a race that is going down fast—& will become *extinct* in a few years. the form of the Eagle is very good but Iron is too mean a material—Lectorims should be of *brass*. it is too cheap to be good. I hate *cast iron* in any shape.

ever with respect
in great haste dear M[r]. Dalton
your devoted sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] John Dalton (1814 or 1815–74) was educated at Oscott, which may have been where Pugin met him. After he was ordained in 1840, Dalton was priest of the Catholic chapel at King's Lynn before Pugin's church was built there; later he became one of the first canons of Northampton.

[2] The 'sketches' are for the new church proposed for King's Lynn. Something of Pugin's design for St Mary's can be seen in the printed views accompanying Dalton's appeals for funds in 'New Catholic church, Lynn, Norfolk', *Orthodox Journal*, 17 (19 August 1843): [109]–11, and 'Interior of the intended new Catholic church, Lynn, Norfolk', *Orthodox Journal*, 17 (28 October 1843): [269]–70; the estimated cost of the building is £1,000. Construction began in the spring of 1844, presumably at the time of Pugin's visit on 23 April and 24 April. After Pugin returned on 3 October and 4 October 1844, Dalton reports to Hardman in a letter written on 25 October and held in ML 1844 that 'Pugin & Myers were here not long ago; they both consider it a "capital job" '. Drawings, signed and dated 1844, for the font, tiles, and sedilia for the church are preserved in the MFT collection. Pugin was in King's Lynn again on 8 April and 9 April 1845 just as the church was being readied for its opening in May. His diary for that year contains notes, on the back end-paper [f], of his estimate that glass for Lynn will cost a 'full 50' and of a payment to Wailes on 6 March of £25 on account. St Mary's was built, however, according to *T-L*, 'on sand' (p. 339), and the 'foundations gave way' in consequence; in 1896 it was replaced by a new structure in which 'some of Pugin's work' was 'incorporated'.

[3] Dalton's signed letter to the editor, 'Rood-lofts and images', appears in the *Orthodox Journal*, 16 (4 March 1843): 140–2, and forms part of a small controversy about the necessity of these features in new churches, which had been running since the beginning of the year. Dalton's reasons for drawing Pugin's attention to his contribution quickly become clear: after dismissing the points made by 'An Observer' in 'On rood-lofts and images', *Orthodox Journal*, 16 (25 February 1843): 119–21, he lists many recent churches which have a rood-loft, identifies Pugin as their architect, and quotes at length on the subject of screens from Pugin's second article in the *Dublin Review*; he also expresses his hope that the new church at King's Lynn will have a rood-loft. The view of the interior of the church printed in the *Orthodox Journal*, 17 (28

October 1843): [269], shows that it was certainly intended. Other 'ignorant brutes' who participated in this spat were 'A Spectator' in the issue for 14 January 1843, pp. 18–19, 'A Manchester Catholic' in that for 4 February 1843, pp. 74-[5], and 'G. R. H.' in that for 11 February 1843, p. 92. In their midst, 'Norfolkiensis' in the issue for 21 January 1843, pp. 42–3, is revealed in this signed letter of March to have been Dalton himself, as the *nom de plume* already half-discloses; after this letter to the editor of 4 March the controversy lapsed.

The 'new work' with which Pugin has been so busy is the *Apology for the Revival*, which Dalton reviewed, under the heading 'England favourable to the revival of architecture', in the *Orthodox Journal*, 18 (23 March 1844): [177]–9.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Friday, 10 March 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/96 *Address*: Rev^{d} J. Bloxam. / S^{t} Mary Magdalene College / Oxford *Postmark*: Chelsea; MR 10 1843 in Hounslow; MR 10 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Friday in Ember week

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I am to come down on *Tuesday* next by the Early train—so that I expect to reach oxford by 12.[1] I hope I shall have a chance of seeing M^{r}. Faber. I have received a truly kind Letter from him.

with respect
believe me ever
yours most devotedly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] '*Tuesday* next' was 14 March, the day after Jenkyns asserted his authority to preclude the appointment of Pugin at Balliol College.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route and Alton Towers, between Wednesday, 15 and Saturday, 18 March 1843?

Text: MS MCO 528/110 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ commenced on the Birmingham & Derby railway—terminated at Alton.[1]

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I have determined to send you a case with Several antient church ornaments—of great interest—which will form most interesting matter for the work you shewed me. amongst the crosses is one that belonged to *Fountains abbey*!! & I have marked it with a Label—as these things are only intrusted to me I need not say how distressed I should be if any were Lost by accident in carriage &^{c}. could you not have them drawn in your room? or if you are obliged to send them by one at a time for

they are indeed precious remains—& most interesting. I should think it would be well worth while for the indivual who publishes the work to come to you & see them. however I Leave all this to your good judgment knowing that these things cannot be in better hands. I have also determined on sending jewitt 2 chalices & some New (old) Candlesticks which I think you will Like much & one just the sort of thing wanted—you can bear this in mind.[2]

I cant tell you how delighted I am with Faber.[3] I never saw a man more deeply imbued with the spirit of the ages of Faith—he walked with J. Hardman & myself & We may say without prophanity did not our hearts burn within us—at his wonderful description of Catholic devotions.[4] I was obliged to Leave off this Letter in the Railway on account of a Lady suddenly comencing a furious attack on me as a catholic which she had found out from something John Hardman said on parting—& As she could not contain herself Longer she comenced a furious attack by (I suppose sir you are a catholic & I am very sorry for you).[5] a few years ago I should have fired up but I was as mild as possible & after Learning she was a disciple of *John Westley* I shewed her that his movement failing for want of authority was nevertheless intended for a Catholic one.[6] I explain then the principles of the Sacraments Authority of the church &c & before I arrived in Derby the poor woman was in tears asked forgiveness for her want of charity and promised scincerely to enter on the study of Catholic Doctrine. this only shews what wonderful results might be accomplised if truth were properly set before these people for I never saw so great a change in the mind of a person in a short time. She had been told the most absurd stories & actually believed that the *crypt under S^t Chads* was to confine *Nuns*!!![7] but to Resume (M^r. Faber is certainly a great man & quite imbued with the right feelings. I hope & trust he will go on writing for his works must effect imense Good. I have beged of him to go to M^r. Phillipps on his return for Phillipps would be overjoyed to see him.)[8] with this I inclose a small drawing of the initial Letter which I must beg of you to forward to Jewitt for I cannot remember the name of the village where he resides.[9] you will soon receive the box with the church ornaments. I am going home to work as hard as possible for Balliol.[10] the Pastoral I will send by post from Birmingham. believe me ever with respect

yours most devotedly
✠ AWelby Pugin

The chalices I am going to send to Jewitt will be quite the true thing—so you can mention them to the initiated.

I think there will be enough old church ornaments to make 2 numbers of the work you shewed me.

please to send the Initial Letter to Jewitt as early as possible.

[1] The Birmingham and Derby Junction railway opened in August 1839.

[2] Pugin may mean the engraver Orlando Jewitt or his brother Theodore, who was an agent in Oxford for articles made to Pugin's design. Many of the articles are small, such as medals and book ornaments; the entry to Theodore Jewitt in MWDB at 18 October 1843, for instance, comprehends:

A Large Twist Candlestick	820	1	11	6
A " Battlement "	821	1	1	-
A Plain Candlestick	850	-	8	-
A Candlestick with Engraved Knop	844	1	1	-
A Large Gilt Chalice & paten		5	5	-
A Crucifix		-	4	-.

[3] According to 'University & clerical intelligence', *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette* (25 March 1843): p. [4], Pugin 'left Oxford for Oscott in company with the Rev. F. Faber, Fellow of University College'. Pugin resented this public notice of his private actions, as his letter to Bloxam of 30 March 1843 discloses.

[4] Pugin cites the Gospel of St Luke 24:32, reporting reaction to the appearance of Christ after the Resurrection: 'Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?' Up to this point, the letter is written in pencil; Pugin resumes in ink and adds his date at the head as he does so, it appears, for it too is in ink.

[5] Perhaps this episode is the origin of the anecdote recounted in *Ferrey*, p. 262.

[6] John Wesley (1703–91), the founder of Methodism.

[7] St Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham, built to Pugin's design, was opened in June 1841.

[8] Pugin's friend, Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, of Grace Dieu in Leicestershire. Laura Phillipps's diary provides evidence that Faber visited Mount St Bernard's in Phillipps's company about 22 March.

[9] The initial letter is an illuminated M, introducing the phrase 'My very good Lord' and forming the principal feature of the dedication to Lord Shrewsbury in the *Apology for the Revival*, p. [v]; the page is reproduced as an illustration in *Belcher 1987*, p. 68. The monogram of Orlando Jewitt is printed below the illumination. Jewitt lived at Headington, just outside Oxford.

[10] Clearly Pugin was not informed of the opposition to him when he visited Oxford.

To JOHN WEALE — Alton Towers, Saturday, 18 March 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.191[1] *Address*: M^r. J. Weale / Bookseller / 59 high Holborn / London
Postmark: MR 19 1843 in Cheadle; 20 MR 20 1843

✠ Alton Saturday evening

Dear Sir

1^st. I return you the proof of the dedication with corrections.[2] I have seen Jewitt & arranged with him about it—being printed in Red blue & Gold.

2. I think it indispensable that the plates of Brasses should be coloured—Like *Cotmans brasses* so have them printed on hand paper—I have coloured 2 proofs roughly to guide you which I inclose—Mine are too yellow but the proper colour is given in Cotman.[3]

3 you will have the proof sheets corrected by Tuesday Post. I hope you will be able now to get on fast—for everybody—at oxford is anxious for it—& it may help matters on.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.

[2] The dedicatory plate of the *Apology for the Revival*, printed in red and black in the standard edition but more richly treated in the copy being specially prepared for presentation to Lord Shrewsbury.

[3] Plates V and VI of the *Apology for the Revival* show 'Revived Sepulchral Brasses'. John Sell Cotman (1782–1842) was an architectural draughtsman, etcher, and landscape painter from Norwich. In 1838 and 1839 Bohn had put out in two volumes a second edition of his *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses* from Norfolk and Suffolk, first published more than twenty years earlier. The catalogue of Pugin's books auctioned in 1853 lists as lot 181 a copy of Cotman's 'Engravings of the Brasses remaining in Churches in Co. of Norfolk', containing one hundred plates.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Sunday, 19 March 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/109 *Address*: Rev^{d} J. Bloxam / S^{t} Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: MR 20 1843 in Cheadle; MR 21 1843 in Oxford

✠ Alton Towers—3^{d}. Sunday in Lent

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I have spoken to Lord Shrewsbury to day respecting the casts of the Fitzherbert tombs & he has desired me to have a set Packed up in cases & forwarded imediatly & he told me at the same time to say that he most willing to promote the interest of the Society by every means in his power.[1]

These casts are indeed fine & will be valuable additions to the collection—they will be directed for the Architectural society oxford Care of the
Rev^{d} J. Bloxam
Magdalen College.
when you are advised of their arrival you will see them properly presented to the society in the Earls name. they should be fixed on high tombs of wood. of course they are in several pieces but will join exactly. I think there are altogeher 4 Large effigies & about 20 small images of weepers. you see I do my best & will work hard for you. you will shortly be obled to have better rooms.[2]

with great respect believe me ever
yours most devotedly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture was founded in 1839, with Bloxam as an original member; he was a member of the committee again in 1843. Casts of tombs having been made for the refurbishment of the octagon hall at Alton Towers, as Pugin reports to Lord Shrewsbury in the letter that may have been written on 31 March 1841, copies are now being presented to the society by the earl. A copy, almost without doubt in Bloxam's hand, of the letter Lord Shrewsbury wrote from Alton Towers on 21 March 1843 to a member of the committee offering his gift of two 'casts of monumental effigies . . . of the Fitzherbert Family, . . . taken from the originals in Norbury church' is fol. 139 of MS Bodley Dep. c. 589. The receipt of 'Casts of two fine Monumental Effigies of the Fitzherbert family in Norbury Church', p. [3], at its meeting on 10 May 1843 is recorded in the *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture: for Easter and Trinity Terms. 1843.*

[2] Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of 2 March 1841 that 'the first thing' the society should do is 'procure a better room'.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM London, Saturday, 25 March 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/108 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Chelsea; MR 27 1843; MR 28 1843 in Oxford

✠ London feast of the annunciation of the Blessed virgin

some time ago you read me some memoranda you had collected relative to the use of Wafer bread for the holy comnion in the anglican church. you would oblige me greatly if you could send me up some acount of this as I should Like to print it in my account of altar breads.[1]

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have returned to town & am working away at the Balliol drawings. M[r]. Ward promised to procure for me the Masters arms & motto which I wish to introduce.[2] pray ask him for them. I am delighted to hear of the Satisfactory maner in which L. S. present to the A. S. has been received.[3] he will no doubt add to it ere Long some other examples. with the box I have directed J. Hardman to send you a compleat set of Rubbings of all the brasses we have revived to be presented to the society—I hope these brasses will be generally revived.[4] they can be made of any dimensions and at almost any cost—& are truly catholic memorials of the dead without interfering with the architecture of the fabrick. I have just got several proofs of my Glossary. the gold printing exceeds my expecta & I hope it will be a Glorious volume.[5] it will be out sooner than I expected.[6]

believe me ever with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have not forgot the pastoral. I believe M[r]. Moore or J. Hardman will forward you one this week.[7]

Pray get me an oxford Paper if I am atacked.

[1] Pugin is writing the entry for 'Altar Bread' in the *Glossary*, which contains the sentence 'The use of wafer bread for the communion was kept up in the Anglican church till the great Rebellion' (p. 28), but there is no acknowledgement of help from Bloxam and it is not possible to determine what, if any, information in the account may have come from him.

[2] The formal description of the arms of Richard Jenkyns is azure, on a saltire engrailed sable, four crosses patée fitchée points inwards. His motto was 'vive ut vivas', the Latin translating as 'live so that you may live'.

[3] The casts about which Pugin writes to Bloxam on 19 March 1843.

[4] Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of 3 November 1842 that Hardman will send rubbings of brasses he has made.

[5] The opening of the seal has torn away part of 'expectations'.

[6] It was to be out much later than Pugin hoped: the *Glossary* was not published until May 1844.

[7] John Moore, priest at St Chad's.

To LORD SHREWSBURY about Monday, 27 March 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [36][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I hope by Friday to send off a proof sheet of the ‡ *Miserere* (Memorare) with the estimate of printing &c.[2] I am working early & Late at the Balliol drawings which are a a great job & will require incessant exertion to get them done—will your Lordsip be good enough to send me up an order for Nottingham or write to the London J. Stock to transfer that amount.[3] if you could also send me something on account of S[t] Georges Stained Glass it would be of good service—I have sent Wailes £50 & he writes for more. I do not believe he has a shilling to pay wages from week to week. perhaps this is so much the better. I can keep him to it.

with great respect
believe me ever my dear Lord Shrewsbury[4]

The Seal is progressing fast.[5]
‡ when We have brutes of Printers to Deal with, this is a very good name.

[1] Another hand draws an 'X' before 'I hope' and a line from it round to 'get them done'.
[2] The memorare, named from the Latin word 'remember', is an intercessory prayer to the Virgin Mary; Pugin's joke converts it to Miserere, a cry for mercy, derived from the opening of one of the Penitential psalms, Psalm 50 in the Vulgate, 51 in the Anglican psalter, beginning 'Miserere mei, Deus', 'Have mercy upon me, O God'.
[3] The London Joint Stock bank, where Pugin kept his account.
[4] Pugin's signature has been cut from the MS.
[5] Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 5 June 1843 shows that progress in making a seal for the earl was not in fact swift.

To JOHN WEALE London, Monday, 27 March 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.192[1] *Address*: M[r]. J. Weale. / 59. high Holborn / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; MR 27 1843

✠. London. Monday.

Dear Sir

8 of the 10 plates are now at Mcqueens the printers to have my proofs taken—surely you can go on printing, the other 2 will be there on Tuesday.[2]

I have recd a fourth Sheet of the text which I have sent off but I have not seen the 2[d] & 3 since they have been corrected. why cannot the printer Let me have the remaining sheets at once & they would be all corrected in 3 days.[3]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

had not you better write again to Jewitt about the initial Letter.[4]

[1] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.
[2] William Benjamin Mcqueen was a copper- and steel-plate printer in Tottenham Court Road, London, employed for the ten plates of the *Apology for the Revival*.
[3] The text of the *Apology for the Revival* was printed by Hughes, who also printed *True Principles* in 1841.
[4] Pugin first mentions the initial letter when writing to Bloxam, probably between 15 March and 18 March.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Monday, 27 March 1843?

Text: MS MMA 37.88.199[1] *Address*: M^r^. J. Weale / 59. high holborn / London *Postmark*: Piccadilly; 27 1843

Dear Sir
Let me have a corrected sheet as soon as possible as I have to send it to be overlooked by an oxford friend after I have done.[2]

yours truly ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.
[2] The 'oxford friend' is most likely to be Bloxam, but Pugin may possibly have made a mistake for in his letter to Weale of 1 April 1843 it is to Oscott that he is sending proofs.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Wednesday, 29 March 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.193[1] *Address*: M^r^. J. Weale / 59. high Holborn / London *Postmark*: MR 29 1843

have you heard from Jewitt.[2]
Dear Sir
The 2 remaining plates are finished & ready for Printing so all my part is quite done. they are at M^c^Queens. I think your Printer is trifling altogether. I must Leave town again in a few days—& I have now an opportunity of correcting the sheets. it is quite rediculous to have one every 2 weeks—pray go to him & get it done with. my article in the Dublin of 8 or 10 sheets was all sent & corected in about a week—& only see the time this has been about. I do hope you will see to this at once & then get the plates printed & the book out. do Let me have a line from you. I am working so hard I cannot come out—but do go to the Printer. on another time I really must stipulate to have the text printed by the same person who does the Dublin Review & who works quick—if I do not get the sheets this week I shall have to go to Ireland & then what is to be done.[3]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.
[2] Pugin is again asking anxiously about the initial letter for the dedication of the *Apology for the Revival.*
[3] The *Dublin Review* was printed by Charles Richards of St Martin's Lane, London. There is no evidence in his correspondence that Pugin was in Ireland before mid-June 1843.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Thursday, 30 March 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/95 *Address*: Revd J Bloxam / S Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: Holborn[?]; 30 MR 30 1843; MR 31 1843 in Oxford

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just got the inclosed from the printers. it is the title of the new book which if *Jewitt* sends the initial Letter will *be out next week.*[1] you are most deserving of the 1[st] fruits so I send them. I see my journey to Birmingham with M[r]. Faber is actualy in the oxford paper. it is most disgusting—& a compleat system of espionage that is carry on by the protestant party.[2]

with great respect
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The 'new book' is the *Apology for the Revival.*
[2] The *Oxford Chronicle* was known for its anti-Tractarian stance; it notices Pugin's company on the journey he reports to Bloxam in the letter probably written between 15 March and 18 March 1843.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Thursday, 30 March 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.194 *Address*: M[r]. J. Weale. / 59. high Holborn / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; MR 30 1843

Dear Sir

I have made 2 or 3 trifling corrections & the sheets may go to press *at once.*

your Letter gives me hope again. it is of great importance to get it out. I hope to see you tomorow & will give you the cost of the plates.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Saturday, 1 April 1843[1]

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/9[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London

y Dear Lord Shrewsbury[3]

I have had the memorare altered—& 500 will be Sent down next week—on Monday or Tuesday at Latest. I have measured it & find that it was exactly the size I set down when at alton but the printer had extended the text to the dimensions. what does your Lordsip mean by the Monks selling *nothing* but the *Memorare.*[4] surely they will not be there in any capacity. those who bring them there will have to answer for all the poor mens souls. it is frightful to contemplate. I have 9 drawings yet to do for Balliol & only till tomorow night.

with great respect my dear Lord Shrewsbury
in haste your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The date is supplied by Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 13 April.
[2] Transcripts of all the MSS of letters to Lord Shrewsbury held in the library of the V & A are printed in *Wedgwood 1985*, pp. 101–15.
[3] The MS is torn at the top.
[4] *Ferrey*, p. 121, prints the letter sent to Pugin with the alarming news that the monks of Mount St Bernard's were to man the stalls at the bazaar to be held to raise funds for the building of the monastery. An untitled paragraph in the *Orthodox Journal*, 16 (29 April 1843): 271, states that the 'bazaar at Manchester for the erection of a church at the monastery in Leicestershire realized £1,094'.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Saturday, 1 April 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.195 *Address*: M^r^. Weale. / 59 high Holborn / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; AP 1 1843

My Dear Sir

I have only received ***one*** new sheet & that this morning Saturday.—

I have sent that off to oscott & you will have it back on Monday but only see. I cannot send again till Monday night so it will be actualy *wednesday* before you can get the proof back. it is intolerable & makes me almost curse & swear. I will never be exposed to this again I am determined. to correct a *sheet a week.* what infernal Loss of time.

I have marked the references to the plates in pencil as I do not feel quite certain about them but I think I am right. just Look at them with the plates.

you will have the sheet back corrected from oscott on Monday morning.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I must go out of town early next week to the North & then how are proofs to be corrected?[1] what to do I know not. I have been regularly deceived by your printer & abominably treated—however he shall never print another book that I have anything to do with if I can help it.

[1] Pugin's letters show that he left for Birmingham on 8 April, spent Holy Week there, and returned to London by or on Thursday 20 April.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Monday, 3 April 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/100 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Chelsea; AP 4 1843; AP 5 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Monday in Passion week

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

The Reason Hardman did not send the Thurible is, that he is working one from it for you—the one made was sent to Lord Shrewsbury & he has to prepare another.[1] in case he cant get it quite compleated by the time you mention shall I *Send you another for the* time till yours is ready. thurible makers are rare birds at present & we have only one man who can make a good job of them. when I was at Birmingham I saw several parts of yours prepared—so that I hope it will be ready but if not only send me a Line & you shall have the Loan of a very good one.

you will be very glad to hear that the estimates for Balliol are coming out most satisfactorily & the whole work can be compleated at a comparatively moderate amount. you have no idea how I have worked at these drawings. I never exerted myself so before—for I quite delight in this opportunity of setting forth real collegiate architecture on the old principles. on Friday M[r]. Oakley comes to see the designs before they go down.[2] I shall sing a Te Deum even in this season when they are finished for it is a great work to design and estimate every detail of such a building & I have had so Little time not 2 clear weeks.[3] while I was arranging the Plan I got excited beyond my strength & could neither eat nor sleep but I am now better. I have got all the rooms perfectly *convenient* & the masters Lodgings will set you half mad for true christian Rooms. I shall expect to see you mullionising your *sashes.* of course you will see the drawings—observe especially the perspective views.

with great respect
I remain ever
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have arranged a chapel for them in the decorated style which will please you much. I have placed the organ on the *epistle side.*

[1] Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 24 September 1842 mentions two thuribles, one lent by Bloxam so that Pugin could use it as a pattern, the other a new one to be made for Bloxam by Hardman. ML 1843 contains a fragment in which below Bloxam's signature a postscript orders 'a copy in copper or the proper metal of my old English Thurible as soon as conveniently it can be made'. MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury 'A Gilt Thurible new pattern with boat & spoon' for a price of £9 at 30 June 1842; above this

entry Hardman pencils 'Cost 8–11–'. It is not, however, until 13 October 1843 that 'A Brass Thurible to drawing' is charged to Bloxam in MWDB at a cost of £4. 18*s*. Payment was even slower in coming: Bloxam's letter to Hardman from Magdalen College, dated 'March 26. 1844' in his careful, rather crabbed hand, and preserved in ML 1844, covers his draft for the balance of the price of £26. 4*s*. for his corona, which he had had since December 1842, and which he is now contemplating enamelling inside with the motto 'Dominus illuminatio mea' in red, and adds that 'The Thurible still remains to be settled for', but he 'preferred not mixing up that account with the present'. He orders a duplicate of the thurible at the same cost, and MWDB enters it to him at 19 April 1844. Bloxam's letter of 22 April 1844 acknowledges receipt of it and expresses his 'hope in a short time to send' Hardman 'a cheque for both'. In a letter of 3 October 1844, kept in ML, he declares himself 'quite ashamed to have allowed your account for the 2 thuribles remain so long unsettled'. A letter dated 29 September 1845, filed in ML, encloses Bloxam's cheque for his 'little bill' but it is not clear for what goods he makes payment.

[2] Oakeley was priest at Margaret Chapel, Margaret Street, London, from 1839 to 1845.

[3] The Te Deum Laudamus, 'We praise thee, O God', is a Latin hymn, common to the Roman and the English Churches; the season is Lent.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Monday, 3 April 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.200 *Address*: M^r^. J Weale / 59. high Holborn / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; AP 3 1843

Dear Sir

Let me have a corrected sheet as soon as possible.

Jewitt will not get the Letter done *till Tuesday*.[1] I really must do everything myself.

I have written a description of plate 10 to be printed at the end of the text.[2] plate 10 will face the Last Leaf.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The illuminated initial for the dedication of the *Apology for the Revival*.

[2] Plate X of the *Apology for the Revival*, which faces p. 51, displays 'Church Furniture revived at Birmingham'; p. [52], the last in the volume, is headed 'Description of the revived church ornaments figured in Plate X'.

To JOHN WEALE — London, Wednesday, 5 April 1843?

Text: MS MMA 37.88.196[1] *Address*: M^r^. J. Weale / 59 high Holborn / London[2] *Postmark*: Chelsea; AP 5 1843

Dear Sir

the punctuations marked by the printer are quite right. I will not send the Last sheet down to the country. I have corrected it sufficiently.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The address panel, which has two penny stamps affixed, is stamped 'More to Pay' and inscribed 'Above 1 oz'.

To JOHN WEALE London, Wednesday, 5 April 1843?

Text: MS MMA 37.88.197 *Address*: M^r^ J. Weale / 59. high Holborn *Postmark*: Chelsea; 1843

Dear Sir

I have thought of one word that wants correcting in the Last sheet. when speaking of the remains of Catholicism in the English church I say amongst other (The Catholic character of a great portion of the Liturgy with its calendar of *feasts* & festivals).* this should be *fasts* & festivals.[1] Just mention this. it is about 3 or 4 pages before the end.

in order to prevent mistake I have set down as follows

2 copies of mine to the Rev^d^ M^r^. Bloxam

1 D^o^ to John Hardman

The quire copy for Lord shrewsbury also to John Hardman | as it will be bound at Birmingham

3 to chelsea

total 6

be sure & have the initial to the dedication printed in red in all copies.[2]

will You send me by post as we arranged a Bill at 9 months for £120 & I will send you a receipt for Plates text & copyright of the work.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

* The words occur at P. 47 Line 18.

[1] Weale must have mentioned the matter, for in the published volume the text refers to 'the Catholic character of many portions of the liturgy, with its calendar of fasts and festivals' (p. 47, lines 21–2).

[2] To the right of Pugin's anxious injunction about the initial of the dedication another hand puts a large tick, as if to confirm that notice has been taken or perhaps the order already carried out.

To JOHN WEALE London, Thursday, 6 April 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.198[1] *Address*: M^r^. J. Weale / 59. high Holborn / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; AP 6 1843

Dear Sir

thinking they may be of interest to you I inclose you the orginal drawings of the Apoloy.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM London, Saturday, 8 April 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/92 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: 8 AP 8 1843; AP 9 1843 in Oxford

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

The drawings are all gone to Balliol & I am going to Birmingham where I shall be all the week.[1]

tomorow morning you will receive with your copy of my new work 2 *other* copies—one please to present in my name to the Rev M[r] Edwards the fellow of your college who I saw when I Last dined.[2] the other to the Revd *M[r]*. Newman.[3]

I will write in the train to day at Length.[4]

with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin goes to spend Holy Week in Birmingham.

[2] Since Pugin was definitely still concerned with correcting proofs on Tuesday 4 April if not on the following day, the speed with which the *Apology for the Revival* was made ready for publication is remarkable.

Andrew Edwards, who came up to Oxford in 1812 at the age of seventeen, was a Fellow of Magdalen College from 1823 until 1872, the year of his death. He became vice-president of the college in 1836 and dean of divinity in 1838.

[3] Perhaps at some time Pugin referred to J. H. Newman as 'Doctor' Newman and Bloxam had to correct him.

[4] Pugin's other letter to Bloxam of this date.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM En route, Saturday, 8 April 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/93[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London & Birmingham Railway. Saturday in Passion week

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I sent you a few hurried Lines this morning just to explain about the copies of my new work which you will receive tomorow from London. I think it is a book that will please M[r]. Edwards who appears to me quite a man of the right spirit—& who will enter fully into the consistent principles of xtian architecture. pray present it to him with my respect & excuse my not writing on Press of business. I dare say after Easter an opportunity will offer for your giving or sending the other copy to M[r]. Newman with my kindest respects. the engraving you sent me is very interesting indeed as well as the extracts. I wish they were publised, I am getting on with my text for the Glossary but it is most Laborious & I am worked almost beyond my strength. I never have felt so much overcome as while finishing the Balliol drawings. the subject was naturally so exciting. working for the first time on one of the old Buildings seemed

almost too delighful to bear & I could scarcely sleep while the design was in hand. whatever may be the present result it must be of imense service to place such a building designed quite in the old spirit before the members of the university. it must do good. I have gone into every detail. *convenience & necessity* dictated every feature. there is nothing *whatever artificial about it.* I have done so much that I almost fear it will be suspected I began before I received the order from the college but I can assure you that every drawing & argmt was made by my own hands between Last Tuesday & Week & this morning without any assistance whatever. of course I had plenty of help in estimating the expense & I have got the cost out most accurately. I had a most deligtful visit yesterday from the Revd M[r]. Oakeley Ward—not of Balliol & M[r]. Williams the member.[2] they were much pleased with all they saw. M[r]. Williams says that you will be *ill with pleasure* when you see the old collegiate buildings set forth in all their glory—& when we reflect what sums have been thrown away in vile errections one could almost curse & swear. I have discovered the reason of your stalls at Magdalen being so high & wiry[?]—& I can explain it to you when next I come. I have arranged the Balliol ones right. they are 2 grees below the altar step. I have carefully avoided everything in the designs that be taken as an occasion of offence & I am prepared with even Anglican authorities if required. I am now on my road to Birmingham where I shall remain the whole week & enjoy the solemnities in which I am sure you participate in Soul & spirit. belive me ever with great respect

your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

My direction will be at Hardmans as usual. you have not told me if I am to Send you a thurible for holy Saturday if yours is not finished.

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] W. G. Ward was still a Fellow of Balliol College but had been pressed by the Master to resign his tutorship there in 1841 after he publicly supported *Tract 90*. Possibly, however, Pugin means some other Ward.

Robert Williams was MP for Dorchester from 1835 until, according to *Foster*, 1841. It seems that he commissioned a brass from Pugin not long after this visit. In a letter of 8 March 1844 which is filed in ML, Williams informs Hardman that 'M[r]. Pugin tells me the brass is quite ready for fixing', and that he has received the rubbing sent. The brass commemorates Samuel Francis Wood, who collaborated with Williams in the project to translate the Roman breviary which Pugin mentions in his letter to Bloxam of 13 June 1841, and who died on 22 April 1843. A fragment in Pugin's hand in BCA, inscribed '1841–44 Box' and bearing the number 77 in the microfilm of this set of Pugin's letters in HLRO, gives the instruction that the brass is 'To be sent—by N Midland Railway—to Swinton station. Charles Wood Esq[r]. hickleton near Doncaster'. Charles Francis Wood (1800–85) was the older brother of Samuel, both of them sons of Sir Francis Lindley Wood (1771–1846), second baronet, of Hickleton, Yorkshire; C. F. Wood succeeded to the baronetcy in 1846, and was created Viscount Halifax in 1866. In his cumulative invoice made up to Lady day, 25 March 1844, and rendered to Hardman, Heath charges £29. 14*s*. 3*d*. for his work on the brass, which was executed on 30 January. MWDB enters to 'Williams Esq' at 3 February 1844 'A Monumental Brass for Wood Esq[r]' costing £39. 5*s*.; 'Letting into Marble slab' costs £13. 5*s*. and box and packing £1. 10*s*. The entry in the Metal sales ledger tallies exactly; the ledger credits Pugin with £3 for the design of the brass at 17 June 1844, and Williams's account is paid on 27 July 1844. There is no mention of this brass in the accounts of the church of St Wilfrid at Hickleton and of Hickleton Hall in the volume for *Yorkshire: The West Riding*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner (1959) and revised by Enid Radcliffe (1967), in the Buildings of England series.

The fragment in Pugin's hand carries the further sentences: 'ask for Pattern from D[r] R. size of Brass Plate for M[rs]. M[?]. Myers.' The proper name beginning with 'M' is illegible. It is not clear whether the 'Pattern' is related to the brass.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Birmingham, Thursday, 13 April 1843

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/10 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham. Maundy Thursday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I hope you have received the Memorare quite safe & correct. it now fills up both sides of the page—& Looks much better. I have found out at Last that the alarm about the *monks* at the bazaar was all a hoax—& rumour mentioneds some *Ladies* not far distant from the towers as the authors.[1] I must own it was capitally done—& put me into a perfect fever for some days. I only received the Letter Late in the day & sent a person all the way to the post office to save the post my Letters being already gone. I was just arranging Balliol College & it quite disorganized all my ideas—never giving the day of the *Month* a moments consideration. I shall be better prepared for the *next 1[o] of april.*

I have had some very satisfactory Letters from oxford since my drawings have arrived. they seem quite delighed with them. The functions at Birmingham are most solemn & edifing. how I wish your Lordsip would have seen the procession of the B. Sacrament to day. S[t] Chads Looked most Glorious. I was at Nottingham on Monday. it is progressing fast. we shall soon begin to fix the fittings.

with great respect
I remain my dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I purpose coming to Alton in a few days after your Lordsips return.

[1] It is in writing to Lord Shrewsbury on 1 April 1843 that Pugin expresses the 'alarm' which he here endeavours to disown.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Monday, 17 April 1843[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/22[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Grand Junction Railway[3] Easter Monday

I was much gratified by the inteligence
of your venerable president ordering my
glossary for the library.[5]

Surrexit sicut Dixit[4]
Alleluia

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

after the joyful salutation of the pascal time I must proceed at once to inform you a singlular proof of the Sad degeneracy of the times. During the Latter part of Holy week I received a *Card* of Pens on the top of which was written NEW CATHOLIC Pen beneath an elevation of *oscott college.* [*Sketch*: *card*][6] on one side a wretched cup meant for a chalice on the other a vile Mitre. I now sketch the device of the pens themselvs. at the top a mitre below the *Rood*!!! with our B Saviour S^t^ Mary & S^t^ John. below that a pastoral staff pierced to *hold the ink*!! [*Sketch*: *pen*] I was horrified at all this as you may supposed thinking it might have been put forth by some ingorant catholic but to my relief I have ascertained it is the production of a Protestant Manufacturer who has actually taken *out a patent* for the same. it has annoyed us at oscott very much—& I write off at once to inform you of the real state of the case fearing it might give great Scandal at oxford to men of devout minds. I will send you a pen by post when I return which I hope may speedily become a *curiosity* in regard to rarity. I return home the day after tomorow & shall hope soon to have a few lines from you.

with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

The functions have been most solemn with *real interior* devotion. the communictants at S^t^ Chads are *trebled* since 1842. is not this Consoling. wonderful Sermon on Sunday from M^r^ Sibthorpe.[7]

[1] The year is confirmed by Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 20 April 1843.
[2] The letter is written in pencil.
[3] The Grand Junction railway opened in 1837 from Birmingham to Warrington via Crewe; over the next few years it absorbed other lines before in 1846 it joined with the London and Birmingham railway and the Manchester and Birmingham railway to form the London and North Western railway.
[4] The Gospel of St Matthew 28:6: in the Vulgate, 'Non est hic; surrexit enim sicut dixit. Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus'; in the Authorized Version, 'He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay'.
[5] M. J. Routh was President of Magdalen College, Oxford; he was in his late eighties.
[6] Pugin disposes his text so that the phrase 'NEW CATHOLIC Pen' forms part of this sketch.
[7] R. W. Sibthorp, formerly a Fellow of Magdalen College, joined the Catholic Church in October 1841.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Birmingham, Tuesday, 18 April 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [59] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham Tuesday.

My Dear Lord shrewsbury

I find a £1000 will be due to Myers on the 25^th^.[2] I shall be in London on Thursday.[3] will your Lordsip be therefore good enougth to desire the joint stock bank to credit

my order to that amount. I have a deal to say—respecting what I have seen in staffordshire about which I will write at Length tomorow or the day after.[4]

with great respect my dear Lord Shrewsbury
I remain your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I am truly grieved to hear that Bishop Walshs complaint has returned with some unfavourable symptoms.[5]

[1] The only certainty about the dating of this letter is that it cannot have been written later than 18 February 1849 when Thomas Walsh died. The days and places named do not appear to match any record of Pugin's travels in his diaries. It is suggested here that after Holy Week and Easter in Birmingham, he went to Brewood early on Monday 17 April, then journeyed to Liverpool, where evidence at Ushaw College suggests that he posted a letter, which cannot now be traced, to John Walker, priest at Scarborough, and so to Kirkham on Tuesday 18 April and finally back to Birmingham that night.

[2] Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury probably written on 20 April 1843 points to this being a payment for St Barnabas's, Nottingham.

[3] Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter written on the train on 17 April that he will return to London on Wednesday 19 April but his letter of 20 April to the same correspondent indicates that he changed his plans.

[4] The letter perhaps written on 20 April 1843 describes Pugin's visit to Brewood.

[5] Thomas Walsh was ill during 1842.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Thursday, 20 April 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/98 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: Chelsea; 21 AP 21 1843; AP 22 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Thursday in Easter week

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

many thanks for your kind Letter which I have just found on my arrival. I shall be deligted to prepare the small drawings in a book which you speak of but before I do so it will be necessary for me to spend a day with you & talk matters over as there are many points to be considered. Let me know when you will return to oxford and I will manage to come to you. I Leave town next wednesday so please to write before then. do you not think it would be better for me to get the steps you speak of made under my direction.[1] a drawing is quite useless in the hands of men unaccustomed to antient work & it will cost twice as much as if I had it done.

it should be made of oak very simple 4 or 5 steps & a half octagon Landing at top the whole running on castors. [*Sketch: steps and plan*] it is a very queer Looking thing in perspective but I could make a nice job of it in execution. the tops of steps should be covered with baize to prevent slipping.

with respect
I remain in haste
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I inclose a *Catholic*!! pen.[2]

[1] The steps appear to be a movable set such as would be used to reach books on a high shelf.
[2] A pen of the kind which Pugin describes to Bloxam in his letter of 17 April.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — En route and London, Thursday, 20 April 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [26][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I went on Monday about this proposed church at Brewood & a most interesting day I had—it is just in the old retired Catholic part of Staffordshire full of aborigins Catholics—The Land given for the church is beauifully situated among trees close to the village Dry & with sand at 2 feet plenty of stone close by rubble & free—there is nearly an acre.[2] the church can stand due East & West—with the south porch to the road & a church in such a situation for An old Catholic population is most interesting & delightful. I went to see the Cemetery at White Ladies where there are a sucession of Catholic inscriptions from the *12*th!! to the present century.[3] english inscriptions. pray for the Soul &^{c}. in the 16 17 & 18 centuries. no protestant has ever polluted the consecrated ground & this in England. delighful. we said the De Profundis in the midlle of the old ruined church.[4] how could Fitzherbert sell such a property?[5] what horrible degeneracy in Modern Catholics. Giffards will be awowedly prostestant & without this new church the whole catholic population would be Lost in time—for both the old missions are to be abolished.[6] this seems to me a Case of the greatest importance. it is one of in which the Loss of souls are involved. I mean to do every thing in my power for it—& I implore of your Lordsip not altogether to turn away from this matter—for it urgent beyond any I know. this is the only means for keeping up religion among your Lordsips own tennants in the Allbrighton Estate & if you would only build enough of an aile to hold these poor people it would be a right good service.[7] M^{r}. Richmond is a most holy man.[8] a real old parish Priest of venerable aspect & if you saw his grief & anxiety for the Catholic population over which he is pastor your Lordsip would feel as I do. I will serve him from my heart & for the Love of God & blessed S^{t} Chad—aid him in some way. the building will be the simplest Little church imaginable with 6 feet pillars & narrow Lights—but it must be a church—for the old Catholic population—at Allbrighton church I saw a most curious tomb of one of your Lordsips angestors a Talbot—who married a Giffard with the effigies in alabaster.[9] it is worth casting—the country is most beautiful—it is heartrending to think of these fine estates thus Lost to the church & cause—but if this Little church can be raised it will be the means of saving the remnant of the old faith that remains & of Laing the foundations for better things—a Cambridge man (one of the *Camden*) came to ***See*** *oscott* college on Saturday & remained to make his profession of Faith—Glorious. his name is

Simpson.[10] he is a man of independent fortune. I am going home to work early & Late. believe me my dear Lord Shrewsbury

with great respect ever your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have just returned home & found the order for Mottingham quite safe.[11] I will attend to the contract matter.[12] it has been drawn up many months ago.

[1] The letter is written in pencil except for the postscript where ink is used, which suggests that Pugin wrote it in the train as he travelled back to London and added the postscript once he reached home.

[2] The church of St Mary at Brewood was built during 1843 and 1844, and consecrated in June 1844. Matters seem to have moved swiftly after Pugin's visit, for in a letter of 27 April 1843, filed in ML, Myers tells Hardman that he is building the church; the MFT collection of drawings contains material relating to the commission. The cost of St Mary's, according to 'Brewood', *Tablet*, 5 (22 June 1844): 390, an account of the opening, was £1,345. In a note of expenses for 'Breewood' in his account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3, Pugin records the 'Contract' as '£890' and the 'Price' as '1030'; the 'font' is set down at £10, 'screen & images' at £40, and 'side screens' at £20; 'Extras' include a 'doorway in S. wall', 'Screen across—S aile', 'A stone pulpit', 'holy water stoup in porch', and 'a Poor box—in a pillar'. *Stanton 1971* includes illustrations of the exterior and the interior on p. [130] and describes the churches at Brewood and Warwick Bridge as 'the finest surviving examples of Pugin's English parish churches' (p. 131).

[3] 'White Ladies', in Shropshire, was St Leonard's Priory, a community of Augustinian canonesses in existence by the end of the reign of King Henry II in 1189. Because of their white habit, they were often wrongly described as Cistercians. The priory was suppressed in 1536 and the property later passed to the Giffard family; the church continued to be used as a Catholic burial ground until 1844.

[4] Psalm 129 in the Vulgate, Psalm 130 in the Anglican psalter, so called from its opening Latin words, 'Out of the depths'.

[5] Pugin may mean Thomas Fitz-Herbert (1789–1857) of Norbury, Derbyshire, and Swynnerton, Staffordshire. Fitz-Herbert's only son predeceased him, perhaps thus providing a reason for selling the property.

[6] The Giffards were an old Catholic family established at Chillington Hall, only a short distance from Brewood, since the twelfth century. Their Tudor house, which contained a chapel, was pulled down in 1785 to make way for a new hall, designed by John Soane and built without a chapel. Longbirch, the dower house for Chillington and part of the estate, about two miles from the Hall, had a chapel and its own priest, and was used for public worship from at least 1779. Longbirch is one of the 'old missions' Pugin has in mind; the other is Blackladies, a Benedictine nunnery founded in the middle of the twelfth century and bought by the Giffard family at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The chapel at Blackladies was opened for public worship in 1791, and by 1834 had two priests. Both chapels closed in 1844.

Thomas Giffard (1789–1861), head of the family in Pugin's time, married a Protestant, Charlotte, daughter of Laintol Earls; before him, Thomas Giffard (1764–1823) also married a Protestant, Lady Charlotte Courtenay, in 1788.

[7] The earls of Shrewsbury were substantial landowners in Shropshire over the centuries and the Albrighton estate was one of their properties.

[8] Robert Richmond (1781–1844), according to the memoir of him in the *Catholic Directory* for 1845, pp. 148–53, was priest of Longbirch from 1808, the year after his ordination, until 1811, from 1821 to 1830, and then again from 1838 onwards; he held appointments at Caverswall, Tixall, and Oscott in the intervening years; he was due to serve as priest at Brewood but died on 20 June, just when the church was opened.

Letters from Robert Richmond held in ML deal with the church at Brewood. On 10 March 1844 he writes to Hardman from Longbirch, asking him to arrange a repair: 'Herewith I send a procession cross from Black Ladies—a really catholic one, w^h. perhaps has been there since before the Reformation. Will you have the goodness to fit it up, & put a proper *staff* to it, or whatever it is called, in as cheap a manner as will be decent.' He reports that 'M^r. Pugin tells me you are getting the Altar furniture ready for Lady day', the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March; Pugin also told Richmond 'some time ago that the Altar furniture w^d. amount to £50—including iron tabernacle, w^h. w^d. be £12. This your good father, you know, has given to Brewood.' On 29 March 1844 he informs Hardman that the 'Church was blest this morn.g, &

mass said in it, but no procession-cross'; the tabernacle has not arrived either. These outstanding items cannot have been far away: MWDB enters 'Repairing & regilding Pro Cross & new Staff to D°' at a cost of £7. 10*s.* as part of Robert Richmond's order at 25 March 1844, and at the same date charges 'M^r^ Hardman' £12 for 'A Tabernacle for Brewood'. On 26 April 1844 Richmond reports joyfully that the 'image of our B. Lady is just come, & put up in its place. It is beautiful, indeed. It is come safe, except that the lily in the hand is loosened, but it remains well in its position, & part of the Crown is lost, but it is on the left side, & not seen.' On 22 May 1844, notifying Hardman that St Mary's will be consecrated on 12 June and opened on 13 June 1844, Richmond tells him further that 'His Lordship', meaning Wiseman, 'will speak to you about the Crosses to be placed on the Church walls for the Consecration, as soon as he can get M^r^. Pugin to draw a plan of them. M^r^. P. said he w^d^. return in a few days from *Paris*.'

The order for Robert Richmond in MWDB at 25 March 1844 for a total of £37. 0*s.* 6*d.* includes six candlesticks at a price of twelve guineas, an altar cross and stand together with 'Extra Work to Tabernacle' charged at £8, a holy-water vat and sprinkler at a price of £1. 12*s.*, and a set of cruets for £5, besides the repair of the cross. At 8 June 1844 a pair of elevation candlesticks with tubes and shields is entered to 'Richmond', simply, for £8. 5*s.*, and a dozen 'Consecration Branches' costing £3 follow. The entry at 19 April 1844 is charged to Pugin: he contributes the 'Painting & gilding Figure of BV for Brewood' at a cost of £8. 10*s.* and a 'Metal Lily & Crowns for above' at 17*s.* 6*d.*

[9] The alabaster tomb chest with recumbent effigies of Sir John Talbot (d.1555) and his second wife, Frances, daughter of Sir John Giffard (d.1556) and his second wife, Elizabeth, in the church of St Mary Magdalene at Albrighton in Shropshire, near Wolverhampton.

[10] An undated, printed list of recent converts to Catholicism held in AAW, with the classification W2/2/2(1), includes the name of William Simpson of Trinity College, Cambridge, making the change at Oscott in 1843. *Venn* states that he matriculated at Cambridge in 1837; according to W. Gordon Gorman in *Converts to Rome: A Biographical List of the More Notable Converts to the Catholic Church in the United Kingdom during the Last Sixty Years*, first published in 1878 under the title of *Rome's Recruits*, Simpson was Lord of the Manor of Mitcham in Surrey and a descendant of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

[11] 'Mottingham' can be taken for Nottingham, and the 'order' is that for £1,000 requested in Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of probably 18 April.

[12] Perhaps the contract for the church at Brewood, which was signed and ready to be sent to William Richmond on 24 April. What Pugin adds here may explain the statement in *Stanton 1971* that St Mary's was 'Begun 1842. Built 1843–4' (p. 200).

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Monday, 24 April 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/99 *Address*: Rev^d^ J. Bloxam / S^t^ Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: Chelsea; 24 AP 24 1843; AP 25 1843 in Oxford

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I should think at a guess that the steps if nicely done in oak would cost about 10 or 12 pounds. they may be Less & certainly not more but I think that is about the mark.

I am getting on with the Glossary but it is a most Laborious work and I am overwhelmed with business—when you were so kind as to send me the President autograph to order the Glossary for the Library of the College did you wish me to send the order to Bohn? I merely mention this fearing a mistake for when I saw him the other day he had not heard about it.

with great respect
your devoted Sert in haste
✠ AWelby Pugin

To LUIGI GENTILI[1] London, Monday, 24 April 1843

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 452 *Address*: Rev[d] Father Gentili / Catholic chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: Chelsea; AP 24 1843; AP 25 1843 in Loughborough

✠ S[t] Faiths day[2]

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

I shall be at Nottingham D.V early next week when I will come over to Loughborough—& have some personal conversation about your new building.[3]

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I will Let you know the exact day you may expect me.[4]

[1] Pugin had known Gentili since he was chaplain to Phillipps at Grace Dieu earlier in the 1840s. Gentili, who came to Grace Dieu because he had known Laura Clifford in Rome before her marriage to Ambrose Phillipps, left there in 1842 and moved to Loughborough to found and supervise a Rosminian establishment in that town.

[2] Pugin means the feast day of the martyr Fidelis, rather than that of St Faith, which is 6 October.

[3] The new building is almost without doubt what became Ratcliffe College at Sileby, Leicestershire, undertaken as a Rosminian noviciate, which was opened on 21 November 1844, and in 1847 converted to a school; Pugin writes to Gentili about it on 4 July 1843. Construction began in 1843 and some material relating to the commission is preserved in the MFT collection of drawings.

[4] It seems from Pugin's letter to Gentili of 3 May that he did not reach Loughborough until Saturday 6 May.

To WILLIAM ANDREW RICHMOND[1] London, Monday, 24 April 1843

Text: MS Beinecke Osborn 32.188[2] *Address*: Rev[d] W Richmond / Breewood / Staffordshire[3] *Postmark*: AP 25 1843

✠ S[t] Faiths day. 1843.[4]

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Richmond

I enclose you the agrement for Breewood signed by M[r]. Myers & a List of payments. as the contract has been taken at the Lowest possible price it is but fair The contracter should have as much assistance as possible as I can assure you there can be Little if anything Left out of the amount. there is a great deal to do that does not appear on the drawing & I feel Certain that you will be well pleased—with the job. I purpose Coming round in a short time when the building is getting out of the ground. you will see that £300 will then be due to the contracter—£200 of which is actualy due. will you therefore speak to D[r] Wiseman so as to have provission made for the same against the time M[r]. Myers comes round.[5]

it will be well to make arrgmts with the Bishop about disposing of the old silver candlesticks &c. so as to have a really good & useful set of altar furniture & a stained window for the chancel which would produce a glorious effect.[6]

with respect
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] W. A. Richmond (1798–1848), educated at Oscott and ordained in 1824, is listed in the *Catholic Directory* for 1843 and for 1844 as priest at Swynnerton Park near Stone, Staffordshire; he was to become priest at Brewood in succession to his uncle, Robert Richmond.

[2] The letter forms part of the James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn collection in the Beinecke Library at Yale University.

[3] The address panel carries inscriptions in various hands: 'Contract &c &c Anno [?]', '19-10½NB. Iron chest', and 'Examined'.

[4] The same form of the date as Pugin uses when writing to Gentili on this day.

[5] Brewood fell within the midland district, of which Wiseman was coadjutor bishop.

[6] The bishop of the midland district was Thomas Walsh.

To CLARKSON STANFIELD[1]

En route, Monday, 1 May 1843

Text: MS PC NMM Stanfield papers 79/159 *Address*: C. Stanfield Esq[r] R A / 42. Mornington Place / Hampstead Road / London *Postmark*: 1 MY 1843 in Birmingham; 2 MY 2 1843

[*Sketch: train.* Fig. 2]

✠ London & Birmingham Railway. feast of SS. P. & James[2]

[*Sketch: three 'travelling companions' seated in compartment of train.* Fig. 2] I hope you will be able to read this by 30 miles is fast even for a *moving* hand.[3]

My Dear Stanfield

I have been so hard pressed for time Lately that I have not been able either to call or write—& I suppose you have been much in the same state.[4] I enclose you a prospectus of my new book which if you have not seen you ought to get & *read*.[5] it is only a few shillings touch & I hope it will convert you on many important points. I remember your astonishment at my contention for *Gold grounds* for a certain class of Paintings and you may rely on it I am right in the Principle. understand me no man can delight more in natural art than I do. I revel in an old *mill & boats* (after Rembrant) as much as in a fine arched doorway—but then I maintain that these productions should always be considered as *Pictures* totally distinct from the Building. hang *them up in a frame.* shew that they *are not part of the wall* & then a perspective of 50 miles is quite consistent—but when it is a question *of decorating a wall or the Piers of a building* I maintain that the constency *of the purpose of that wall in an architectural point of view* should not be Lost sight of. here is a massive pier carring

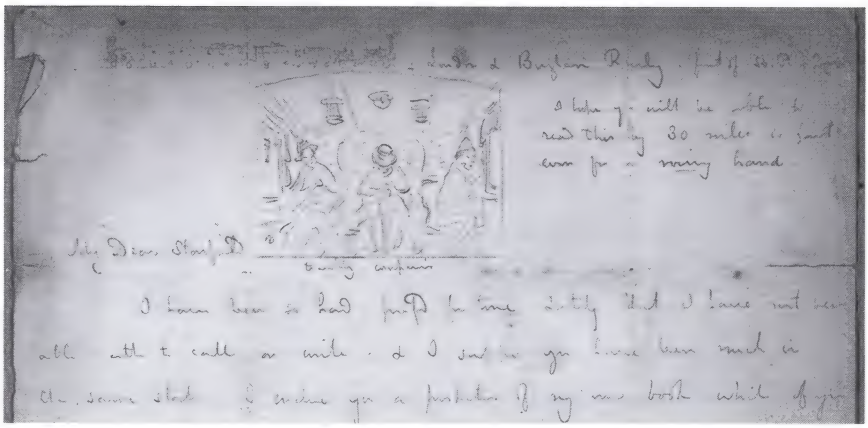

Figure 2 The opening of the letter to Clarkson Stanfield of 1 May 1843

a roof tower &c. & it is made to Look *thin as air*). [*Sketch: 'Pier decorated on the antient principle' and 'Pier decorated on the modern Principle'*] the better painted the worse effect. you cant defend this. Make an act of contrition. (Mea culpa Mea Culpa.)[6] you are a glorious man & I shall quite convert you to the true principles at Last.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's first surviving letter to Stanfield was written on 13 October 1842.

[2] Saints Philip and James.

[3] Preserved in AAW is a notebook, MS AAW SEC. 20/11/23, in which R. Stanfield made copies of various letters, including some of Pugin's; the transcript of this letter has a reading here of 'roving hand' (p. 75). Other variant readings later in the letter are a 'prospect' rather than a 'perspective' of fifty miles, and the 'construction' for the 'constency' of the purpose; neither reading is supported by the MS.

Raymund Stanfield (1841–1918), a convert, was educated at St Edmund's, Ware.

[4] One way in which Pugin's time had lately been spent is disclosed by the diary of Benjamin Webb, who notes that on Friday 28 April 1843 he 'Had tea with Pugin, meeting Doyle, Telford, & Myers' (fol. 47v). Like Thomas Doyle, John Telford (1814–65), from Ireland, was a priest at St George's, Southwark. This was not the first occasion on which Webb so passed his evening; according to his diary, he and 'Henry' went 'to tea & supper with Pugin & his wife at Chelsea' (fol. 46v) on 1 February 1843.

[5] The *Apology for the Revival*, sold at a price of ten shillings and sixpence.

[6] The Latin 'mea culpa', meaning 'through my fault', is a phrase from the Confession in the liturgy of the Church. There is no warrant in the MS for the extension of the quotation made by R. Stanfield in his transcript when he adds, perhaps out of habit, 'mea maxima culpa', 'through my most grievous fault'.

To JOHN WEALE — En route, Monday, 1 May 1843

Text: MS MMA 37.88.201[1] *Address*: M[r]. J Weale / Bookseller / 59. high Holborn / London
Postmark: 1 MY 1843 in Birmingham; 2 MY 2 1843

✠ London & Birmingham Railway. Monday

My Dear Sir

I am not surprised at the 2 rich plates printing Light after 500 struck off. I thought you would certainly have had them electrotyped at first. the plates for the Dublin Review were all done so or they could not have printed half the Quantity.[2] I would advise you to have them rebit at once & retouched by M[r]. Bury & then have them electrotyped.[3] it is quite impossible for any etching which is full of fine work to print anything Like 2 or even 1000. I inclose you an acknowledgement for the Bill. do not you think it would be well to advertise the book. very few people know that it is out & fewer still know the ‡*price*.[4] you really should make this known or it will be confounded with the great & costly work which Bohn is going to Publish which will be £6. 6. 0.[5] I would also advise you to send a copy to the Dublin & other Literary reviews.[6]

yours truly ✠ AWelby Pugin

if you have occasion to write my address will be at Lord Shrewsbury's
Alton Towers.

I have not seen anything of his copy.

‡ being uniform with the true Principles many persons think it is the same price.

[1] The letter, written in pencil, is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, A30.
[2] The plates for Pugin's articles on the 'Present state' in the *Dublin Review*.
[3] T. T. Bury, who prepared the illustrations for a number of Pugin's early books.
[4] The *Apology for the Revival* was cheaper in price than *True Principles*, which sold for fifteen shillings; it is in external appearance that the two works are 'uniform'.
[5] The 'great & costly work' is the *Glossary*.
[6] No review of the *Apology for the Revival* in the *Dublin Review* is known; reviews in other periodicals are listed in *Belcher 1987*.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Kirkham, Wednesday, 3 May 1843[1]

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 455[2] *Address*: Rev[d] D[r] Gentili / Catholic chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: Kirkham; MY 3 1843 in Preston; MY 4 1843 in Loughborough

Rev & Dear Father Gentili

I purpose D.V being with you at Loughboroug by an Early train on *Saturday Morning.*

could you write and ask M[r]. Phillipps if he could come over & meet me.[3] I shall only be able to stay a short time & Long to see him. I remain with respect

your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin's account book, held in the V & A, MS L.50-1982/3, records a visit to Kirkham on 2 May.
[2] The letter is written in pencil.
[3] There is no evidence in Laura Phillipps's diary that Phillipps met Pugin on 6 May.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH — London, Monday, 8 May 1843?

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Apparition of S^t^ Michael the archangel

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S^t^ Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0 — ✠ A Welby Pugin master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the commission on the above.

£25. 0. 0 — ✠ AWelby Pugin

To JAMES INGRAM[1] — Alton Towers, Sunday, 14 May 1843

Text: MS Bodley Dep. c. 589, fol. 161 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers.
near Cheadle.
4 Sunday after Easter

Rev^d^ Sir

seeing it mentioned in the oxford chronicle of yesterday that when presiding over a meeting of the oxford architectural society Last week you exposed the *falacy* & *absurdity* of a position I advanced respecting the spiral termination of early towers—I feel induced to adress you a few Lines on the subject as I feel convinced that you have decided without sufficiently investigating the matter, and as I Look to the oxford Society as being the means under God of working a great reform in Ecclesiastal architecture I cannot be feel pained at seeing one of the most *essential principles of pointed architecture* treated in so summary a manner.[2] I have not only visited every cathedral & great abbey church in England and several thousand of its parochial churches but I have also inspected the principal pointed cathedrals of Christendom & that not in a cursory & superficial manner but with deep reshearch—making careful drawings & minutes of the same. my opinion is therefore entitled to some consideration—& I do not hesitate to maintain that untill the introduction of the perpendicular style & depressed arch &^c^. *every church tower was either terminated by a spire or intended* so to *be terminated by the builders.* if you would investigate this point attentively with respect to those *Early* towers which are

deficient of a spiral covering—you will surely find that the original termination has either been removed or that the the progress of the work has been interrupted—for want of funds or other reasons.

in Leicestershire the spires are all of early or decorated periods. the towers all *Late.* at oxford, Xchurch & S[t] Maries both Early have fine spires, Magdalen a Late tower is flat. york Western towers are *Late.* Lincoln had 3 spires. hereford Southwell Minster, Durham all had spires not Long demolished—abroad Notre dame was designed for 2 high spires althg the towers only were finished. Rheims the same. I could multiply instances without number of spires incomplete but designed originally. The *spiral form is the essence of christian or Pointed architecture.*

an *horizontal* line as the termination of *vertical* ones is a contradiction—bad in principle & taste. I feel assured on further investigation you will be induced to change your opinion in this respect—& if you would allow me I should be most happy to comunicate personally with you on the subject when I come through oxford. it is of the highest importance that the oxford society should not be committed to erroneous opinions on church architecture & I trust the importance of the subject will be a sufficient apoly for my troubling you with these Lines. [*Sketch: two towers, one with a spire, the other without*]

I remain with respect
your devoted[?] Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] James Ingram (1774–1850) had a long association with Trinity College, Oxford: he took his BA there in 1796, became a Fellow in 1803, and was president of the college from 1824 until his death. He was an eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar and archaeologist and a vice-president of the Oxford architectural society.

[2] Pugin seems to have muddled his newspapers. There is no mention of the meeting in the *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette* for 13 May 1843, but 'Oxford architectural society', *Oxford University, City, and County Herald*, 38 (13 May 1843): [3], reports a meeting of the society held on 'Wednesday last', 10 May, with Ingram in the chair, at which 'Mr. Freeman' read a paper on 'Church Towers'. After some discussion, 'Mr. F. having also mentioned Mr. A. W. Pugin's theory, that no Early English tower is complete without a spire, the Chairman exposed the inaccuracy and absurdity of this one-sided view; and Mr. Freeman confirmed the Chairman's remarks by observing that in one part of Northamptonshire nearly all the Churches have spires, and in another district of the same county nearly all of them have towers *without* spires'.

Edward Freeman (1823–92) was at this time still an undergraduate at Trinity College, Oxford, which he entered in 1841; he was a Fellow there from 1845 to 1847 and went on to a distinguished career as a historian, which culminated in his appointment as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford and a Fellowship at Oriel College there in 1884. MWDB records at 1 April 1846 a charge of £3. 15*s.* to Edward Freeman of Trinity College, Oxford, for a seal.

Freeman's paper and the discussion are reported, in almost identical words, in the *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture: for Easter and Trinity Terms. 1843.*, pp. 5–7. At the society's meeting on 24 May, recorded in the same *Proceedings*, the 'President of Trinity mentioned the receipt of a letter from A. W. Pugin, Esq., on the subject of Spires, alluded to at the last meeting. Mr. Pugin distinctly re-asserts as a matter not of theory but of fact, that *every* Early English and Decorated tower either had or was intended to have a spire upon it. The President still retained his own opinion that Mr. Pugin over-stated the case, and could not agree in the universality of his conclusion. Although *many* instances of spires being destroyed, or not completed as designed, are well known, it does not follow that *all* the hundreds of towers in these styles that we find without spires were designed to have them. The Principal of Brasenose was inclined to think Mr. Pugin likely to be right, and observed that in those districts where there are no spires the towers are generally all Perpendicular. A good deal of discussion

followed, and a hope was expressed that Mr. Pugin will communicate the grounds upon which he has arrived at this *general* conclusion' (pp. 10–11).

Richard Harington (1800–53) was Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, from 1842 until his death.

There is nothing explicit in Pugin's letter to Ingram of 25 May 1843 to suggest that he knew of the society's desire to learn more when he wrote again to the President of Trinity College.

To JOHN HYACINTH TALBOT[1] Alton Towers, Sunday, 14 May 1843?

Text: typed transcript PC[2] *Address*: John Talbot Esqr / Ballytrent / Wexford / Ireland[3]
Postmark: MY 15 43; MY 17 1843 in Wexford

✠ Alt
feast of St Anselm[4]

My Dear Mr. Talbot,

I herewith send you the first plans for the church at Enniscorthy.[5] after full deliberation I am satisfied that *eventually* the whole church must be rebuilt for the few pillars & walls which exist are not worth keeping up. What I propose, therefore, is to pull down the farthest compartment of the present church, & move the altars down to *A A A* then the line C C begin the transept choir and choir aisles so that the whole of the present nave would serve for the church while this was doing & if funds were insufficient for completing the whole building it might remain with the new part. [*Sketch: plan marked 'A', 'A', 'A', 'C', and 'C'*] by this arrangement the thing might be *perfectly done* by *degrees*, & it would make a glorious church. I send you 2 views in pencil to give an idea of its effect when finished. When I come over I will set out the tracery windows with Pierce as it is better I should do so with him than send them over.[6] But there is nothing to hinder the foundations of the new church being commenced as Pierce will perfectly understand the plans.

at any rate the alters might be moved down & a temporary wall built across the present church between the [pres]ent[?] pillars taking care to shore up against the pillars at y y before the end compartment is pulled down. [*Sketch: plan marked 'y' and 'y'*] I am working[?] away to get over to you as soon as possible. if you write please to direct to me at Mr J Hardmans

Paradise Street
Birmingham.

I remain with respect
dear Mr. Talbot
your obdt st
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The earliest known letter which Pugin is thought to have sent to J. H. Talbot may have been written on 22 November 1838.

[2] The MS is believed to be in the archives of the diocese of Ferns at Wexford but cannot be located by the keeper. The version printed here is taken from a typed copy made some years ago from the MS by another scholar.

[3] It is not clear from the typescript whether the address is on the left at the foot of the letter, where it has been typed, or on an address panel.

[4] 'St Anselm' seems to be a misreading of Pugin's writing since Anselm's feast day is 21 April; 14 May, if that was the date, is the feast day of Boniface.

[5] The cathedral of St Aidan in Enniscorthy was begun to Pugin's design in 1843 but, although part of it was in use later in the 1840s, it was not completed until after his death.

[6] Richard Pierce, the builder from Wexford to whom Pugin writes on 22 June 1839.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Tuesday, 16 May 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/89 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton. Tuesday. S[t] Ubaldus.

I purpose being at Birmingham on Sunday. could you send me a Line to M[r]. John Hardmans.

This spire question is one of the greatest importance. I was utterly astonished to see such a principle treated as an absurdity. what shall we come to. mere *towers* for churches, only came in with the Late & debased style when the fine principles of christian architecture were Lost in the search after novelty & extravagance.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

Lord Shrewsbury desired[?] me to write to you & say that the waist shall be forwarded as soon as possible & also that there are another set of small effigies or Weepers beloning to the 2[d] tomb which he has had cast & will be forwarded with it.[1] I was very anxious to know if you had returned to the college and I beged of Ward to Send me word but your note is a sufficient announcement of the fact.[2] I purpose D.V coming to oxford the week after next if you will be there, could you Let me know. I wrote a most *respectful* Letter to the master of Trinity the other day in cosequence of seeing a report of the architectural society in which it was stated that he compleatly *exposed* the *absurdity* & *inconsistency* of my position that every tower of a church during the good period was *terminated by a spire or so designed*—now this is one of the Leading principles of Christian architecture.[3] it is a certain as our present[?] existence & therefore if the fondations of pointed design are to be treated as mere absurdities by such a society as the one at oxford evil must come instead of good from its proceeding. I entreated of the master to reconsider the question attentively, I drew his attention to various existing examples in support of the position & told him I should be most happy to go thoroughly into the question with him. I am determined not to Let the point rest. it is one of architectural *fact* unconnected with any theological question—& if the society stands comitted to the contrary opinion it must cease to comand the respect of those who are Working for the revival. a spire is the most essential point of all.[4] [*Sketch: three spires*]

with great respect dear mr Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

every form is spiral in xtian architecture.

I am quite convinced that the *Late examples* ought to nearly as much avoided as more modern erections. depend upon it when the flatened arch came in the spirit of pointed architecture was gone.

[1] Pugin's first subject is Lord Shrewsbury's gift of casts to the Oxford architectural society about which he notifies Bloxam in his letter of 19 March 1843.
[2] W. G. Ward.
[3] The letter to James Ingram of 14 May.
[4] Pugin evidently tucked this punning sentence in after he completed his letter.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Garendon Park, Thursday, 18 May 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/88 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: MY 18 1843 in Loughborough; MY 19 1843 in Oxford

✠ Garendon[1] S[t] Venantius

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

your Letter has been forwarded to me hear so mine must have crossed on the way. I am truly gratified at what you say respecting your venerable Presidents approval of the Balliol drawings.[2] his opinion should carry great weight with it as he is a very Learned man in ecclestical antiquities. I shall hope to find a Letter from you in Birmingham & I quite Long for a Little conversation with you again on various matters. the more I reflect upon it the more I am astonished at the attack on the spire principle. I am now in Leicestershire. every early tower or even decorated tower is surmounted by a spire. the square towers are all *Late*. these flat toped towers came in with the *flat* pitched *roo*.[3] have not you & I Lamented these roofs at New college &[c]. had the bell tower of that college been errected a century earlier it would doubtless have been terminated by a spire. what a glorious *spire was* on *the detached bell tower of* Salisbury. nearly 200 feet high. the Camden men are quite of my opinion & so I am sure anyone must be who goes into the subject thogourly.[4] there may be some early flat towers along the *borders of Scotland & Wales* but why? because these towers were built for places of *defence*. they have fire places inside & are regular castles. a flat tower is a *castelated* feature & not ecclestical.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with great respect
your devoted Sert[?]
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have had a very interesting Letter from M[r]. Williams respecting the R B[r].[5] I am deligted to hear of it.

[1] Garendon Park, Leicestershire, home of the Phillipps family and near A. L. Phillipps's Grace Dieu. Laura Phillipps's diary records that Pugin arrived at Grace Dieu at 3 o'clock on 17 May from Alton and departed early on 18 May.

[2] The president was M. J. Routh.

[3] The word '*roofs*' is torn by the seal.

[4] Members of the Cambridge Camden Society, with some of whom Pugin began correspondence late in 1841.

[5] Robert Williams's project of translating the Roman breviary is mentioned in Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 13 June 1841.

To LORD MIDLETON — Garendon Park, Thursday, 18 May 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/1 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Garendon Park Leicestershire
Thursday.

My Lord

1 The front kitchen should fall into the back kitchen & the back kitchen to the Back door.[2]

2. I see no objection to having a fire place in the back kitchen.

3^{d}. The niches may be arched over next pantry[?].

4th. The bed is a prize. I dare say it worth 20 or £30.

5th if the font at Mitford is really stone the *carver* has made it Look as much Like composition as possible.[3]

6. I am alwyse most happy to attend to the trifling matters alluded to by your Lordsip—for I think the neglect of these things by architects in general has been the cause of much bald detail. they are certainly small matters for items but the cost of drawing them out is proportionally small—& I do not think a salary is a good plan for it will to a certain extent paralyse exertion. I hope & trust I am as free from the mere Lucre system as most men but it seems to me it is better to have these things charged as they are done, than a fixed sum work or play. however I will Leave this matter in your Lordsips hands & will most willing agree to whatever you may arrange.

7 I should think that can be at Pepper Harow on the 29 or 30th. of this month as I shall go on to Ireland. will that suit your Lordsip. I will bring the Irish plans with me.

8. The doorway I alluded to was from the grounds to the church yard.[4]

9th. it is most important that the base course should not be buried at the farm buildings. if necessary by all means *Let it be raised* or the effect will be destroyed.

with respect
I remain your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's letter to Bloxam of this date proves that he was at Garendon on this Thursday; his list of journeys to Peper Harow in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1 ①, includes a visit on 29 May but nothing on 29 or 30 of any other month; and he set off for Ireland in early June.

[2] Pugin may be referring to the house at Mousehill or perhaps to that at Oxenford. The deposit contains, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1 ⑩, Pugin's undated specification for alterations to the house adjoining the farm buildings at Oxenford but these give directions for exterior work only, rebuilding a gable and two chimney stacks.

[3] Pugin definitely writes 'Mitford', not Milford, which is near Peper Harow and might have been expected.

[4] There is a door in the wall between the grounds of Peper Harow and the churchyard of St Nicholas.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM

En route, between Monday, 22 and Wednesday, 24 May 1843[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/21[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Birmingham R.[3]
Rogation day

Rev & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have every reason to belive that I shall be with you Early next week probably on Tuesday Morning. I have received a very civil Letter from D[r]. Ingram but he holds most extraordinary views on the spire question. I shall be delighed to see you again & talk over matters. perhaps if you see M[r]. Ward you will tell him when I am Likely to come.[4] it will give me great pleasure to call on your venerable president. circumstances have Lately occured to give me a very high opinion of D[r]. Pusey.[5] I had rather a prejudice against him & I am delighed to find it was without foundation.

with great respect my dear M[r]. Bloxam
yours most devotly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The three days before Ascension day, which fell on 25 May in 1843, are Rogation days; the year is determined by the reference to James Ingram.

[2] The letter is written in pencil.

[3] The London and Birmingham railway.

[4] W. G. Ward.

[5] This is a fundamental change to the estimate of the Tractarian leader E. B. Pusey which Pugin confides to a fellow Catholic in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 7 November 1842; it was probably events occurring during Pusey's visit to Birmingham to see Isabella Young which occasioned the revision.

To JAMES INGRAM

Thursday, 25 May 1843

Text: *Proceedings of the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture: for Easter and Trinity Terms. 1843.*, pp. 18–27[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Feast of St. Aldhelm, 1843.

REVEREND SIR,—Allow me to thank you for your kind attention to my communication, which I would have acknowledged sooner had I not been anxious to collect much interesting matter on the subject to lay before you.[2] From an extract from the Oxford paper founded by my friend the Rev. Mr. Bloxam, and also by a letter from Mr. Parker, the Secretary, I perceive that the original report of your remarks was most incorrect.[3] I can assure you, however, that I did not think of edifying you from any *personal* feelings whatever, but purely from the anxiety I feel that the Oxford Society should set forth the true principles of ecclesiastical architecture.

Since I first wrote I have travelled through a great part of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire to re-examine the Churches in these counties, and every instance I have met with bears out my assertion.[4] With this I send a regular statement respecting spires and towers, which will I trust prove interesting to the Society.

I must beg, in the first place, to draw your attention to the *use* and *intention* of spires. They may be considered under two heads, *natural* and *symbolical.* The natural use of a spire is a covering or roof to the tower (necessary for the suspension of bells); the symbolical, to make that roof an emblem of the Resurrection[e], and to elevate the great symbol of our Redemption.

With regard to a spire, considered as a roof or covering, let us take a parallelogram. [*Sketch: parallelogram*][5] The most obvious mode of roofing it would be to establish two king-posts at W W, which, when viewed in elevation, would form a roof of this shape. [*Sketch: parallelogram with posts at 'W' and 'W'*] [*Sketch: roof*] Instead of a parallelogram let us now take a square. We only want one king-post at S, and when viewed in elevation the roof would form what is in fact a low spire. [*Sketch: square with post at 'S'*] [*Sketch: low spire*] The Norman spires were in many cases not more elevated than a roof of this shape, and were little more than coverings of a vertical form, but I am not acquainted with a single instance of a Norman tower with an *original flat roof.* Than Church, St. Michael de Vaucelles, St. Loup, Bayeux, have stone roofs, the last two of very high proportions; but the general method of covering towers in these early times was by timber spiral roofs, covered with lead.[6] A very curious plan of Canterbury Cathedral, given in Hasted's Kent (the original of which was made by Eadwin, a monk, about 1130), shews all the turrets and towers terminated by low spires, one of which on the north side is yet standing.[7]

All the Ecclesiastical buildings represented in the Bayeux tapestry, have *low spires.* On early seals the same is invariably found. There cannot exist a doubt as to the use

[e] The vertical line illustrative of the great mystery of the resurrection is the very foundation of Christian Architecture; every feature tends upwards, and runs into pyramids and points, arches, roofs, vaulting, pinnacles, turrets, and last, not least, towers. When the vertical principle was lost, Christian Architecture soon declined, and four-centered arches, flat roofs, and square-topped towers, came in.

of depressed spires in all towers and turrets of Ecclesiastical buildings[f] of Saxon and Norman times; but with the introduction of the Pointed arch and increased height, these spires shot up to a prodigious elevation, either constructed of stone, or timber covered with lead. I have subjoined a list, to shew that towers were invariably terminated in this manner till the decline of the Pointed style, when embattled towers with angle pinnacles were introduced, and, with the exception of the latter feature, partook more of the castellated than of the Ecclesiastical character; for battlements, strictly speaking, are of a military character. The Churches built during the *fine* time, had open or close parapets, or merely dripping eaves, but the battlemented Churches are late, and are an additional proof of the misapplication of detail in the Perpendicular style.

I am not acquainted with any example of a *very late* spire, and I certainly have never seen an instance of an early flat-topped tower. The absence of squinces in the angle of the masonry, does not by any means disprove the original termination by a spire; for these were very frequently constructed of timber which would not require the support of angle arches.[8]

I cannot conceive how an architect of the Early or Decorated period could have designed a tower to be terminated without a spire. Where could he place the cross? and in those times of mystical architecture, the cross, as surmounting the whole Church, would never have been omitted; indeed, after the general loss of spires, we find even on Late towers, in many places, a very miserable substitute for them in shape of a sort of central pinnacle, merely for the purpose of raising a cross.

On the continent, spires appear to have degenerated into steeples. Strasbourgh, Antwerp, and Mechlin (as designed), are of this description, and although captivating at first sight by their immense elevation and intricacy of detail, are by no means so satisfactory as regular spires. The consistency of the purpose as coverings to the towers being lost sight of, they become mere fanciful erections, and cannot be defended on principle. Strasbourgh itself is far more extraordinary and difficult of construction than beautiful; nearly 200 years elapsed between the commencement of the tower and the termination of the steeple, and there is no doubt that had the original design of Ervin de Steinbach been carried out, it would have been very superior to the present erection.[9]

St. Nicholas, Newcastle-on-Tyne, the old Bow steeple, Cheapside, the High Church of Edinburgh, are instances of this substitution of fanciful design for the ancient spire, and all these, I need hardly remark, are of the fifteenth century.[10]

I now beg to refer you to the accompanying list in support of what I have advanced, and in conclusion I am most anxious to draw your attention to an

[f] The spiral top forms the great distinction between the towers of ecclesiastical and military buildings; the latter are always flat for the purpose of defence; hence on the Welsh borders, and in Cumberland, and on the Scottish border, the Church towers are flat, being used for castles, having rooms and fire-places in them, the only access to them being a small door from the interior of the Church, which could be strongly secured from the *interior of the tower.*

important point, viz., That in the present revival of ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture, *such styles only should be reproduced and followed as belong to the zenith of Christian design.* Why go back to the Normans, who were only Christian builders with debased Roman ideas; or descend to the Tudors, who were rapidly verging into extravagance, and who had already lost the soul of Christian design?

I have fully made up my mind never again to build a Church with four-centered arches and flattened roof; between the Early Lancet and the Rich Decorated of Edward III., we have the finest models, pure, mystical, and beautiful in design, with exquisite execution, sculpture unsurpassed in classic antiquity,—I may say *unequalled;* and believe me, equilateral arches, high roofs, and tapering spires, all belong to the fine period, while flat roofs, flat arches, and square-topped towers, must be classed with the debased style of the latter times.

I beg that you will not think it necessary to reply to this communication at any length.[11] I have only to apologize for intruding on your valuable time by addressing you in the first instance; but the subject is one of so much importance, that I trust it will be a sufficient apology for the liberty.

NOTICES OF SPIRES AND TOWERS IN ENGLAND.

Salisbury—The Cathedral, a centre spire of stone, Decorated; the bell-tower on the north side had a spire of timber covered with lead, nearly 200 feet high, demolished in the time of Wyatt, Early English; St. Thomas' parish church, an embattled tower, Late Perpendicular; St. Edmund's parish church, an embattled tower, rebuilt in seventeenth century; St. Martin's parish church, a spire, Late Decorated.[12]

Bath—The Abbey, a tower, Late Perpendicular; St. James and St. Michael, towers, both Late.

Birmingham—The parish church, a spire, Late Decorated.

Bridgenorth [*sic*]—The parish church, a tower, Late Perpendicular.

Bristol—St. Mary Redcliff, a spire, Decorated; St. Edwin's, a spire, fourteenth century; St. Nicholas, a spire, fourteenth century; St. John's, a spire fourteenth century; cathedral, a tower, fifteenth century; St. Thomas' church, a tower, Perpendicular; Temple church, a tower, Perpendicular; St. Stephen's church[g], a tower, Perpendicular.

Canterbury—South-west tower, embattled, Late Perpendicular; north-west tower, now rebuilt, but formerly had a *spire*, see Hollar's view in the Monasticon; centre tower, Perpendicular.[13]

York—Western and central towers, all Perpendicular; the chapter-house, Decorated, has a roof almost like a spire in height.

[g] With this may be classed the towers of Taunton, Glastonbury parish church, and several churches of Somersetshire, which are of the same style and date, all Late.

Lincoln—The towers were formerly surmounted by three spires of timber, covered with lead, the centre one destroyed by a hurricane in the sixteenth century, the two western ones demolished in the present century; the chapter-house, Early Lancet, has a roof like that of York.

Beverley—Towers at west end, Perpendicular; the parish church, an embattled tower, Late Perpendicular.

Coventry—St. Michael and Trinity churches, both spires, Late Decorated; Babblake church, an embattled tower, Late Perpendicular.

Derby—All Saints, a tower, Perpendicular; St. Peter's, St. Werburgh's, and St. Alkmund's, all towers, very Late.

Ripon Minster—West end, two high leaded spires on Early English towers; centre tower, ditto, high timber spire, leaded, all demolished.

Peterborough—Early English tower, timber spire, demolished; on small towers, west end, two stone spires, Late Decorated.

Exeter—The embattling and upper story of towers, very Late Perpendicular; the towers of parochial churches, Late.

Gloucester—Centre tower, Perpendicular; church of St. Mary le Crypt, a tower, with pinnacles, Perpendicular; St. Nicholas, a spire, Late Decorated.

Southwell Minster—Two high timber spires on Norman towers, now demolished.

Hereford—A high timber spire or ante-tower, demolished; the parish churches of St. Peter's and All Saints', both high spires; St. Nicholas, an embattled tower, Late.

Old St. Paul's—A high timber spire covered with lead, burnt in the sixteenth century.[14]

Lichfield Cathedral—Decorated, three spires of stone; St. Chad's parish church, Late Decorated, a stone spire.

Rochester—The centre tower of this Cathedral was formerly terminated by a wooden spire covered with lead. The present meagre embattled tower is not twenty years old.

Ipswich—All towers, and all Late.

Kingston-upon-Hull—A tower, Early Perpendicular.

Howden, Lincolnshire—A tower, Early Perpendicular.

Hedon—A tower, Early Perpendicular.

Patrington—Decorated, a spire of Early Perpendicular.

Leicester—St. Mary, St. Martin's, St. Nicholas, all spires; St. Margaret's, Late, a tower, embattled.

Lynn Regis—St. Margaret's has two western towers, one Late, the other Decorated; the former was *originally embattled with pinnacles;* the Decorated had a very lofty spire of timber, which for uniformity was demolished during the last century, and the Decorated tower embattled like the Late one; St. Nicholas' chapel, Late Decorated, a high timber spire, now demolished.

Northampton—St. Sepulchre's, Late Decorated, a fine spire; St. Giles', Late, tower embattled; tower of St. Peter's, embattled in the sixteenth century.

Norwich—Parochial churches, chiefly towers, all Late; Cathedral, a spire, about 1370.

Nottingham—St. Mary's, a tower, very Late Perpendicular; St. Peter's, Late Decorated, a spire.

Oxford—Merton, Perpendicular, tower; St. Mary Magdalene [*sic*], Late Perpendicular, tower; New College, Early Perpendicular, tower; St. Mary's, Decorated, spire; Christ Church, Early English, spire; Old All Saints', Late Decorated, spire. The upper part of the towers of many of the parochial churches at Oxford, were embattled in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Lincolnshire—Grantham, Decorated, a spire; Brant Broughton, a spire, Decorated; Leadenham, Decorated, a spire; Fulbeck, Perpendicular, a tower; Claythorpe, Decorated, a spire; Sleaford, Early English, a spire; Lessingham, Decorated, a spire; Ewerby, Decorated, a spire; Tattershall, Late Perpendicular, a tower; Dorrington, Decorated, a spire; Swineshead, Decorated, a spire; Wigtoft, Early, a spire; Frampton, Early English, a spire; Sutterton, Late Decorated, a spire; Gosberton, Late Decorated, a spire; Spalding, Decorated, a spire; Moulton, Decorated, a spire; Surfleet, Decorated, a spire; Quadring, Decorated, a spire; Sutton, St. Mary's, Early Lancet, a high timber spire, covered with lead; Morton, Perpendicular, a tower; Haconby [*sic*], Decorated, a spire; Dunsby, Late, a tower, embattled; Rippingale, Late, a tower; Dowsby, a tower, Late; Billingborough, Decorated, a spire; Horbling, Late Perpendicular, an embattled tower; Sempringham, Decorated, a spire; Wyberton, an embattled tower, Perpendicular.[15]

These instances ought to prove that spires do not belong to *counties*, but to periods and styles. Every Early and Decorated tower in Lincolnshire has a spire, while these are interspersed with embattled towers, all Late. The only reason why some counties are more famous for spires than others, is simply because we find more churches *of a particular date* in those counties. In Surrey the spires were mostly of *wood*, covered with *wooden shingles*, some of which yet remain, but most have disappeared, owing to the perishable material. In Kent they had nothing but Rag-stone; hence the spires were mostly of wood, covered with lead; many were taken down when the towers were repaired in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and more within the last century.[1] Rochester Cathedral had a spire of timber covered with lead in my recollection. Minster spire, in the Isle of Thanet, is yet remaining. St. Clement's, Sandwich, was the same, in Leicestershire.[16] The fact of spires depending

[1] Most of the towers of the Kentish churches were rebuilt, or the upper part re-constructed about this period; we not unfrequently find Late towers with ancient naves. In a curious map of the Isle of Thanet engraved in the Monasticon, the churches of St. Peter's, St. Lawrence's, and many others *now embattled* are represented with high spires, of timber. Minster church, partly Norman and partly Early Lancet, still retains its original timber spire.

on styles, and not locality, is equally remarkable. Kegworth, Late Decorated, a spire; Loughborough, Perpendicular, a tower embattled; Sileby, the same; Syston, the same (and all I believe by the same architect); Queniborough, Early Decorated, a spire; Gaddesby, ditto; Ashby Folville, a tower, Perpendicular; Kirkby, Decorated, a spire; Asfordby, ditto. Melton is most interesting in this respect; the tower is Early English up to a certain height; where there is actually a block projecting string, which was originally under the spire.[17] The upper part of the tower was added *in the fifteenth century*. Now in this case either the spire was never completed, or taken down at that period, and the tower raised. Nether Broughton and Over Broughton have both late towers of Perpendicular work. A little further on we have Bingham, an Early English tower, with a spire; Bottesford, Decorated, with a high spire; and Banbury, also Decorated, with a high spire.[18] At Stamford, St. Mary's, Decorated, spire; All Saints, Early Perpendicular, a spire; St. Martin's and St. John's, Late, towers. Louth, very Early Perpendicular, is terminated with a high spire; also Whittlesea in Cambridgeshire.

SOME SPIRES IN NORMANDY.

Abbaye de Jumieges [*sic*]—Two at the western end, timber, very Early; one on the entrance of St. Peter's church, timber, thirteenth century.

Abbaye de St. Wandrille—One in the centre tower, of immense height, stone, thirteenth century.

Lillebonne parish church—One of stone, early part of the thirteenth century.

Harfleur parish church—One of stone, early part of the fifteenth century.

Granville parish church—One centre tower, timber, very Early.

Abbaye de Montevilliers—West end stone, twelfth century; one centre tower, timber, twelfth century.

Abbaye de St. Georges de Bocherville—Two at the west end, stone, early part of the thirteenth century; one on the centre tower, timber, very Early.

Rouen Cathedral—1. Spire over the centre tower, stone, eleventh century; 2. Spire over the centre tower, timber, burnt in the thirteenth century; 3. A steeple over the centre tower, timber, burnt in the sixteenth century. The two western towers are very Late, and are without spires.

St. Maclon [*sic*]—One centre tower, stone, destroyed by a storm, fifteenth century.

Evereux [*sic*] Cathedral—One centre tower, timber.

Bayeux—West end, two spires, stone, twelfth century.

Coutances—West end, two spires, stone, twelfth century.

Caen—Abbaye of St. Etienne—Two at the west end, stone, twelfth century; St. Pierre parish church—One at the west end, stone, fourteenth century; St. Sauveur parish church—One at the west end, stone, fourteenth century; St. Etienne parish church—timber, fourteenth century; St. Jean—constructed for a spire, but not built, owing to a settlement, thirteenth century.

SOME REMARKABLE SPIRES IN FRANCE AND THE CONTINENT.

Chartres—One at the west end, very fine, stone, twelfth century; one at the west end, open and not so good, stone, fifteenth century.
Abbaye de St. Denis—At the west end, stone, twelfth century.
Abbaye de St. Germain at Paris—Three; two at the west end and one in the centre; timber, twelfth century; the centre and one at the west end now demolished.
Abbey of St. Victor—A stone spire at the west end, twelfth century; one in the centre of timber, fourteenth century.
Beauvais Cathedral—A stone spire in the centre, fourteenth century; one over the Sainte Chapellé [*sic*], Paris, a high spire of timber, thirteenth century.
Cologne—Two high spires were designed for the Cathedral.
Fribourg—a high spire at the west end; Gelnhausen, three spires; St. Elizabeth, at Marburgh—two stone spires, west end, a timber one in centre; Limburgh—a high spire in centre; St. Lawrence, Nuremberg, two spires, west end; Notre Dame, Bruges—a high spire on one side.

I believe fully that the spire entered equally into the design of the foreign Christian architects during the Early and Decorated period as it did into those of England. Nay, more, I do not remember to have seen a tower that was finished with a square top; the late ones on the continent were finished with open lanterns and arch-work, more like Boston, so that the spiral outline was in some measure preserved.

It is of course impossible to notice in this account a hundredth part of the examples that may be cited in support of my position, but it is impossible to examine the towers now existing, with strict attention, without perceiving that embattled towers were substituted for spires in the Late Perpendicular Churches; while every *complete* tower of the earlier date is terminated by a spire. The *spire went down with the roof*, and flat roofs and embattled towers are invariably found together. Counties which are celebrated for spires, are full of Early and Decorated Churches of stone construction; while in those counties where few spires are found, the towers are either Late or have been altered at a late period. The finest Churches of Norfolk are mostly Early Perpendicular, those in Suffolk the same. Huge towers, with flint and panel-work, fine of the style, but not comparable to the earlier designs. Often the lower part of a tower, as at Huntingdon, is Decorated, and the upper part rebuilt in the fifteenth or sixteenth century with a square embattled top.

In conclusion, if any tower can be pointed out to me (which I have not seen) as complete of the Decorated or early period without a spire, I will at the earliest opportunity proceed to examine the same, and make a report upon it.

I remain, with respect, your obedient servant,
✠ A. W. PUGIN.[19]

To the Very Rev. the President of Trinity College.

[1] The bulk of the letter printed here is taken from this source in a report of a meeting of the Oxford architectural society held on 7 June 1843, to which it was read in the course of a continuing debate on

whether medieval church towers did or did not terminate in spires. When the letter is printed again, under the heading 'On spires and towers', *Architectural Review*, 23 (January 1908): [3]–9, some short passages, which are of a personal and occasional sort rather than bearing on the argument, are included, which do not appear in the earlier version. Because illustrations in the *Architectural Review* prove that the transcript there was made direct from the MS, these passages have been incorporated in the text printed here, their presence and extent being always indicated in a note. Significant variations between the two printed versions are pointed out in the notes. In both transcriptions there has been an evident attempt to regularize and correct Pugin's text.

Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 24 June 1843 shows that it was Bloxam who copied out Pugin's letter so that it could be read to the society.

The *Proceedings* state on p. 16 that the letter was read to the meeting by the secretary, J. H. Parker. Perhaps the letter from Parker to which Pugin refers in his first paragraph relayed the interest the society had in hearing the reasons for the opinion which Pugin had, unsolicited, expressed to Ingram.

The footnotes to the text which appear in the *Proceedings*, signalled by letters of the alphabet, beginning at 'e' because the letter forms only part of the report of the meeting, are printed here with Pugin's text, as are his footnotes, signalled by the superscript letters 'g' and 'l', to his list of spires. Annotations written for this edition are placed at the end of the letter in the usual way.

[2] The whole of this opening paragraph is taken from the *Architectural Review*, where Pugin's illumination of the initial 'R' of 'REVEREND' is reproduced.

[3] The word 'founded' seems to be a misreading of 'forwarded'.

[4] Pugin writes his first letter to Ingram on 14 May 1843. The *Architectural Review* prints 'travelled by gigs through'.

[5] The five '*Sketches*' of which this is the first are diagrams rather than drawings. They are reproduced in the *Architectural Review* too, which also includes at scattered points in its layout five sketches of different kinds of spire, unidentified if indeed they exist.

[6] The *Architectural Review* begins the sentence 'Those churches'.

[7] Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, published in four volumes at Canterbury from 1778 to 1799. Pugin owned a first edition, as the catalogue, where it is lot 353, of the sale of his books after his death reveals; a '*fine copy in russia extra*', it fetched seventeen guineas at the auction.

[8] The *Architectural Review* corrects 'squinces' to 'squinches'.

[9] Pugin's admiration for Steinbach is already apparent in his letter to A. W. Hakewill of August 1835.

[10] The church of St Mary-le-Bow in Cheapside, London.

[11] This sentence is printed in the *Architectural Review* only.

[12] James Wyatt (1746–1813).

[13] Pugin refers to William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* in his letter opposing the Martyrs' Memorial in January 1839. He mentions the work of Wenceslaus Hollar in his letter of 11 February 1841 to John Weale; Hollar's plate showing the spire is bound between pp. 18 and 19 of Volume 1 of the first edition of the *Monasticon*.

[14] In London.

[15] The *Architectural Review* prints 'Donington' for 'Dorrington'.

[16] Pugin's meaning has been misconstrued here: Sandwich supplies the last of his Kentish examples and the sentence should end at 'same', as it does in the *Architectural Review*; the phrase 'in Leicestershire' introduces his next point, illustrated by Kegworth, Loughborough, and so on.

[17] The *Architectural Review* reproduces Pugin's sketch of Melton tower with its indication of the spire by dotted lines.

[18] The *Architectural Review* prints 'Barrowby' for 'Banbury'.

[19] In the facsimile of 'The finish of the letter' printed in the *Architectural Review*, it can be seen that Pugin signed his name as '✠ AWelby Pugin' and added sketches of a church with tower and spire of the 'fine Period' and a church with tower only of the 'debased Period'.

To LORD MIDLETON — Thursday, 25 May 1843[1]

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/49 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harow feast of S[t] Aldhelm 1843

I hereby certify that Mess[rs]. Moon have duly performed so much of the work of the farm buildings at oxenford as to entitle them to receive a payment of two hundred pounds.

£200. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

[1] According to his list of journeys to Peper Harow in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1ⓘ, Pugin was there not on 25 May but on 29 May; perhaps he antedated the certificate.

To LUIGI GENTILI — London, Friday, 26 May 1843

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 472 *Address*: Rev[d] D[r] Gentili / Catholic chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: Chelsea; 29 MY 29 1843; MY 30 1843 in Loughborough

✠ London. Feast of S[t] Augustine

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

if you will send me up the sketches I sent you I will prepare the plans for working forthwith.[1]

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I must caution you not to speak about the affair with Miss y to anyone.[2] the less said the better as it might irritate her friends.

[1] The plans are likely to be those for Ratcliffe College.

[2] Apparently Isabella Young, who, Pugin notes in his diary, was 'professed' on 28 October 1842; according to an undated, printed list of 'Persons of note who have lately embraced the Catholic faith', which is held in AAW with the classification W2/2/2(1), she was received together with her older sister. *Gwynn*, pp. 95–7, states that she was a penitent of Pusey's, who became a Catholic while allowed, through the agency of Lord Shrewsbury, to stay for a month in a convent in Birmingham. According to 'Birmingham', *Orthodox Journal*, 16 (14 January 1843): 31, Miss Young, who comes from the Isle of Wight and is twenty-five years of age, is a protegée of the Archbishop of York as well as Pusey. A 'few days ago' the 'latter-named divine stayed several hours at the convent at Birmingham after the lady had received her first communion, and seemed much pleased with the kind reception he received at the hands of the nuns'. It seems not to have been Miss Young's soul only that was at stake in this tussle between the faiths: the *Orthodox Journal* states that she was possessed of an 'independent fortune of £15,000 per annum'. It is possible that the damning description of Pusey as 'deranged' in 'his conduct at Birmingham' which Pugin gives to Lord Shrewsbury in his letter of 7 November 1842 relates to the conversion of Isabella Young. In an undated letter filed in ML 1843, Isabella Young forwards 'the enclosed' to Hardman from 'M[r]. Pugin'. It seems from Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 10 October 1843 that she may have wavered somewhat in her new adhesion.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Saturday, 27 May 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/90 *Address*: Rev[d] J Bloxam / S Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: London Rd; 27 MY 27 1843; MY 28 1843 in Oxford

Rev & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I expect D V to be with you on Tuesday afternoon.

in great haste
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL — London, Saturday, 27 May 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: M. Forristall Esq[r]. / 3 Rodney Buildings / new Kent Road / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; MY 29 1843

✠ chelsea. Saturday Evening

Dear Sir

I will have the specification &[c] for the houses & convent prepared in a few days.[1] I can assure you that the report about my being indifferent to any building but a church is utterly without foundation & Like many other lies about me is put forth by interested persons for private ends. I enter into *any building* which I undertake with the *greatest interest.* in fact I feel bound by concience to do so independent of other inducements. In the present instance I consider the houses & convent to be of equal importance with the church—as setting forth an example of the maner in which such buildings should be errected in a city Like London. I have taken all possible pains in the plan & design & I feel assured that they will harmonise well with the church & be perfectly correct in the internal arrangements.

I remain dear sir
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The houses and convent adjacent to St George's, Southwark, were built from 1843 to 1845. A copy, not in Pugin's hand, of the specifications for them is held in AAW; it calls, among other details, for the walls to be 'built of good sound Kentish bricks faced with yellow Brick of the same quality and bond as those in the Church'; the mason needs 'Combe down Stone', from a quarry near Bath, 'Hare hill', 'Caen stone', 'rubbed York', and 'Park spring' for various parts, and most of the 'basement floors' are 'to be laid with blue and red Staffordshire quarries'; the carpenter is to use 'Riga Oak' for the 'principal Staircase', while 'English Oak' and other woods will be used elsewhere, for instance, 'the whole of the roofs' are to be made of 'red Pine'; the glazier's work includes fitting 'Perforated zinc lights to Pantries in Oak frames'; Pugin's signature is copied but there is no date on the document. Receipts preserved in SAA St G show that Myers received payments of £250 on each occasion on 12 June 1843, 1 July 1843, 1 August 1843, 1 September 1843, 30 September 1843, 1 November 1843, 1 December 1843, 22 January 1844, 8 March 1844, 4 April 1844, 18 May

1844, 14 September 1844, 19 October 1844, 8 March 1845, 6 June 1845, and 8 November 1845, making a total of £4,000. The payment of Pugin's commission of £200 is also recorded, a sum of £12. 10*s.* at each of these dates except that the first two in 1844 are varied to 11 March and 3 April.

Information about this new foundation is given in the *Catholic Directory* for 1844 under the heading 'Saint George's Catholic Church, London, and its Convent of Our Lady of Mercy' (p. 34). The premises 'for the present will accommodate only eleven ladies. The school-room, for three hundred poor female children, is under the cells of the sisters. Besides the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the church into which the cloister looks through some beautifully wrought windows, there is a small but beautiful private chapel in the convent that will afford accommodation for thirty sisters—here they will in silence speak with their heavenly Spouse—hence they will go to assuage the sorrows of the sick and dying of the neighbourhood, or to instruct the children of the poor' (p. 35). There is a garden between the chancel of the church and what the directory calls the 'presbytère'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Southampton, Thursday, 1 June 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [94] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Southampton.[2] Thursday[?].

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I write in haste to inform you that I have just escaped in a most surprising manner. in coming out of Godalming from Lord Midletons at a good rate not in a *gig* but *a 4 wheeled chaise* the fore wheel came off. the horse immediatly took fright—kicking[?] & dragging the carrige. I managed to jump out a moment before the carrige was turned *right over*—& dragged along in that way a considerable distance. had I remain in I could not have escaped—as it was I go very much cut & shaken but *no bones broke* or *anything essential.* I am Lamed for the present but as I can ride I hope to get down to alton early next week. I shall not be home till sunday so please not to answer this till Sundays post as I do not want M^rs^. P so near her confinement to know of the acident before I come up.[3]

I remain ever dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] No journey recorded in Pugin's surviving diaries matches the days and places named in this letter, which is one fact that points to 1843. In that year, if the letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 24 June is correctly placed at that date, as it seems to be, this letter appears to precede it. The trip to Peper Harow closest to 24 June in Pugin's list of visits there in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①, is that of 29 May, a Monday; the day Pugin writes at the head of the page looks most like 'Thursday', which would be 1 June, but could conceivably be 'Tuesday', 30 May; 'Tuesday' would make better sense of 'just' in Pugin's first sentence. Later in the letter he expresses a hope of visiting Alton 'early next week'; he left London on Tuesday 8 June and worked his way to Liverpool by the end of the week; a call en route at Alton is possible.

[2] The business taking Pugin to Southampton is very likely to be the addition to the church of St Joseph which he mentions in the letter to Rock perhaps written on 23 September 1843.

[3] Mary Pugin, Pugin's fourth daughter, was born on 25 September 1843; she married George Coppinger Ashlin in 1867 and died in 1933. Ashlin (1836 or 1837–1921), born in County Cork and educated at Oscott, was an architect who at various times worked in partnership with Edward Pugin, and with Peter Paul Pugin and Cuthbert Pugin. It was Pugin who registered Mary's birth, and on her birth certificate her mother's maiden name is written 'Button'.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL London, Saturday, 3 June 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: J. Forristall Esq[r] / 3 Rodney Buildings / new Kent Road / London *Postmark*: JU 5 1843

✠ London. whitsun eve 1843

My Dear Sir

owing to my absence from town I could not reply sooner to your note. I shall be most happy to do what you want but you do not say weth the device is for the *cover* or for the *title* of the collecting Books, wether it is to be *stamped* on or *cut in* wood & *printed* & what is the *size* required & wether it is to be a simple *device* or *a view* of the proposed buildings. when you give me these particulars I will forward it to you. I have got all the details of the specification ready for the buildings & have compleated Large working plans for M[r]. Myers with all necessary details at Large.[1] I Leave very soon for Ireland but shall return D. V in about 3 weeks.[2]

I remain dear sir
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

I reckon much on the effect of the conventual & house buildings. they will be the only correct examples of antient domestic architecture in the metropolis.

[1] Pugin mentions the specifications in his letter to Forristall of 27 May 1843. The paper is torn in mid-sentence and a word, perhaps 'convent', has been lost before 'buildings'.

[2] Pugin appears from his correspondence to have left London for Birmingham on Tuesday 6 June and gone on in the direction of Liverpool on 7 June; on 8 June his account book in the V & A, MS L.50–1982/3, records that he visited Kirkham; before Wednesday 14 June he was in Ireland, perhaps crossing from Liverpool on the night of Sunday 11 June, and did not return to England before 29 June.

To WILLIAM RIDDELL London, Saturday, 3 June 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 16[1] *Address*: Rev[d] W. Riddell / Catholic Church / Pilgrim Street / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: Chelsea; 3 JU 3 1843; JU 4 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ London whitsun eve.

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I inclose you the drawing for the tower—but I fear it will prove a greater work than was anticipated—there is about 6000 cube feet of stone work in it—the walls being 5 feet thick & solid.[2] I have estimated it most carefully & find it will cost without the groining £467. 0. 0 & if the groining is completed with carved bosses &[c]. 80. 0. 0. There would be plenty of weight of wall to admit of the groining being built at once if required & I have Left a Large octagonal opening in the groin for the purpose of hoisting bells or materials. I have arranged for a 7 lb gutter on oak bearers

at back of tower towards roof & of course the stone staircase is carried up with a door out on gutter.[3] The whole additional height to the top of stringcourse will be 19 feet & The expense Lies in the mass of masonry required which could carry a modern tower up 50 feet. it would be far better however to give up the idea of going on with the tower above the present Level than to build it in a slight & insuficient manner for whatever is done must be in reference to the *final compleation of the spire.* The sedelia are worked in Caen stone but the seats &c are of oak. this is quite right. they will be a beautiful job & please you much.

I have not yet hit upon an inscription that I think quite satisfactory for the monmt but tomorow being sunday I will have a good hunt & send you the result on Monday. Leave for Ireland on Tuesday & purpose returning by Belfast Glasgow & So to Newcastle.

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The pencil inscription of 'July 4 1843' in a later hand at the top of the letter is erroneous, 'JU' being the Post Office's abbreviation of June, not July. Below the four one-penny stamps on the address panel a contemporary hand endorses 'Brennan next Sunday M[c]Dade next Williamson next'.

[2] Pugin's subject is the church of St Mary in Newcastle.

[3] The weight of seven pounds, or something over three kilograms, is a measurement of the density of the lead.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Sunday, 4 June 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/7 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: table measuring '8.0' by '4.6' and chair and plan of table showing position of legs and stretchers.* Fig. 3]

My Lord

I herewith send you a slight sketch of an old oak table & one of a pair of carved oak chairs which I think would suit the hall at Mousehill house. the table is in excellent condition new framing new top & would Dine 10 or 12. the chairs are a Pai with new stuffed seat of cut velvet & rather richly carved oak.[2] very good & strong—the table I could get for about £12 & the chairs £10 the pair. I do not think your Lordsip could make anything cheaper. certainly nothing so good. should you however prefer me to make a drawing I will do so. I inclose a sketch for the sides of the fire place. My adress will be till next monday at M[rs]. Redmond's summer hill

Wexford Ireland.[3]

I expect to Reach Midleton by wednesday week.[4]

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert ✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The dating is tentative. It is clear from Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 20 June 1843 that he has already mentioned the table and chairs, even perhaps that Lord Midleton has had time to inspect them.

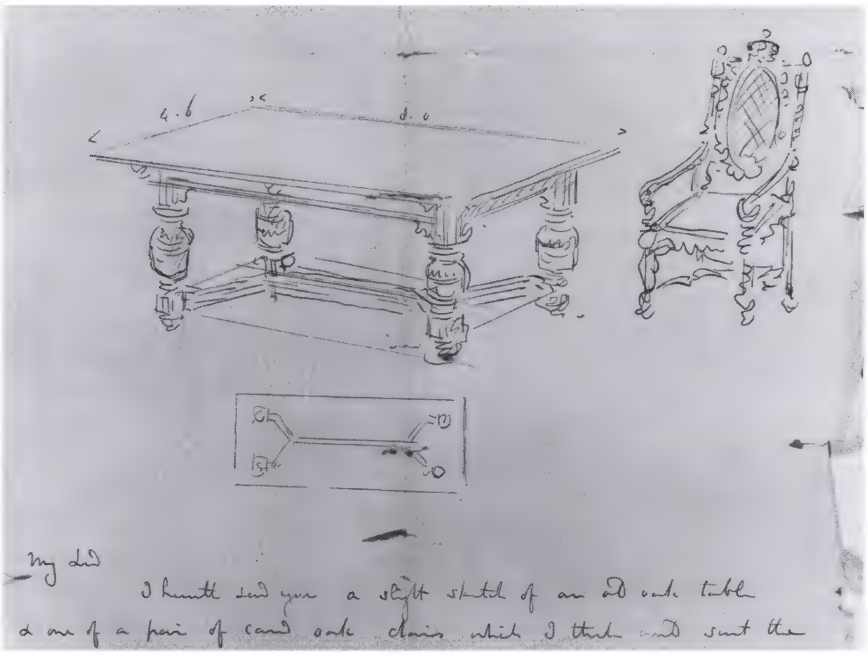

Figure 3 Furniture for Mousehill, recommended to Lord Midleton perhaps on 4 June 1843

It is assumed that it would be in London that Pugin saw suitable furniture. He set off from London on his way to Ireland on 6 June.

[2] The MS is worn at the edge of the sheet and the final 'r' of 'Pair' is lost.

[3] The first mention of Mrs Redmond occurs in the letter Pugin may have written to J. H. Talbot on 22 November 1838.

[4] Pugin appears to have reached Midleton on Tuesday 20 June.

To THOMAS WALSH?[1] London, Sunday, 4 June 1843?

Text: MS BL Add. 63520. O., f. 28[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: plan of 'sacristy', 'chancel' and nave '35.0' by '15.0'*] [*Sketch: southwest elevation of church designed for Stone*]

My Dear Lord Bishop

I have made a fresh set of drawings for stone & the Lowest sum for which a building can be erected with chancel sacristy altar &[c]. will be £471. 10. 0.[3] this includes every expense—& finishes the building ready for use. M[r]. Myers is ready to start at a days notice. I purpose going to Breewood on *Tuesday*—or *Wednesday* morning. if your Lordsip can get anything decided by that time & would write to me there I

could send myers to begin during the next week & the work would not be Long in hand. I start for Ireland on Thursday.

with great respect
I remain your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

Pray Let me know about the chancel at Breewood so that it may be decided one way before I get there as it is impossible to stop the work—at the East end any Longer.

There is a Post office at Breewood & it would be better to direct to me *at the* Post office. if I could get the Letter on Wednesday mning it would do—but Tuesday if possible.

Since I wrote this I have just received your Lordsips kind note. I am truly glad about Breewood chancel for the foreman wrote to say they were nearly at a stand. it will make now a perfect church.

[1] Walsh is suggested as the bishop to whom this letter was written because Staffordshire formed part of the midland district of which he was in charge; as his coadjutor, Wiseman is, however, also a possibility.

[2] The MS is reproduced as Plate II.

[3] Pugin's meaning would be more quickly apprehended had he been in the habit of capitalizing proper names. The first stone of the chapel for St Anne's, a new school, at Stone, Staffordshire, was laid on 19 July by the Italian Passionist priest Dominic Barberi (1792–1849), according to 'Stone', *Tablet*, 4 (9 September 1843): 565. Barberi settled at Aston Hall just outside Stone in February 1842. The chapel was opened by him on 22 April 1844. A simple brick building, it consists of only a nave and a chancel; stained glass was inserted in the east window, and there is a statue of St Anne over the door at the west end. The Metal sales ledger debits Pugin £10. 10*s.* 6*d.* on 26 March 1844 for goods for Stone.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Monday, 5 June 1843?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/15[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: niche with pot and pipe*] [*Sketch: plan of fireplace with dimension of '12.0'*] [*Sketch: 'front of chimney jamb'*]

My Lord

fearing I did not make myself exactly understood respecting the fire place at Mousehill house I send the sketch to shew the seat panelling behind the symetrical arch over. also the niche for the *Pot & pipe.* I will forward the sideboard recess forthwith

& remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have kept the sideboard plain so that your Lordsips joiner can work it but the effect will Not be bad. I should Like some old Looking handles to the drawers.

[1] The letter is in pencil, as are the sketches; the postscript is in ink. The postscript is now on a separate slip of paper but it seems to have been part of the original sheet and worn away at the fold; both have the same MS number.

To LORD SHREWSBURY

London, Monday, 5 June 1843

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/11 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea Whitmonday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I had made all my arrgmts for Ireland or I would have waited till Thursday with the hope of seeing your Lordship. I can assure you that it is not owing to any neglect of mine that the seal is not completed.

Wegall made a Model in wax for the handle, of a Talbot—the Electrotype was then applied to deposit a coating of copper over the wax.[1] the wax was then melted out & it was intended to precipitate a thickness of silver inside the copper & dissolve the copper off it by nitric acid. the precipitation failed the model was spoilt & he has been obliged to prepare a new one. hence the delay. I have been with him this morning & he assures me that it will be entirely finished in 2 weeks. The Pedestal for cross is compleat & only waits my approval at Birmingham when it will be sent off.[2] I shall see it tomorow.

I attend to everything the moment I receive your Lordsips instructions but there are innumerable difficulties attending the execution of work out of the common way.

I will write again from Ireland

& remain my dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Devoted & faithful Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin is making a seal for Lord Shrewsbury. This one seems too elaborate to be the one entered to the earl in MWDB at 5 October 1843 as simply 'A Steel seal' at a price of £1. 5*s*.

The quality of Henry Weigall's workmanship as displayed in his commercial stationery fully justifies Pugin's high opinion and trust. His invoice, not for this job, preserved in a bundle for April–June 1845 in BCA, is splendid; a reproduction of it accompanies Margaret Belcher, 'Debtor to . . .', in the newsletter of the Pugin Society, *True Principles*, 1, no. 10 (Summer 2000): [2]–[3]. In a variety of types it announces 'H. WEIGALL, *Seal Engraver, By Special Appointment* To The Queen And Royal Family—& GENERAL ENGRAVER & COPPER PLATE PRINTER, *N°. 3, S^t. James's Street, London.* Visiting, Compliment, Card & Book Plates, Tradesmen's Cards, Invoices, Bills of Exchange, &c. Engraved & Printed. *Office Seals & Presses, Sporting, Regimental & Livery Buttons, & every Work connected with Engraving & Copper Plate printing executed.*'

[2] Perhaps Pugin's approval was not immediately forthcoming for it is not until 1 July 1843 that a 'Base for Altar Cross Mahogany Gilt' is entered to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB, at a cost of £10. The delay was sufficient to impel George Winter, steward at Alton Towers, to send an anxious letter to Hardman, preserved in ML, on 29 June 1843, urging him to ensure that the stand for the crucifix be sent before Lord Shrewsbury's return to Alton the following Thursday.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL En route, Tuesday, 6 June 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: F. Forristall Esq[r]. / 3. Rodney Buildings / New Kent Road / London *Postmark*: JU 6 1843 in Nottingham; 7 JU 7 1843

✠ London & Birmingham railway Whituesday

My Dear Sir

I herewith send you the specifications for the Convent & houses for S[t] Georges.[1] I have supplied M[r]. Myers with Large Working plans & Detail drawings. I belive I have considered everything that can tend to the convenience & comfort of the building—perfect Drainage &[c]. In my own opion it will be a great addition in point of effect to the church for the turrets &[c] will form a good bold outline and I have every reason to expect that this building will give entire satisfaction to the Bishop & Clery when compleated.

I remain dear Sir
yours most sincerely
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin promises the specifications in his letter to Forristall of 27 May 1843.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS[1] En route, Wednesday, 7 June 1843?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/744/4[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Grand Junction Railway Wednesday in Ember week

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

being absent on a Long journey your Letter did not reach me & am now just able to send you a reply. I should have had great pleasure in forwarding you a statement of the proposed restoration but from the date mentioned in your Letter it would be too Late for the society meeting. however by the plans & sketches you have already & with your knowledge of my intentions I trust you will have been ennabled to Lay before the society a general idea of the proposed works. so much delay is very vexatious but I suppose we must endure it patiently. I shall hold myself ready to commence operations at any time. I am only grieved that the good results which must attend the restoration of S[t] Marys should be so Long procrastinaed. I much regret not being able to come to Beverley for the meeting but I am incessantly occupied & do not feel justified in going any where except there be an absolute necessity for my prescence. I am now on my road to Ireland where I shall probably remain[?] for 2 or 3 weeks having several buildings in progress[3]
I did not see the announcement respecting M[r]. Scott[4]
any attention to it if I had seen it. The papers

day that Blore was to be employed at Balliol College[5]
I need not say how glad I shall be wh
about S[t] Marys. In the mean time I remain dear Sir

with respect your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin's first surviving letter to Sandys about the restoration of St Mary's church in Beverley was written on 20 November 1842.
[2] The letter is written in pencil.
[3] The lower right corner of the MS has worn away at a fold and only half lines remain.
[4] Probably George Gilbert Scott (1811–78), the most successful of English Gothic-Revival architects.
[5] Edward Blore (1787–1879), known as an illustrator of architectural and topographical books before he made a name as an architect; he was responsible for the east front of Buckingham Palace later in the 1840s. In 1843 he was engaged to remodel the chapel of St John's College, Oxford, next door to Balliol. Pugin names Blore's *Monumental Remains* in a letter to James Gillis which may have been written on 14 January 1845.

To LORD MIDLETON — Liverpool, Sunday, 11 June 1843?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/48 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Liverpool Trinity Sunday.

My Lord

it has blown so hard since wednesday that I did not think it advisable to cross. it is now however more moderate & I purpose sailing this Evening D. V. This will throw me out with respect to my arrangements in Ireland & I do not expect to reach Midleton before the end of the week. will your Lordsip be so good as to enclose me a Letter for your agent with a few Lines to Let me know where I am to enquire for him at Midleton.[1] please to direct to me Post office Waterford. I have made a rule for some years past not to go to sea in bad weather—& the oldest men at Liverpool do not remember so Long & continuous a Gale in June. at Daybreak on Friday 3 vessells were discovered on shore on the Liverpool banks. 2 have become total wrecks. crews saved by the life boats. a great many wrecks on South coasts of wales. I never recollect so destructive a breeze—in summer.

with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Lord Midleton's agent appears from Pugin's letter of 20 June 1843 to have been 'M[r]. Foley'.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Wexford, Thursday, 15 June 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/48 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam. / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: JU 15 1843 in Wexford; JU 16 43; JU 18 1843 in Oxford

✠ Wexford feast of Corpus Christi

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am sure it will give you sincere pleasure to hear that I have succeeded famously in Ireland this time—& I may say I have accompled a great work. there will be 2 cathedral churches.[1] 3 parochial ones.[2] 3 conventual & 1 Collegiate—all carried out with fonts altars vestmts surplices stained windows—these will spread the good thing in all directions & the people are beging to feel them thoroughly—really there is wonderful faith & devotion in this country after all.[3] I see nothing Like it I mean ong the poor.[4] there certainly is a surprising deal of true christian ty resignation & humily among the country people. I assure you they are worthy of good churches & all the solemnities of religion—I assisted this morning at Mass which was celebrated with more solemnity than I have yet witnessed in this place.[5] there is a decited improvement in this diocese—& I have every hope in a few years we shall effect wonders. Everything seems very quiet here. all the *row is on the top*. I should be very happy to receive a Line from you to Let me know how matters are going on at oxford with respect to D[r]. Pusey's unjust condemnation.[6] I saw a wretched thing about him in the *illustrated London* News.[7] a Letter directed Post office Killarney Ireland will find me till the end of next week.

ever with great respect dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] It is not clear whether in the summary catalogue begun here Pugin refers to new commissions obtained on this trip or to buildings already under construction or completed. One cathedral church is St Aidan's, Enniscorthy, the other, St Mary's, Killarney, commenced in 1842.

[2] The three parish churches may include St Alphonsus', Barntown, which was built, the church at Midleton which seems not to have been, and the church at Tagoat.

[3] Pugin may have in mind his work at Rathfarnham, the convent next to St Michael's church in Gorey, the Presentation convent in Waterford which was begun in 1842, and the chapel of St Peter's College, Wexford, finished in 1840.

[4] Part of 'among' is missing where the seal has torn the paper; and perhaps the damaged word in the next sentence was 'piety'.

[5] After 'all the solemnities of' Pugin first wrote 'the Church' and then smudged those two words and made the diplomatic substitution of 'religion'.

[6] Pusey's sermon, preached in Christ Church Cathedral in Oxford on 14 May and published as *The Holy Eucharist, a Comfort to the Penitent*, was condemned by the authorities of the university as teaching error, and, although he had been professor of Hebrew and a canon of Christ Church for fifteen years by this time, Pusey was suspended from preaching in the university pulpit in St Mary's church for two years.

[7] 'Dr. Pusey', *Illustrated London News*, 2, no. 58 (10 June 1843): 410, is one in a series of 'Popular portraits' carried by the journal over a period of time. Quoting Pusey's protest to the vice-chancellor at the censure of his sermon, the piece alleges that the sermon taught, in effect, the doctrine of Transubstantiation. A sketch of Pusey is accompanied by a description of his appearance: 'A reed shaken by the

wind is scarcely less frail than that small, attenuated, meagre figure' with its 'skin, shrivelled and brown'. Ladies are said, it claims, to gaze for hours at a window in the hope of seeing 'the apostle of revived theology', and they 'esteem it a privilege to tread on the same flags of the same pavement as he has trodden; and to crowd upon him in passing, that they might touch the hem of his garment!'

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH

Monday, 19 June 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Monday in the octave of Corpus christi 1843[1]

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S[t] Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0

✠ A Welby Pugin
master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the architects commission on the above amount.

✠ A Welby Pugin

£25. 0. 0

[1] Pugin was in Ireland on this day. It is not uncommon for him to issue certificates in advance when he is working with a builder he trusts, as he always trusted Myers.

To WILLIAM DUNN

Cork, Tuesday, 20 June 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 15 *Address*: William Dunn Esq[r] / Bath House / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: Cork; JU 20 1843 in Cork; JU 22 43; JU 24 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne; JU 24 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ Cork. Tuesday in the octave of
Corpus Christi

Dear Sir

I purpose being at Newcastle very soon and I will bring the working drawing of the organ with me. M[r]. Myers has it in London & I will write for it. the staircase &[c]. is shewn. untill the tower is carried up the only access to the roof must be by means of a Ladder from the top of the staircase.

I remain dear sir
yours most truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

To LORD MIDLETON Midleton, Tuesday, 20 June 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/9 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Midleton. Tuesday in the octave of copus christi

My Lord

I deffered repling to your Lordsips Letter till my arrival here—so that I might be ennabled to give you a full acount of my proceedings—but first touching Mousehill house. if the fire place was executed in good hard stone it would be worth about £12 or 14 fixing &c complete but I suppose the Marble would make it a third more.[1] I believe it is very hard. the design is however so simple that there cannot be the Least difficulty about. if your Lordsip has an opportunity I think it would be well to ask Mr. Myers opinon about the cost. he could tell exactly.

2d. I do not think the table & chairs would be too much for the place as it is a parsonage—& this will be indeed the Dining hall.[2] if your Lordsip thinks well to decide on them please to Let me know.

3d. touching the Braces over the sideboard forming a tudor arch. The object of the Brace is to *truss the beam.* now surely the way in which this point can be *best obtained* must be the *best design.* The strength of wood is *in the grain.* in the segmental brace the grain runs from end to end. [*Sketch*: *brace cut with the grain and marked 'A' and 'A'*] in the 4 centred one the grain runs *across it* & a Line AA cuts off to nothing. [*Sketch*: *brace cut on the cross and marked 'A' and 'A'*]

The weather is now as fine as it was bad. the crops round Midleton Look exceedinly well & prospects are very good—so I hope all will go well at Last. the farmers spirits are fast reviving.

I like the appearance of Midleton very much. I mean as regards Situation & Capabilities—& I am examining everything very minutely—& having now made myself well acquainted with the Localities I shall be able to arrange my designs in England without difficulty.

I have prepared ample working drawings & specifications for the agents house & shops And will get tenders as soon as possible but should I not succeed I having them before I Leave Irelandand Mr. Peirce will give me every information—he is an invaluable man for Irish business.[3] he perfectly understands all the materials manners & prices of the country & my drawings as well so that in any difficulty he can reffered to with perfect certainty—it would be indeed quite impossible for me to carry out the work in Ireland without such a person. I have arranged With him for £1. 1. 0 a week—during the progress of the works—& for this he will perform the folling duties. set out the work. examine workmanship & materials, explain all drawings set out mouldings &c. full size, comunicate with me continually—send me tracings dimensions &c & in fact do all I require—he will be continually passing through midleton so he make all visits without increased expense & if the Larger works are carried out at Midleton it would be well for him hereafter to take up his residence there & make it head Quarters. I trust this arrangement will meet with

your Lordsips approbation. I think it is a moderate salary for good service & I could not get on with a responsible & clever man.[4] it will be quite impossible to building & roof a *portion* of the agents house. we ought to have a contract to *roof in* the whole. we ought indeed or it will not be a job. the walls will not bond. we shall have setlements & it will cost at Last 10 per cent more than carring up the work together. it is not a sort of building to extend over any Length of time. it is merely a moderate house & it would be better not to comence it than Leave it half finished & spoiling. there is nothing Like carring on work with good spirit. I do not mean hastily—but not in a Lingering maner for this increases the cost by expenses & injury. I perfectly understand your Lordsips intention of proceeding by annual expenditure but surely this may be arranged so as to accomplish a *certain amount of work* every year & get the *buildings roofed in*—which is the main point.

for instance. Let the foundations for the shops be got in Level with ground & the *shell* of the Gents house be *roof in* for this year—finish the shops & house next year. if it were possible it would be well done to get the roofs on the shops so that the walls might be dry for plastering next year but this of course your Lordsip must decide. all I beg is to get something in a proper state before winter & it is quite easy to have the roof on the agents house. The moment I get the tenders for the work I will forward them to your Lordsip—or perhaps bring them over & As Soon as you decide the work will comence. I cannot stake out the shops & agents house till the ground is cleared but Pierce will do this quite as well, now that the scite is accurately defined. it will be necessary to have the farm house drawings altered with respect to stone windows &c. in Lieu of wooden frames—& this I will attend to. I have got the dimensions of the church window. the present tracery is miserable & it would be useless to fill it with stained glass. if that is done we must insert proper stone tracery. how dreadful to see a pulpit shoved up in place of the altar. I fear it will be impossible to do any good with such feelings. They have not the Least idea of real Anglican principles & such are the violent & furious principles of the protestant party that I really fear any *correct* stained glass would create the most unpleasant feelings & bitterness. I merely make these suggestions for your Lordsips consideration. I will do everything you wish & should be deligted to see the improvement but I really fear the result—even the Cambridge camden Men have been decried as *superstitious* by the Down & connor architectural society.[5]

I perfectly understand your Lordsips ideas about the town hall &c & when I return I shall be able to go fully into all these matters—Midleton may be made a *Model* town. it will do incalculable good—I suppose your Lordsip would not have any objection to my preparing the drawings for these buildings during the next winter which is my time for work so that all may be getting forward—I have much to say respecting the position of streets as Laid down in the plan your Lordsip gave me but will reserve that till we meet. As Mr. Pierce duties will comence from the present time I think it will be but right that his allowance should date from the Octave day of Corpus christi next Thursday. it will be a very different thing working

with Irish builders or such men as M^r^. Myers & I see I must have everything set out. M^r^. Peirce is now copying out all the specifications &^c^. of which I am having 2 sets one for *Roofing in* the buildings & *another for finishing* intended for Separate contracts. I shall be truly glad to receive a few Lines from your Lordsip Directed to me Post office

Killarney.

I expect to be there till next Tuesday.[6]

your Lordsip may rely on my paing every attention to the business intrusted to me here & I remain

with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin charged Lord Midleton one guinea for the design of the grate for this fireplace, according to his list of expenses, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①. When the grate was moved during alterations to Mousehill house late in the twentieth century, it is said to have taken five men to lift it. The inscription over the fireplace, in capital letters, now reads 'Mous hill manorhouse A D 1643', but it is clear from an old photograph that it originally read 'Mousehill manorhouse A D 1843'.

[2] The table and chairs which Pugin recommends to Lord Midleton in his letter of perhaps 4 June 1843.

[3] Exactly what work was carried out at Midleton is not clear but an article entitled 'The Midleton Arms Hotel', *Midleton Parish Bulletin*, 5, no. 22 (28 April 1996), unattributed but known to have been written by B. Troy, puts forward evidence for some construction. A sale catalogue of August 1852 offers 'two superior and newly built stone and slated Houses and shops, designed by Pugin, comprising each on the Upper Floor, three bedrooms; First Floor, sitting room and small room adjoining; Ground Floor, shop, parlour, kitchen, yard, etc.' Designed 'about 1845' but not built until about 1851 by Lord Midleton's successor, the sixth viscount, the structure had by no later than 1867 become the Midleton Arms Hotel, of which the unnumbered page in the bulletin gives a small picture.

[4] Pugin plainly means 'get on without'.

[5] *White 1962*, p. 139, notices the hostility to the Cambridge Camden Society in the northern Irish diocese of Down and Connor.

[6] Pugin's letters confirm that he was in Killarney on Saturday 24 June and Sunday 25 June and probably on the following Monday too.

To LORD MIDLETON — Midleton, Tuesday, 20 June 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/9A *Address*: Right Honbl. / Lord Midleton / Peper Harrow. / near Godalming / Surrey; [redirected in another hand to] Tattons Hotel / Berkely Sqr / London *Postmark*: JU 21 1843 in Cork; JU 22 43; JU 24 1843 in Godalming; JU 24 1843; 24 JU 24 1843[1]

Tuesday afternoon

I have yet no intelligence of M^r^. Foley.[2] when I arrived here yesterday I found a Letter from him stating that he would be with me *Last night* but up to the present time he has not arrived. I am obliged to go to Cork to night but have Left a note to Let me him know that I will return tomorow. it is a most unfortunate delay for I shall

be hard pressed for time. I have however visited the farms & all the places mentioned by your Lordsip—with the Surveyor & I have made myself well acquainted with midleton & the vicinity—& visited the quarry of marble. it is well I went or they would have sent the shafts for the Bonville spring quite rough.[3]

[1] The postmark spells the name 'Godalmin'.
[2] Foley was apparently an agent of Lord Midleton's in Ireland.
[3] The Bonfield spring on Lord Midleton's estate of Peper Harow in Surrey, the enclosure of which Pugin first discusses in his letter to Lord Midleton of 5 July 1842. A drawing for the door of this structure, signed and dated 1844, is held in the MFT collection.

To LORD MIDLETON — Cork, Wednesday, 21 June 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/25 *Address*: Right Honbl. / Lord Midleton / Peper Harrow / Godalming / Surrey; [redirected in another hand to] Tattons Hotel / Berkely Sq^{r} / London *Postmark*: JU 22 1843 in Cork; JU 23 43; 24 JU 24 1843; JU 25 1843 in Godalming; 26 JU 26 1843

✠ Cork. Wednesday

My Lord

M^{r}. Foley arrived yesterday & I have arranged everything & got all necessary information. I will write at Length tomorow.[1]

with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] It seems from Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 24 June 1843 that he changed his mind.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Killarney, Saturday, 24 June 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/85 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Killarney. S^{t} Johns day.

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

The moment I saw the proceedings at the so called Catholic institute I was utterly disgusted & annoyed beyond measure but what can we expect from a man who went to Law to recover a gift offered to the church.[1] he has now several thousands church property—I do not think he believed what he said & it was only for the sake of *making a speech* & a monstrous speech it was. the Times took it up as well as it could—but I have told you over & over again that no good can come from these

men. they are rotten & it is the new race of spirits who will carry out the great work. Now for the Questions.

1°. There must be some ventilation. if the room is hung *entirely* with curtains the heat will be insuportable.

2. The colour of the curtains should be regulated by the saint in whose honour the building is dedicated.

3. it would be quite right to have a Quasi[?] altar at the end made of wood with an antipendium.

4. my advice respecting the Egyptian Granite would be to give somebody £10 to take it away & you will save a great deal of money for a more obdurate costly material to work does not exist. if it is anything Like the ordinary run of Egyptian Granite it will be impossible to work it for the mere drilling of 2 holes at the British Museum took 7 *weeks*!!!

5 the £200 will make a fine altar reredos gilding & Lay down a pavement as well of tiles.

I have had a most perplexing Letter from our Friend Ward.[2] I hardly know either what to do, or what he *wishes* me to do—the Idea of transfering my designs to another architect is quite unbearable & such a man as is mentioned a poor tool indeed, without information or ideas. The Balliol men have been so kind I do much to get them out of their present painful position but this amounts to a sort of suicide & I do not think I ought to consent. I can assure you Wards note is illegible in parts, he writes ten times worse than I do, there is one line I cannot decypher. I am glad to hear that my Letter to the president of Trinity is deemed worthy of being read to the society—but I sure you must have had a tight job to copy it.[3] I have travelled through a marvellous country to day, grand beyond description—quite wonderful, & the poor people it is heartrending to see them in the Last state of misery & destitution. only potatoes & often a Scanty supply of them—there must be something rotten in the Irish affair for these very people appear patterns of pious resignation quite different from the turblent Irishmen of Dublin &c. I was delighed to find such an attachment to the antient faith in this remote region. I have been on the wild part of the Coast where few people ever go & I am convinced that there is a great proportion of the inhabitants who live free from mortal sin. such simplicity of soul is delihful in these days. I hope to return to London next week but I fear must Leave before the 11. if not I will Let you know. please direct to me at Chelsea.

ever dear Mr. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The 'proceedings' are described at length in a report entitled 'London. Annual meeting of the Catholic Institute', the first item under the collective heading of 'Catholic Intelligence', *Tablet*, 4 (17 June 1843): 372–4. The chairman of the gathering was Lord Camoys, whose successful decision to dispute the provisions of his uncle's will in the protracted Blundell case had long been condemned and resented by Pugin, as his letter to Rock of 2 July 1841 reveals. Lord Camoys's speech is fully recorded in the *Tablet*: he

'referred to the Puseyite dissensions at Oxford, observing that one regius professor was suspended because he advocated the doctrine of the real presence, whilst another regius professor had been subjected to an action for damages because he maintained a totally opposite doctrine. (Laughter and cheers.) If the action went against Dr. Hampden, the University of Oxford would be in what the Americans called a "fix." (Renewed laughter.) It had been said in that hall that the present race of Catholics would live to see mass celebrated in Westminster-abbey. (Applause.) He would give no opinion of his own on that point, but one fact was certain, viz., that the doctrine of the mass had been set forth in the Cathedral Church of the University of Oxford. (Prolonged cheering.) Indeed, an anti-Puseyite Oxford paper (the *Oxford Chronicle*) had stated that if Dr. Pusey's sermon had not been condemned, six or seven colleges were ready to have mass said within their walls. (Renewed cheering.) Setting aside the question of the loaves and fishes, what a slender barrier existed between the Tractarians and the Church of Rome, and what a field for exertion was open to the Catholic Institute—. . .' (p. 373). *The Time*s made the baron's speech the subject of an untitled editorial on p. 6 of its issue for 14 June 1843. Pugin's anxiety to preclude or at least mitigate the pain such provocative sectarian ridicule would cause Bloxam is evident.

[2] W. G. Ward is writing about the Balliol College fiasco.

[3] Pugin's letter to Ingram of 25 May 1843.

To WILLIAM DUNN — Killarney, Saturday, 24 June 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 18[1] *Address*: William Dunn Esq[r] / Bath house / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: JU 25 1843 in Killarney; JU 26 43; JU 28 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ Killarney—S[t] Johns day

Dear Sir

I do not think the diminution of the courses of slates an important point, but I do Consider that the uniform space is best & the slates will then form a natural diminution by the effect of perspective.

I shall be able to fix a day very shortly for my arrival at Newcastle & will give you notice—& write to M[r]. Myers as well.[2]

I remain dear Sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The inscription 'July 25. 1843' in another hand is mistaken.

[2] Pugin's next visit to Newcastle seems, from his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 8 July 1843, to have been paid on 12 July.

To LORD MIDLETON — Killarney, Saturday, 24 June 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/53[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Killarney—S[t] Johns day.

My Lord

I am on my return to England & as soon as I reach London I will come down to Lordship & explain everything about Midleton which I can do better in half an hours conversation than by 20 Letters, now I have seen the place & M[r]. Foley. I am quite prepared on all points—& trust to be able to arrange everything to your Lordsips satisfaction.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Another hand adds a misleading inscription of 'June 25'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Killarney, Saturday, 24 June 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [31] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Killarney. S[t] Johns day

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I got all your 3 Letters to day. I can assure you I only saw Lady Arundel *once in my Life* & for a few minutes.[1] I *never* ***breathed a word*** *to her about the white Lady* & with regard to Phillipps I spoke with the *greatest prudence* to him. it was *quite necessary to say something* but I was most cautious & indeed no one could be more reserved & prudent than I have been. I will be at Alton as soon after the 10[th] as possible & right glad shall I be to get there—but I implore & intreat of your Lordship if you do not wish to see me sink with misery to withdraw that dreadful idea about the alteration at the hospital.[2] I would sooner jump off the rocks than build a *castelated residence for Priests.* I have been really ill scince I received the Letter. the hospital as designed would be a perfect building. what no cloister, hall, gatehouse—after it has been engraved & everybody Looking forward to it.[3] I can bear things as well as any one but I would almost as soon cut my throat as to cut that hospital to peices—for heavens sake my dear Lord Shrewsbury abandon this suggestion which must be a device of the Devil to spoil so fair a design. however I say no more till I get to alton but I know it would spread disapointment on one side & derision on the other. I have not had such a blow for a Long time. It would give me the greatest delight to meet your Lordsip in Wales But I shall be hard pressed for time & I have seen all the Castles your Lordsips mentions & have travelled over the whole Line of country & drawn everthing of interest. Lead will be the only permanent thing at cheadle. slates will not Last Long & are easily carried away in gales of wind. this will not do for a *painted church.* I am deligted about the stenciling at the hospital—but I should like to see a few more such *Barns*—even without the stencilling. S[t] Barnabas is another

Barn that astonishes people.[4] The church at Killarney will be a good building. I think the country bewteen here & Glengariff is the finest I ever saw for grand effect—it is far beyond description—& infinitely surpassed anything I could have conceived of the beauty of Ireland. all is quite Quiet here, I have not seen the Least sign of commotion or tumult & would walk anywhere night or day without molestation.

when I was upset I was not in a *Gig* but *a four wheeled Carryige*—I am quite distressed about Lady Arundel but as I said before I never mentioned *one syllable on the* subject *to her* & I have been most particular & reserved with everybody.[5] once more I implore & entreat of your Lordsip to abandon that dreadful idea of building *castles* (I hope they will prove in the air)—for ecclesiastical residences. it would be far better to build a place for the sisters there & compleat the hospital according to the original intention. with great respect

I remain ever my dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Mary Anne Grenville Nugent Temple (1787–1845) was the daughter of George, Earl Temple and first Marquess of Buckingham, owner of the great house at Stowe. In 1811 she married James Everard, Lord Arundell of Wardour, a Catholic peer; she had become a Catholic herself in 1810. In Rome in 1827 she met Phillipps, to whom, according to *Pawley*, 'she soon formed a deep attachment' (p. 40), treating him 'as a son'. From Phillipps she heard of Antonio Rosmini (1797–1855), founder of the Institute of Charity, whom she visited seven years later. Returning to England in 1838, widowed and childless, Lady Mary lived for a time at Prior Park at Baines's invitation but in the spring of 1843, in order to be near the Rosminian fathers, she moved to Loughborough. There, in Paget House, Woodgate, which she rented, she founded and supported a Rosminian convent, to which the first Sisters of Providence came from Italy in the autumn of 1843. Perhaps it was on 18 May that Pugin met her; he stayed overnight at Grace Dieu, and Laura Phillipps's diary records that when 'Pugin left after breakfast' on 18 May Phillipps 'went with him to Loughborough and called on Lady Arundell'. Arriving from Alton on 17 May, Pugin brought news of sufficient interest for Laura to note that he 'gave us an account of Miss Young's proceedings there'; Isabella Young is presumably the 'white Lady' Pugin goes on to mention here.

[2] The hospital of St John at Alton.

[3] An illustration of the hospital of St John is included in *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England.*

[4] The joke about St Barnabas's in Nottingham being a 'barn' begins before the letter Pugin may have written to Lord Shrewsbury on 2 October 1842.

[5] Pugin refers to this accident in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury perhaps to be dated 1 June 1843.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Killarney, Sunday, 25 June 1843

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/56[1] *Address*: Right Honb / The Earl *Postmark*: JU 25 1843 in Killarney; JU 26 43

This Castle at Alton has made me sick at heart.[2] after a writing a book againts mock

Castles a book dedicated to your Lordsip, you call on me to violate every principle & build a Castle *for Priests*!!!![3]

Moses broke the tables of the Law when he saw the Israelites dancing round the round the Golden Calf—& after this
could burn everything I ever wrote or drew
rule & compasses & turn fisherma[4]

[1] A tear to the MS damages the address and the last sentence. 'Capel Caer' is written in another hand on the address panel.
[2] The proposal to alter the plans for Alton Castle to which Pugin responds in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury probably written on 24 June 1843.
[3] The *Apology for the Revival* is dedicated to Lord Shrewsbury.
[4] The allusion is to Exodus 32:19.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Killarney, Monday, 26 June 1843?

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/12 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Killarny Monday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I wrote yesterday & directed my Letter to alton. to day I have got your Lordsips kind note & I hasten to send a few lines in reply. it will not be possible for me to get to wales for I have to go to Kirkham Newcastle on Tyne & also to *Southampton* so I shall be indeed hard driven & I am much wanted in all these places, besides these I want to go to Nottingham & Breewood.[1] how I wish your Lordsip could see this delightful country. it is quite enchanting wonderfuly beautiful. I never saw anything like it. I hope when Killarny is finished you will See it. a trip here is easy & *cheap*. a beautiful hotel—close to the Lake. I will be alton as near the time as possible at alton.

ever my dear Lord Shrewsbury with the greatest respect
your Lordsips devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] According to his list of visits to Kirkham, MS V & A L.50-1982/3, Pugin was next there on 14 July 1843.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL — Dublin, Thursday, 29 June 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: M. T. Forristall Esq[r] / 3 Rodney Buildings / new Kent Road / London *Postmark*: JU 29 43; 1 JY 1 1843

✠ Dublin feast of S[t] Peter & Paul

My Dear Sir

I purpose being in London D.V on Saturday night & intend going to the works at S[t] Georges about 10 oclock *on Monday*—when I will have the small designs ready for you.[1]

I remain dear Sir
yours most
Sincerely ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Perhaps the designs about which Pugin writes to Forristall on 3 June 1843.

July to December 1843

To LUIGI GENTILI — London, Tuesday, 4 July 1843

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 480 *Address*: Rev[d] Father Gentili / Catholic Chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: JY 4 1843 in Southampton; 5 JY 5 1843; JY 6 1843 in Loughborough

✠ Chelsea Tuesday[1]

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

I have arranged as follows—to come to Loughborough—on Tuesday the *11* by the first train from Nottingham which arrives at 9.17 minutes. I hope to *find you at the station* so as to come on to sileby—& set out the possition of Building with Myers.[2]

I expect to bring the Lithograph with me. will you send me a Line to chelsea & Let me know if this arrangement will suit you.

with respect
I remain
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin apparently wrote this letter first thing in the morning before he set off for Peper Harow and Southampton, but did not post it till late in the day.

[2] Pugin first writes to Gentili about the new buildings at Sileby on 24 April 1843.

To LORD MIDLETON — Peper Harow, Tuesday, 4 July 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/35 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harrow. July 4[th]. 1843[1]

I hereby certify that Mess[rs] Moon have duly performed so much of the work of the farm buildings at oxenford as to entille them to a further payment of one hundred pounds.

£100. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

✠ Peper Harow July 4th 1843.

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work at Bonville spring & the chantry chapel as to entille him to a payment of one hundred pounds on each of those buildings.[2]

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

£200. 0. 0

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of ten pounds—being the comission on the above.

£10. 0. 0 ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's list of journeys to Peper Harow in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①, confirms that he was there on this day.

[2] The chantry chapel of St Nicholas, Peper Harow.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Southampton, Tuesday, 4 July 1843

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/13 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Southampton—July 4th.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have been so hard driven scince I returned from Ireland that I find it will be impossible for me to reach alton till Saturday the 15th. & to accomplish this I must travel night & Day—I Look forward with delight to get into such a haven—& I thought it best to arrange matters at all the buildings before I came that I might not be suddenly called away—I am ding to see the progress of Cheadle. I have got the *seal.*[1] it is a capital job. I will bring it with me.

perhaps your Lordsip will favour me with a Line. I return to London tomorow & do not Leave till Monday.

with great respect
I remain my dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin first writes about the seal in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of about 27 March 1843.

To LORD MIDLETON London, Thursday, 6 July 1843?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/50 *Address*: Right Honble / Lord Midleton / Tattons Hotel / Berkeley Square *Postmark*: none

My Lord

as you expressed a desire to have the remainder of the drawings originally prepared for Ireland I have directed them to be forwarded to you at the hotel. I quite forgot to ask your Lordsip what you had decided about the *Table* & *chairs* for Mousehill house.[1] M[r]. Myers says the fire place in sussex Marble fixed & compleat would cost about £30. should your Lordsip wish to write My adress will be at Alton Towers.

Some time ago I spoke to your Lordsip about a correct seal. I inclose an impression of one I have just had executed for Lord Shrewsbury which is the sort of thing I alluded to.[2]

I remain with respect
your Lordshis devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin recommends a table and two chairs in the letter to Lord Midleton which he may have written on 4 June 1843.

[2] The impression is preserved with this letter; it is too flattened to decipher clearly but seems to show arms in the centre and an inscription round the edge.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, Friday, 7 July 1843?[1]

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/19 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Friday. Morning

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

when I got your note thinking you would not return to Alton for some days I settle with the Newcastle People & kirkham to go down at once. I am much wanted at both places. I will therefore come to alton as I return from the north—in a few days. this will be better in every respect as I shall be able to remain quiet when I have settled these 2 jobs. I hope the cage arrived safe—& is what your Lordship wanted.[2] I bought it imedialy & directed it to M[r]. *Winter*. I have sought in vain for a cross *which opens*.[3] I can get one readily made but Such a thing is not to be bought.

with great respect I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The date is tentative. ST gives a date, in a different year, which Pugin's diary and a calendar make impossible. *Wedgwood 1985* suggests 'autumn 1843' and Friday, 18 August, is a tenable alternative to the

date offered here, except that evidence of a visit to Newcastle before Pugin reaches Alton, apparently on 26 August, is lacking, whereas it is present in the list he sets out for Lord Shrewsbury in the letter written almost without doubt on 8 July.

[2] Nothing more is known about the 'cage'.

[3] Perhaps Lord Shrewsbury's need was met by the cross made by Hardman and mentioned in the letter to the earl which Pugin may have written on 20 October 1843. Pugin's assurance that such an item could be 'readily made' is founded on experience: in an invoice dated 18 February 1843 and preserved in BCA, Thomas Aston, of Caroline Street, Birmingham, who describes himself as a 'Manufacturer of coloured gold & enamelled work', bills Hardman £2 for '1 Silver Gilt Enamel Cross to Open'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Saturday, 8 July 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [68] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Saturday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

My work is cut out for every hour till saturday —

Monday. Northampton & Nottingham.
Thursday.[1] Sileby & on to Darlington
Wednesday. Newcastle on Tyne
Thursday. Newcastle & on to Lancaster
Friday. Kirkham & Liverpool[2]
Saturday. Breewood stone & alton.

all the people at these places have been written to & fuly expect me & any alteration would upset everything. I can be at Alton by Saturday *afternoon* so that Kearns can start on *Monday*.[3] I hope & trust this will do. I think Father Bernards proposition about the church a bad one.[4] a *Good thing in progress* is always better than a *miserable one compleat* & what in the shape of a church could be done for 700. it is a monstrous suggestion with such a monastery cloisters &c. a *Litle chapel*!!! it would ruin the whole thing—& be universally condemned. while a sufficient portion of a church is finished for the divine office & the remainder *intended* the whole design is not injured but the moment a Small church is actually *finished* there is no room *Left for imagination*. pray *do not consent to this*. I inclose the Letter & will go into the subject more fully on Saturday. what inconsistency! the other day I had to persuade them not to expend the whole money *on foundations* of a great church.

with great respect I remain ever my dear Lord Shrewsbury
your most devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Clearly Pugin means 'Tuesday'.

[2] Pugin's account book, preserved in the V & A, MS L.50-1982/3, records a visit to Kirkham on Friday 14 July.

[3] Pugin's letter of 21 July 1843 reports to the earl that he gave instructions to the painter Thomas Kearns, long employed by Lord Shrewsbury, to begin the decoration of St John's Hospital during the visit under discussion here.

[4] Pugin is commenting on a suggestion made by J. B. Palmer, the prior of Mount St Bernard's, in a letter written to Lord Shrewsbury on 4 July 1843 and now preserved as MS YCBA Pugin 158. 'Father Bernard' writes:

I sh^{d}. have felt very happy in seeing y^{r}. Lordship in order to speak to you about the building of our New church. I have consulted my Brethren about it. they all are of opinion that it w^{d}. be better to build a smaller Church and to finish the outside shell of it at once than to build the half of a larger Church and never to be able to finish it, as we have no hopes ever to be able to finish so large a church as the one designed by M^{r}. Pugin but with the money we have got for it and now with a small addition we must labour to get (though we cannot expect to get much now after the Bazaar) and by carring over the materials of our present Church we sh^{d} save at least £300 and the present Altars & Stalls w^{d}. very well serve us till we could get the means to carry out M^{r}. Pugins plan. Still considering y^{r}. Lordship as our best Friend and one who has interested himself so much in our behalf I have considered it my duty to write to consult y^{r}. Lordship before doing any thing in this matter.

I hope M^{r}. Pugin will pay us a visit before he returns again to London that we may be thus enabled to begin the building directly.

Lord Shrewsbury has written across the top of the first page: 'N.B. To be ***immediately*** considered & *returned to me*'.

To WILLIAM DUNN — Liverpool, Friday, 14 July 1843?

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 17 *Address*: William Dunn Esq^{r} / Bath house / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: JY 15 1843 in Wolverhampton; JY 16 1843 in Carlisle; JY 16 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ Liverpool

My Dear Sir

as I was prevented by the Deceased of the Revd M^{r}. Worswick from meeting you as I expected at Newcastle I Lose no time in writing to you respecting the building.[1]

1st I inclose the drawing of the organ gallery which as well as the staircase is intended to be worked in the best red pine.

2. respecting the slates. M^{r}. Myers estimate for the present slating is 1^{s}. 7^{d}. 0 per yard—& if you will settle the sort you will have he will give you an estimate of the addional cost. I am quite indifferent wether the slates are kept all the same size or Large at Bottom & diminishing. the smaller the slate the better the Roof will Look but I do not wish to insist on the point.

3^{d}. I have carefuly examined the mortar & I am quite satisfied it is of the best Quality. the portion of the walls where the mortar crumbles is entirely owing to the frost. the other portions are perfectly sound & I do not hesitate to say that the walls in due time will be Like a rock.

4th. 12 ^{inches} of Lead on Each side of the gutters is quite sufficient. the gutters will be very wide & it is useless to make the sides so very high when the Laps can only be a few inches in the gutter falls.

5th. I can prevent any stoppage from accumulation of snow between the Sacristy & cloister roofs by the means of snow boards above the gutter.

6th. I went over the whole building & found the work proceeding in a very satisfactory maner. I gave instructions for preparing the steps tiling &c. for choir, chapel, & Sanctuary floors.

I shall feel obliged if you will return me the working drawing for the tower as it is not to be proceeded with

& remain
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] James Worswick (b.1771), from Lancaster, came to Newcastle as priest in 1796; he died there early in July 1843. The *Orthodox Journal*, 17 (2 September 1843), reports on p. 155 that the congregation at Newcastle has resolved to erect a monument in his memory.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Sunday, 16 July 1843?

Text: MS MCO 528/81 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton. 6 Sunday af Pentecost

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

I have just got your kind Letter at Alton where I arrived Last night. I will Lose no time in getting the waist of the Ladys effigy set right but I thought it best to wait till I came here.[1]

I quite agree with you that something very great may be expected. what extraordinary speeches are made with reference to catholic affairs in Ireland. I feel quite confident if there were funds for Colleges & Monastic institues on a grand scale in that country & a *higher tone* imparted to ecclestical studies it would attended with marvellis results. as it is the people are far beyond the clery. I really never saw more fervent devotion in my Life & the poorest seem quite to delight in even the humblest externals of reglion vile in style, but all they have put before them & they would gladly embrace better things. I see that the Killarney church will really do wonders towards exterminating the temple system. I suppose you have seen the death of Dr. Baines in the Tablet.[2] he was privately a very good man but sadly mistaken in his views. he will be no Loss to the church. the only really *pagan* Bishop we had. many of the others have bad taste but he was a confirmed[?] Pagan. what a horrible thing buying that wretched Irvinite conventicle for £5000!! at Bristol a sum which would have built a fine church & this in so old a City full of real churches.[3] it was the excitement of OPENING I say opening, this wretched place that caused his death. 2 persons are named as his successor. either would be a vast improvement. one would carry out the true Principle & revive christian architecture with all his heart.

I have only just glanced at the B. C. but it seems strong & Glorious.[4] a right good number. I expect to run over to Flanders for a few days after this week.

Faber is a wonderful man. I have great expectations from him.

with great respect
believe me ever
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin first mentions the waist of the effigy in his letter to Bloxam of 16 May 1843.

[2] P. A. Baines, of Prior Park, vicar apostolic of the western district, died on 6 July 1843. The newspaper's announcement, 'The death of Bishop Baines', *Tablet*, 4 (8 July 1843): [417], fills almost the entire front page, and the whole issue is printed with heavy black rules and borders.

[3] The church of St Mary-on-the-Quay, Colston Avenue, Bristol, was designed by R. S. Pope and built for the Irvingites in 1839; according to the Buildings of England volume for *North Somerset and Bristol*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner (1958), it has a 'Grand front with a portico of six fluted Corinthian columns. . . . Pediment. . . . Nave with flat ceiling' (p. 395). Baines opened the church for Catholic worship on 5 July.

[4] The *British Critic*, the leading Tractarian journal, not 'strong & Glorious' enough, however, to continue publication beyond the issue for October 1843, which turned out to be the last.

To JOHN BERNARD PALMER — Alton Towers, Sunday, 16 July 1843

Text: MS Mount St Bernard *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers. Sunday

Rev[d] & Dear Father Bernard

Lord Shrewsbury is most decided on the proprity of building a *Portion of the Great* church instead of compleating a Little one. I have therefore appointed M[r]. Myers to meet me at Loughborough next *Friday* to come over & arrange the business.[1] I do not see how we can possibly get the nave roofed under £1000—now it appears that all the money in hand will not amount to more than £800. what had better be done. build Less of the nave or is there any prospect of borring the other £200. this you must Let me know when I come over.

I remain with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

what is to be done about the gate house.[2] that seems indispensable.

[1] The 'business' was arranged on Friday 21 July 1843.

[2] What Pugin calls the 'gate house' is the present guest house.

To LORD MIDLETON Loughborough, Friday, 21 July 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/14 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Loughborough. Friday.

My Lord

I purpose coming to London on Tuesday next—& shall hold Myself in Readiness to go down to Peper Harow when convient to your Lordsip.[2] I have been travelling almost incessantly since I Left London or I should have replied to your Lordsips Letter sooner. I think the royalty of the Midleton stone better be arranged when we meet than by Letter. I have got a List of the iron Lights that will be required for all the windows & shall be prepared to Let your Lordsip know the cost of them for the different buildings.[3] perhaps your Lordship will be so good as to send a note to Chelsea & Let me know where & when it would be convient for me to see your Lordsip.

I remain with respect
your Lordships
devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury from Loughborough on Friday 21 July 1843 stating that he will arrive in Chelsea on Tuesday suggests a date for this letter.

[2] Pugin makes his next visit to Peper Harow on 16 August, according to his list of journeys thither, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①.

[3] Pugin's letter of 20 June 1843 to Lord Midleton notices a change to his designs for windows.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Loughborough, Friday, 21 July 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [43] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Loughborough. Friday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I set out all the painting at the hospital and gave Kearns the strictest orders to keep at it with 3 men—I think your Lordsip will be well pleased with the decoration.[1] I have drawn all the scroll work for the sepulchre arch &ᶜ.

I have been all day at Sᵗ Bernards & at Last have got all settled. Mʳ. Myers has contracted to build the nave of the great church at about cost price & done all he could for the monks. the contract was signed this afternoon by both parties—& the building will be covered in by the end of Autumn.[2] he is to pay the monks for all the stone already got. he has gone to Hull already for the timber of Roof.[3] the stone arches will be worked at Nottingham & the whole work will proceed with the greatest activity. I have agreed to make him a payment of £300 immedialty for the purchase of

materials &c so I shall beg of your Lordsip to send me an order on the *Bazaar* fund to that amount—& I will forward you Mr. Myers receipt for the same. I expect to arrive at Chelsea on Tuesday so please to direct to me in London. I have given all necessary directions to Denny—& the *tower* will be advanced as much as possible during your Lordsips absence.[4] The invoice for the *cheadle Lead* arrived yesterday. Deo Gratias we shall now have a glorious job with the roof.

with great respect
I remain my Dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] St John's Hospital at Alton.

[2] To replace an earlier church designed by William Railton (1801–77), architect of the house and chapel at Grace Dieu also, Pugin designed a new church for the monastery. The estimate survives at Mount St Bernard's, written in Pugin's hand under a date of 21 July 1843.

✠ Mount St Bernards. feast of St Praxedis 1843
Estimate for Errecting the nave of St Bernards church. without plastering, or flooring according to the drawings furnished by A Welby Pugin

£1180. 0. 0.

The contractor to allow for stones at present on the ground the slates off the old church & Lead Ridge on the same 100. 0. 0.

£1080. 0. 0.

The contractor to find all Ropes Scaffoding tackles & materials & cariage of the same.
The payments for the church by instalments according to the order of the master of the work.

In the second sentence Pugin wrote 'without Glass, plastering, or flooring', but then cancelled 'Glass'. The estimate is signed by 'J. B. Palmer. Prior', 'Geo Myers', 'W. O. Woolfrey Sub Prior', and 'B J Johnson Procurator'. To Woolfrey Pugin writes on 19 August 1843. The procurator was Joseph Johnson (1796–1850), who took the name of Benedict in religion. The church was opened on 20 August 1844.

Another MS preserved at Mount St Bernard's is headed 'Contract' for the nave of the church; it is undated, unsigned, and written in an unidentified hand. It mentions 'Forest stone delivered' to the site, lists payments to local tradesmen for bricks and slates and other such supplies, and ends with some 'Remarks'. 'The Timber in the Roof is American Pine and not Russian Memel' is the first of these but their real drift is the monks' fear that they have been overcharged.

Before drawing up the contract we were prevented from getting in proposals, or from choosing our own builder, by reason of Mr Pugin's remarking, that he could not for any money, trust the building to a stranger &c.

Mr Pugin has declined accepting any remuneration for *his* trouble or for his journies.

Mr Pugin has also stated that on making out the contract with Mr Myers, they agreed to place the sum of 30£ for the Builder.

The final note states that construction was 'begun in August and finished in December except the pointing', which has not yet been done.

[3] Myers began business in Hull and doubtless kept contacts there; if the timber came from the Baltic states, it could be shipped direct to Hull.

[4] J. B. Denny was Lord Shrewsbury's builder at Alton Towers. The 'tower' may be the one on the east front of Alton Towers which was raised a further stage by Pugin, probably in 1843 at the time when the Doria rooms were added; *Fisher* describes these alterations, pp. 118–19.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL London, Wednesday, 26 July 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: J M. Forristall Esq[r]. / 3 Rodney Buildings / new Kent Road / London *Postmark*: Chelsea; JY 27 1843

✠ Chelsea.
S[t] Anne's day.

My Dear Sir

I think it right to inform you that I have most carefuly examined the building of Convent & houses at S[t] Georges this morning, & nothing can be more satisfactory than the progress of the work. everything that can be done to make the building secure & substantial has been attended to & M[r]. Myers has introduced many things not originally intented but which are great improvements for Light, dryness, &[c]. I wish particularly to draw your attention to this point, staircases—steps fire places &[c]. are *all built in with the* walls—the whole building will be as solid as a rock. it is the real old principle of constructing revived & I feel quite satisfied that the whole job will be well carried out to the smallest detail—while I was out in the country I prepared detail drawings for the niches oriel window &[c]. which will tell out well in the building.

I saw the Bishop yesterday who expressed himself well pleased with the church.[1]

I remain dear Sir
your most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The bishop of the London district was Thomas Griffiths and 'the church' is St George's, Southwark.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, Wednesday, 26 July 1843?

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/14 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Wednesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I called at the Clarendon this mning but you were out with her Ladyship.[1] I arrived in town yesterday & sail D V. for Antwerp tomorow. I will write from the other side of the water.[2] I received the cheque for S[t] Bernards quite safe—I hope to find several glorious details for the cheadle windows among the early works at antwerp—Louvain &[c].[3]

with great respect I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The Clarendon Hotel at 169 New Bond Street, London.
[2] Pugin keeps his promise on 1 August 1843.
[3] Pugin asks for the payment for Mount St Bernard's when he writes to Lord Shrewsbury on 21 July 1843.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Antwerp, Tuesday, 1 August 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [42] *Address*: Right Honble / The Earl of Shrewsbury / Alton Towers / near Cheadle / Staffordshire / England; [redirected in another hand to] Clarendon Hotel / Bond Street / London[1] *Postmark*: 1 AOUT 1843 in Anvers; 2 AU 2 1843 SHIP LETTER in London; 2 AU 2 1843; AU 3 1843 in Cheadle; AU 3 1843 in Cheadle; 4 AU 4 1843

✠ Antwerp day. 1. August [2]

I hope the Diapering at S^{t} Johns is going on well. I Left strict injuctions for exertion with Kearns. a building is nothing without Diapering & colour.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have arrived safe at Antwerp. The weather has been very bad since I Left home but as my work is principally inside the buildings I have got on very well. I am going to work all day in the museé where I shall find the most Beautiful authorities for painted details at cheadle above all.[3] I have got tracings of all the Orinal[?] patterns *at Cologne* where they are actually restoring the *painting on the pillars* & vaulting. I shall return quite rich in new / old / devices. the carving on the stalls of the Cathedral is exquisitely done—but things go on so very slow. they have only fixed 7 stalls in 2 years. on Sunday I saw a Parochial procession at Bruges. the ornaments & details were wretched but the piety of the people was most edyfing & I was very much deligted to see th antient traditions kept up. all the houses were dressed with Branches flowers &^{c}. and as the procession passed the windows were filled with Lighted tapers. Each housekeeper had a Basket of sweet rushes & flowers which they strewed just before the procession passed. it was altogether very deligtful. I was very much pleased with the *choir* service at the Cathedral. plaint chant very solemn. a procession before mass all round the church, a *choir service is the real thing.* it is the nearest approach to heaven that can be obtained upon earth. the Bishop assisted.[4] With the exception of Dinner & Breakfast I was all sunday in the churches & much deligted. I think Bruges is the most religious city in the world. I think every person old & young must have been at Mass, for the imense churches were filled & emptied continually. I am going to see a very interesting old church at Halle tomorow which they tell me has never been plundered.

purpose returning home in the course of next week—all the better I trust Mind & body for this expedition. perhaps your Lordsip will be good enough to send me a Line to Chelsea & Let me know your probable return to Alton. with great respect

I remain my dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin writes 'Par Bateaux à Vapeur' across the top of the address panel.
[2] The MS is badly worn at the edges and part of 'Tuesday' is lost here, as is part of 'the antient traditions' later and the pronoun of 'I purpose' at the beginning of the last paragraph.
[3] Some of the drawings of subjects in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp which are described in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 106, may have been made at this time but although several are inscribed 'Gallery Antwerp' none is dated.
[4] François-René Boussen (1774–1848) was Bishop of Bruges from 1834 until his death.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH

Saturday, 5 August 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London August 5. 1843.[1]

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work at S[t] Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the comission due on the above.

£25. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin may well have been still abroad on this day.

To LORD SHREWSBURY

London, mid-August 1843?[1]

Text: ST, App. 8, p. 15 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

I had made out drawings for both sides of the Chapel at St. John's and entrusted them to *Kearns long ago*. I had not the least idea that he had not done both sides. How could I? I have written to him by this. It is too bad for I shewed him particularly the borders for the windows and, of course, the rest of the wall and ornament round the painting is the same on the other side. *I am vexed beyond measure at it but, indeed, I am not to blame.* As for the end wall I will send that by Thursday's post.

I am sure I never neglected anything for a moment, but I had not an idea that he

was not at work. I am very sincerely distressed about it indeed and will take care to prevent the possibility of such a thing occurring again. Respecting the masons, I have not of course a word to say. If your Lordship wishes them discharged at Christmas they must go. I would not on any account have a man more on the ground than your Lordship wishes. I well know how anxious you are to get on and all I hastened to do is to make the best use of the means in your Lordship's power.

[1] There is nothing in this fragment to yield a firm date. ST gives a date considerably later in the year, which the question of discharging masons at Christmas may seem to support, but it is a time when Pugin had been at Alton about a fortnight before and would have discovered Kearns's omission for himself. It is clear from Pugin's letters to Lord Shrewsbury of 8 July 1843 and 21 July 1843 that Kearns began painting the interior of St John's Hospital on 10 July 1843. In his letter of 1 August 1843 Pugin hopes that the work is 'going on well'; presumably in answer to it, Lord Shrewsbury reported on the lop-sided state of affairs.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — London, Friday, 18 August 1843

Text: MS HCRO PE1/744/7[1] *Address*: Rev[d] T W Sandys / The Vicarage / Beverley. *Postmark*: Chelsea; AU 18 1843

Rev & Dear Sir

The drawing you sent me for draining the church appears to me to Leave the matter pretty much as it is at present. I thought one object was to Lay the *Base moulds* of the building open according to the plan, the brick arch is *actually built up* against them. I should hardly think the church could be drained all round for £100 but at anyrate whatever is done a space should be cleared round the walls so as to Leave the base moulds open. [*Sketch: section of foundation and 'Drain'*] [*Sketch: section of drain?*][2]

I remain dear Sir
in great haste
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] An inscription at the foot of the page is written in an unidentified hand: 'M[r] P. is only afraid that the top of the arch A sh[d] be above, & thus *hide* the base moldings—of course this must *not* be done & I presume Richardsons plan is adapted to join the top of the arch to the walls *below* the moldings of the base'.

[2] A tear to the MS removes part of the sketch.

To WILLIAM ODILO WOOLFREY[1] — London, Saturday, 19 August 1843

Text: MS Mount St Bernard *Address*: Rev[d] Father Odilo / Mont S[t] Bernards / near Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: 19 AU 19 1843; AU 20 1843 in Loughborough

Revd & Dear Father odilo

I herewith send you a plan & perspective view of the proposed residence for M^r^. Collier.[2] it will make a most comodious dwelling—& if he approves of it I will prepare the working drawings & estimate. I expect to be at S^t^ Bernards on Tuesday next to inspect the progress of the work.

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] W. O. Woolfrey (1803–56), formerly at Stapehill, Wimborne, Dorset, was sub-prior at Mount St Bernard's; in 1846 he moved to Australia.

[2] Collier has not been securely identified; he may perhaps be Matthew Collier, who, according to *Leetham*, was a 'devoted friend' (p. 18) of Gentili since their time together at the Irish College in Rome.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — En route, Friday, 25 August 1843?[1]

Text: MS HCRO PE1/744/6[2] *Address*: Rev^d^ W T Sandys / The Vicarrage / Beverley *Postmark*: AU 25[?] 1843 in Liverpool

✠ Chester & crewe Railway Friday[3]

Rev & Dear Sir

I am most anxious to meet your wishes in every respect but I do not Like to incur any responsibility in work over which I have no control. the question is not merely confined to the section of a drain but the Levels are also to be considered, the number & position of the down pipes, the entrances into the church &^c^. now all these points cannot be Explained by a mere sketch. the drainage of S^t^ Maries is really a difficult job to be done well & requires a good deal of Care and attention. I have no desire to be emploed about it for it will be a troublsome work & the Parish would not Like to pay the expense but you must get somebody superior to A mechanick or it will be a failure. it was originally intended this draining should have been done as part of repairs & then I could have attended to it but you must see that under the present arrgmt it is out of my power to do any Good. I remain dear sir

your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] In the postmark, only 'A' in the abbreviation of the month and, in the printing of the day, only '2' are clearly legible. This date is suggested by the concern with drainage in Pugin's letter of 18 August 1843 to Sandys.

[2] The letter is written in pencil.

[3] The Chester and Crewe railway was taken over in 1840 by the Grand Junction railway.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM En route, Saturday, 26 August 1843?

Text: MS MCO 528/45[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Preston & Liverpool Railway—Saturday

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

I have just Learnt from John Hardman that you are at oxford & want to know where I am to be found.[2] I am now on my way to Alton where I expect to remain for some days. I sent a copy of that vile effusion called a sermon by the Dean of York to Mr. Ward.[3] I suppose he will shew it to you. it needs no coment. you will be deligted to hear that my works are fast progressing—I have been to Kirkham to day where I am building a church that would quite transport you with a very high spire.[4] the spire of Nottingham can now be seen 16 miles off!! and it wants 36 feet of its elevation. I am just starting a new church at Liverpool & an orphan house.[5] the convent of Mercy is just compleated & I am furnishing it even to the Kitchen table.[6] I am going to send out Models of churches tombstones fonts altars & altar furniture tiles Glass &c &c to Hobart Town to start the good style in the antipodes.[7] There is a most interesting translation of Durandus coming out with an introduction on Symbolism which is admirable but to my great grief I am mentioned as a *Schismatick* & this is the only matter in the whole work that is not quite in the true spirit.[8] I am the more grieved at it because it is Lugged in without any cause. they might have Left me out altogether. indeed I am sadly misrepresented in what they say for they accuse *me of being indifferent to Symbolism in architecture*!!! after all I have written & done this is too bad. & the introduction is written by too Camden Men whom I greatly respect.[9] I am distressed at it for it must in some degree destroy the good effect the work ought to produce among our people & on the continent it is quite enough to get it on the index & it is just the book to circulate in Catholic Colleges. If such doctrine as is contained in the Dean of york sermon is tolerated under the very nose of the archbishop it is surely no time to attack those as Schismacticks who are striving to revive the departed Solemnity & discipline—but I need not urge this on you—for I know you will enter into my feelings.[10] Can you give me any news respecting Mr Sibthorpe. as I expected his sudden retiremt to the Isle of Wight has given rise to all kinds of distressing reports which really do mischief & I have no means of satisfactorily refuting them.[11]

Pray Let me have a Line from you. I am getting on Rapidly with the Glossary.

I remain dear Mr. Bloxam
with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Letters to Hardman from clients, preserved in BCA, often inquire after Pugin's whereabouts.

[3] William Cockburn (1773–1858), who succeeded to a baronetcy in 1853, had a distinguished career at Cambridge before he was Dean of York from 1822 until the year of his death. His sermon, *On the Proposed*

Revival of Romish Customs and Ceremonies in the Church of England, delivered in York Minster before the assize judges on 23 July 1843 and published in York by Allerston and Pickwell, is directed against the Tractarians and is strongly anti-Catholic.

[4] Pugin's account book, MS V & A L.50–1982/3, records a visit to Kirkham on 26 August 1843.

[5] Although the first steps towards the construction of a new church of St Mary in Edmund Street were taken in 1840, as *Wedgwood 1985* states, it was only in May 1844 that the foundation-stone of the building Pugin designed was laid. An interior view looking eastwards, signed and dated 1843, is described in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 200, and designs for the altar and reredos, signed and dated 1844, and for the sedilia are catalogued in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 59; the design for the altar is also reproduced as an illustration. Built by Myers with Benjamin Hildick acting as his foreman on the spot, the church was opened on 19 August 1845; moved to a new site later in the nineteenth century, it was destroyed during the Second World War.

On 17 January 1845, in a letter kept in ML, Hildick requests Hardman to ask Pugin about the shape of the gas fittings, for the committee in charge of the building of the church fears that to Pugin's design they will be in the way of people passing. A letter of 8 July 1845, filed in ML, unsigned but believed to have been written by Hildick, inquires after the gas standards for the church and reports that the pulleys for lamps have all been 'fixed by M^{r}. Pugens orders'; on 14 July Hildick asks again about the standards. On 21 July he writes saying that he needs the pulley and chain for the corona, so that he may take down the scaffold; he repeats this request on 3 August; finally on 12 August 1845 he reports that he has received the standards and hung the lamps and the corona.

Hildick's letter of 12 August 1845, preserved in ML, mentions the tabernacle also. Edward Chivers of Church Street, Birmingham, bills Hardman five shillings and sixpence for 'Lining Iron Tabernacle' and £1. 2*s*. for 'Mah^{g} Cross for D^{o}' on 12 March 1845 in an invoice kept in the bundle for January to March 1845; Hardman annotates the entry 'Lpool'. In a letter postmarked 31 July 1845 from Liverpool and preserved in ML August 1845, Myers tells Hardman that the priest of St Mary's, James Wilkinson (1812–51), a Benedictine, wants Hardman to paint and gild the tabernacle and charge 'them' for it. On 12 August 1845 MWDB enters the iron tabernacle for the high altar to Myers at a price of £5. 10*s*.; in the same month other large orders for the church are charged to Wilkinson. Cruets and a lavabo dish costing £7. 10*s*. are entered to Youens in MWDB at 30 October 1845, and on 22 December 1845 Wilkinson is sent a monstrance at a price of £30.

According to 'Liverpool.—Female Catholic orphan asylum', *Tablet*, 5 (29 June 1844): 405, the new orphanage, almost ready for occupation, will accommodate more than one hundred girls and be run by the Sisters of Mercy; it has a school-room, work-room, chapel and cloister, and 'quite a conventual character'. The contractors are William Baynes and Son of Liverpool.

[6] The convent, begun in 1841, was completed in 1843. Some material relating to the convent is preserved in MFT. None of the items for the convent which are entered to Youens in MWDB is domestic. On 29 August 1843 he is charged £12. 12*s*. for '6 Altar Candlesticks'; a relic box is also sent and a tower tabernacle on approval. The order in MWDB at 20 December 1843 is larger:

A Tabernacle & Cross	18	10
A parcel Gilt Lamp & Crown	15	
6 Tubes small size		7
2 Shrines to order	10.	

Boxes and packing bring the charge to a total of £44. 6*s*. 6*d*. On 27 October 1844 a pair of elevation candlesticks costing £30 and curtain rods costing £1. 4*s*. are entered to 'Convent Lpool'; and on 27 November 1844, in a letter preserved in ML, Youens encloses his cheque for £57. 8*s*. 6*d*. for goods for the convent.

[7] R. W. Willson was appointed to the see of Hobart in 1842, but did not sail for Tasmania until some time after his consecration, which Pugin attended, in October 1842. He too appears to have had the idea of starting 'the good style in the antipodes', for many items are entered to his charge in MWDB. A pectoral cross costing £2. 10*s*. and a brass block book mark for £2. 5*s*. are recorded at 17 November 1843, and 'A Travelling Altar Complete' at a price of £31, 'A Leather Case for above' at £1. 5*s*., and 'A Silver Ciborium richly Gilt' costing £20 are listed at 27 December 1843, followed by three cases 'lined with Tin' on 30 December 1843. The entry at 18 October 1843, totalling £34. 2*s*. 6*d*., is the largest:

6 Pairs of Candlesticks	5	2
A Mould for Altar Breads	3	5
6 Relic Boxes	1	7

6 Sacrying Bells	7	10	
6 Holy Water Vats & Sprinklers	8	8	
3 Sets Holy Oil Bottles in oak cases	3	9	
1 set do do Large	3	15	
6 Tin Bread Boxes		10	6
A Small steel Seal W W		16.	

On 2 December 1843 two silver gilt patens are charged to Willson at £2. 10*s*., and on 20 January 1844 '3 Ciboriums to drawing' at a price of £12. 15*s*., together with a 'Smaller' ciborium costing £4, and a parcel gilt chalice and paten for £11. There is also record, at 25 April 1843, of a ewer and basin for Willson to take to Hobart for which John Hardman senior is charged £10. *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 59, describes a design for a church for Willson, of which 'possibly only the plan is in Pugin's hand'.

[8] *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, a translation of the first book of William Durandus's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, published in Leeds in 1843, was the work of Benjamin Webb and J. M. Neale, leading members of the Cambridge Camden Society. Strictly, it is the Roman Catholic Church that they contend is in a schismatical position, rather than Pugin personally, but they do claim that he seems in his books not to recognize the principle of what they call 'Christian reality' (p. xxvi) or 'Sacramentality'.

[9] Pugin's pain and perplexity at the tone adopted in the volume can only have been compounded by the knowledge that Webb had often been a visitor to his house and was happy to acquire objects of his design. A letter from Webb, written on 16 September 1842 from Dover and preserved in ML, inquires the price of crosses and encloses the letter Pugin has written him about them, which Webb wants to have returned; at 26 November 1842 MWDB enters to Webb at Cambridge '4 Silver Gilt & enamelled Crosses with boxes' at a cost of £10. Dating this time from Kemerton rectory, Tewkesbury, on 16 September 1843, Webb writes to Hardman in another letter preserved in ML: 'You will perhaps remember making some Crosses for me from a drawing given by my friend M^r^ Pugin. He once told me that you would allow me to get anything from your manufactory, although you might occasionally hesitate to supply ecclesiastical ornaments to persons not in your own Communion.' He goes on to order a pair of small plain altar candlesticks and tapers; MWDB enters these to him, at a cost of £1. 10*s*., on 18 September 1843.

[10] Edward Venables Vernon Harcourt, who was sixteen when he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1774, was Archbishop of York from 1808 until 1847, the year of his death.

[11] Sibthorp was parish priest at Ryde on the Isle of Wight at the time of his sudden conversion to Catholicism; now he was about to return to the Church of England.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Saturday, 2 September 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/54 *Address*: Rev^d^ J. Bloxam / S^t^ Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: SP 3 1843 in Cheadle; SE 4 1843 in Oxford

✠ Alton Towers. Saturday.

Rev & Dear M^r^ Bloxam

I herewith enclose you the proof of my Letter corrected with a few trifling additions.[1] what you say in your Last about our friend M^r^. S. surprises me beyond measure.[2] we have never had the Least difference between us & the other day I received a Letter from him in his usual kind maner. a short time before he Left Birmingham he changed dreadfully in his architectural views & even mentioned that the *Town hall* of that Place would make an excellent building for the celebration of Mass!!!![3] perhaps some miserable ideas of this kind may have caused the apparent change in his views respecting myself. it will be indeed a sad thing if he builds

another monstrosity in that neighbourhood. M[r]. Sparkes mentioned in the Tablet is the same that Bernard Smith spoke to you about but I trust the affair may be Cleared up more to his credit.[4] such things make one distrustful of everbody. what do allude to in what you say about Bath? do you refer to an Anglican clergman? We have had an unfortunate business here which has annoyed Lord S. very much.[5] the curate at Cheadle in some Lectures which he gave against romanism asserted that Catholic Priests were not rightly ordained. this position (too absurd to be noticed) drew out D[r]. Winter who in a furious printed Letter attacked the Anglican ordinations with the whole of the nags head business. also all the old matter on the interminable subject so now there is a paper war & not a very creditable one either As it tends to anything but unity & charity. it was begun without L. S knowledge & he is much vexed at it. believe me ever with great respect

your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Bloxam is making Pugin's letter of 25 May 1843 to James Ingram ready for publication in the *Proceedings* of the Oxford architectural society.

[2] Sibthorp is the most likely person intended by 'M[r]. S.'

[3] The neo-classical town hall of Birmingham was built from 1832 onwards to a design by J. A. Hansom.

[4] 'M[r] Sparkes' no doubt earned himself a degree of notoriety by his behaviour but it was a public notice among the advertisements in the *Tablet*, 4 (19 August 1843): 528, which drew him to general attention.

CAUTION.—The Public are put upon their guard against a young Man of the name of WILLIAM PRESCOTT SPARKES, who stated himself to be a convert to the Catholic religion, and as such obtained admission into St. Mary's College, Oscott, in the month of May last, where he remained until the vacation in June, and then came up to London, and resided at the Sablionère Hotel, Leicester-square, from which place he absconded on Saturday, the 12th instant. The said W. P. Sparkes undertook to collect subscriptions for the family of Mr. Gooch, whose stock of books, &c., was unfortunately burnt at the fire which took place at 17 A, Great George-street, Westminster, on the morning of Sunday, the 6th instant. It is known that Sparkes obtained various sums of money, and he might apply to other parties for the same object, which this notice it is hoped will prevent. A full description of his person has been given to the police, with instructions for his apprehension; and it would greatly further the ends of justice that any parties who may know anything of the said W. P. Sparkes should put themselves into immediate communication with Messrs. Pagliano and Nind, of the Sablionère Hotel. It has likewise been ascertained that this Sparkes enlisted for a soldier about two or three years back.

Sablionère Hotel, Leicester-square, Aug. 17, 1843.

Bernard Smith, who was a Fellow of Magdalen College for a short time, joined the Catholic Church in December 1842.

[5] Lord Shrewsbury is annoyed at the public squabble which Pugin goes on to describe, between Henry Winter and the Church of England curate at Cheadle, Walter Blunt, who published *The English Church and the Romish Heresy* in 1843 in answer to a letter of Winter, whom he defines as 'the Romish chaplain of the earl of Shrewsbury'. The Nag's Head story, taking its name from the inn where a spurious consecration was said to have been held, was fabricated at the beginning of the seventeenth century to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the episcopal ordination of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth I, and formed part of the controversial literature on the validity of Anglican orders.

Walter Blunt (1809–82), educated at Cambridge, held his post at Cheadle only for a short time longer, and in 1844 moved to an appointment in Cornwall.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL — Alton Towers, Thursday, 7 September 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers Sep[r]. 7. 1843

My Dear Sir

I hereby Empower M[r]. Myers to receive the comission on the instalments for the convent & houses at S[t] Georges as they fall due without any further orders from myself.

I remain dear sir
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

M F[?] Forristall Esq[r]

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST MARY'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE?[1] — Friday, 15 September 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 38 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Octave of the nativity of the Blessed virgin 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers is entiled to a further payment of twelve hundred & eighty seven pounds on acount of the work of St Maries church Newcastle on Tyne.

£1287. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

I hereby empower george Myers to receive the sum of sixty four pounds 7 shillings being the architects comission on the above.

£64. 7. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] It is assumed that Pugin's certificates for payment, of which this is the earliest known to survive, were directed to the committee, but they may have been addressed to Dunn.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Wednesday, 20 September 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [21] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Ember. Wednesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

you will be surprised & Glad to hear that I have received a comunication from the Salford people Manchester to meet them about the new church early next month—& what is still more remarkable the Same post brought me a Letter from *Ushaw* College to go & see about setting to at their church, so Long talked about.[1] if these go on—we shall make a great shew. as a set off to this good news I hear Phillipps is going to have a *Jesuit* chaplain!!![2] if this be true—screens & Roods farewell. it has filled me with consternation—for things were going on so well in that neighbourhood. I purpose D. V being with your Lordsip next week as I must go to the north by the beginning of October. as I come down by Lecestershire I shall have to order some more money for S[t] Bernards—which is advancing rappidly. Roof all compleat &[c]. will your Lordsip therefore order the transfer to my account that I may give the cheques.[3]

I remain my dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faithful Sert.
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin prepared designs for the cathedral of St John in Salford, Manchester, and apparently believed for a time that he had been given the commission, for, in an appendix entitled 'List of the buildings and decorative additions to architecture', ST quotes a letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 1842 in which Pugin says that he has heard from 'the Salford people and I have got the job' (p. 12); but, according to *Ferrey*, he 'could not be induced to give way on some point of principle' (p. 276), and another Catholic architect, M. E. Hadfield, was engaged in his stead. The building was erected from 1844 to 1848, and Pugin later designed stained glass for it.

Pugin first drew plans for a new chapel at Ushaw College, a seminary near Durham, in 1840, as he mentions in his letter to Thomas Doyle of 10 December of that year, but they were not executed. Construction to this second set of designs was begun by Myers in 1844, in March according to David Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Durham, 1964); *T-L* states that the foundation-stone was laid on 23 April 1844; the chapel was consecrated on 27 September 1848.

[2] *Pawley*, pp. 217–18, documents the attempts which Phillipps made, after Gentili's departure, to secure a Jesuit priest from Stonyhurst College who would serve as both chaplain at Grace Dieu and tutor to his sons.

[3] Pugin's letter of 17 October 1843 to Lord Shrewsbury acknowledges the transfer of money.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH — London, Thursday, 21 September 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. feast of S[t] Mathew 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S[t] Georges church Lambeth as to entille him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0

✠ A Welby Pugin
master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the comission on the above.

£25. 0. 0 ✠AWelby Pugin

To LORD MIDLETON Peper Harow, Thursday, 21 September 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1② *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Sep. 21. 1843

I hereby certify that C Bowler has duly performed so much of the work of Mousehill house as to entilte him to a further payment of one hundred pounds.[1]

£100. 0. 0 ✠ A Welby Pugin
master of the work

[1] Charles Bowler, of Godalming and Milford, was a bricklayer and stonemason.

To LORD MIDLETON Peper Harow, Thursday, 21 September 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1③ *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harow. Sep[r]. 21 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work at the Bonville spring & the Midleton chantry as to entitle him to a further payment of one hundred pounds on Each of the above buildings.

£200. 0. 0 ✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of ten pounds being the comission on the above.

£10. 0. 0 ✠AWelby Pugin

To LORD MIDLETON Peper Harow, Thursday, 21 September 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1④ *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harow Sep. 21 1843

I hereby certify that Mess[rs]. Moon has duly performed so much of the farm buildings at oxenford as to entille him to a further payment of three hundred pounds.

£300. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

To DANIEL ROCK — En route, Saturday, 23 September 1843?

Text: MS SAA T-R 179[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London & Southampton Railway Saturday in Ember week

Rev & Dear D[r] Rock

it seems an age since I heard from you. there is every excuse for my not writing much driven up as I am on all sides, but you might send me a line, I fully expected to have met you at Alton a month ago. Lord Shrewsbury told me you were coming but you never arrived, I am sure you will be deligted with the progress of cheadle church. it is going on very fast & we have finished a fine piece of *stone groining* over the chapel of the B Sacrament. I suppose you have heard of the building at Sileby and M[r]. Lockhart Late of Littlemore having joined the order.[2] you really should see the spire at Nottingham. it is visible *16* miles off!!! & makes quite a new feature in the town. I am working very hard at my Glossary but it will take me to Xmass to finish. I hope it will do a deal of good. I am just going to start a new church at Liverpool for Edmund Street. the church at *Kirkham* would please you very much & for a real old catholic congregation. great things are going on. I have just compleated a small Parish church at Breewood with tower spire &[c]. (alwyes *a tower*) now & I am getting on gradually in Ireland.[3] I have a deal to tell you & hope you will be at Alton This autumn. if so I would try & manage to get there at the same time. ever with respect

I remain yours most scincerely
AWelby Pugin

I suppose you have heard of my building a gothic chancel to an Italian body at Southampton.[4] it is quite turning the tables on the Pagans & answers remarkably well. [*Sketch: plan of church in Southampton*]

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The *Orthodox Journal*, 17 (16 September 1843): 187, reports that excavations for the erection of a 'nunnery' between Sileby and Ratcliffe Hall began 'last week'.

William Lockhart (1819–92) came under Newman's spell while an undergraduate at Exeter College, Oxford, and it was Lockhart's reception into the Catholic Church by Gentili at Loughborough in August 1843 which prompted Newman to preach his last Anglican sermon, 'The parting of friends'. Lockhart

joined the Rosminian congregation 'three days later' (p. 219), according to *Pawley*, and after study in Rome and his profession in September 1845 he was at Ratcliffe for a time and then served for several years from 1847 as priest of the church of St Winifred which Pugin designed at Shepshed.

[3] The designs may have been completed for the building but construction of St Mary's church at Brewood was not finished until the summer of 1844.

[4] Preserved in AAW in a box of miscellaneous correspondence addressed to Griffiths concerning building and expansion in his London district in the years from about 1837 to 1844 is a letter, dated 14 November 1842, from the priest in Southampton, Joseph Sidden (1796–1875), who was educated at St Edmund's College, Ware, where Griffiths had been president, and ordained in 1820.

As soon as I could, I engaged M^r^ Pugin to come and look over the place and make a design for the alteration of the Church &c. This design has now been in the hands of almost every member of my congregation, and is universally admired & approved—According to it the Church will have an addition of sixty eight or on an emergency 84 sittings, which alone would be worth the whole proposed expense—from Seven to eight hundred Pounds. But besides the enlargement there will be superior ventilation; and the noxious effluvia now proceeding from something below the present flooring will be Subdued.—As to the improved *religious effect* to arise from the proposed alteration, certainly I think nothing here could go beyond it! It will breathe the spirit of ancient Catholic devotion into every beholder who has catholic faith.

Pugin's diary records a journey to Southampton on 8 November 1842; presumably this design for a new church is the result of it. The statement in *T-L*, p. 334, that the church of St John was begun early in 1843 and opened in October of that year is, however, misleading: while a complete new building for the chapel of St Joseph, not John, in Bugle Street, was hoped for, only a part of the project was carried out. Pugin includes no more than 'chancel Southampton' in his list of his work in MS V & A L.50–1982/3. In that volume, among the estimates, the entry for 'Southampton' records that the 'Contract' was let to Myers for £718 and that 'M^r^. Pugin has to find

Candlesticks & tabernacle	25.
glass	40
Bell vat & cruetts	10
Curtains	6
Painting & gilding	25.'

Against the total of £106, Pugin writes 'I have Recd. of this by 1^st^ payment' £100; £300 of the contract money has also been paid; Pugin's commission is set down at £35. 18*s*.

An order for metalwork for an unspecified church in Southampton, charged to Pugin, is entered in MWDB at 27 July 1843: it comprises 'A Sacrying Bell' costing £1. 5*s*., 'A Holy Water Vat & Sprinkler' costing £1. 16*s*., 'A Tabernacle & Cross' costing £15, six candlesticks for a sum of twelve guineas, and a pair of 'Iron Curtain Rods & rings' for £1. 2*s*., with boxes costing nine shillings, to make a total price of £32. 4*s*. Other items, most of them as simple as possible, were gradually acquired: on 16 July 1846 MWDB charges Sidden eighteen shillings for a baptismal shell with a silver handle; another order for him, entered at 18 August 1846, includes, for instance, 'A Brass Plain Processional Cross' for £2. 10*s*. and '6 Brass Plain Flower Vases' at eleven shillings each.

The *Catholic Directory* for 1844 reports that the church of St Joseph, 'nearly doubled in capacity, and terminated by a beautiful chancel and altar, was solemnly reopened by the Bishop on the 19th October last. A debt of upwards of £200 remains due. The friends of religion and morality are again earnestly requested to help a people and pastor, who themselves have made exertions so great and so successful' (p. 38).

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Tuesday, 26 September 1843?

Text: MS MCO 528/20[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London & Birmingham Railway Tuesday.

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

the very day I arrived at home & found your kind Letter I had been travelling with a very pleasing young man from Salisbury on his way to oxford.[2] he told me he was a demy of your College & had been several years a chorister—it is quite deligtful to see the fine spirit that is spreading among the young men. all our hope is in the rising generation for the old *Establishment* men seem sunk in hopeless prejudice. The inscriptions on many of the sketches for Jewitt were done hastily.[3] the one round the candlestick was intended for (Domini est illuminatio mea). The other you mention was a petition from the litany with the (Libera nos) &c abbreviated. I am delighed at what you say respecting the venerable president.[4] The small design for the gateway shall be *with you this week.*[5] I think I can please you in it. you will be perhaps surprised to hear that I am just on the point of starting a house for myself.[6] I have purchased a fine peice of Land about an acre facing the Sea at Ramsgate close to the spot where blessed Austin Landed. I shall not erect a *grecian villa* but a most substantial catholic house not very Large but convenient & solid & there is every prospect of a small church on the same ground which will be deligtful. [*Sketch: house.* Fig. 4] when this is finished I shall hope to induce you to come to me & enjoy what is so rarely to be attained—the delight of the sea with catholic architecture & a *Library* (not a *circulating* one).

I was at Salisbury Last week to inspect the progress of the tomb I am setting up at Bishopstone church in memory of the Late rector Montgomery.[7] it will be a very good thing a brass on the tomb under the arch. [*Sketch: tomb.* Fig. 5] I am also

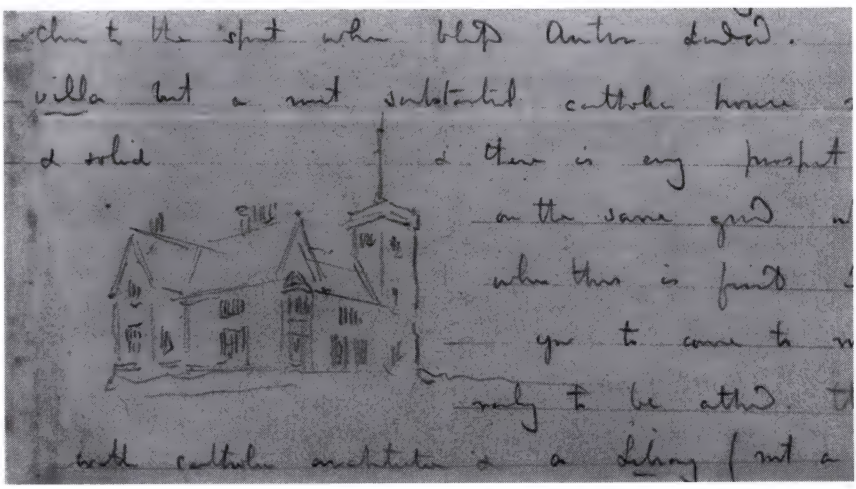

Figure 4 The Grange, sketched in the letter to J. R. Bloxam of perhaps 26 September 1843

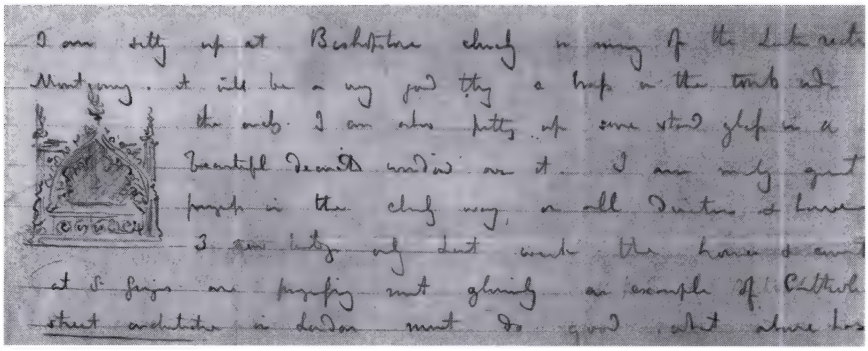

Figure 5 The tomb of G. A. Montgomery, sketched in the letter to J. R. Bloxam of perhaps 26 September 1843

putting up some stained glass in a beautiful decorated window over it. I am making great progress in the church way in all directions & have 3 new buildings only Last week.[8] the houses & convent at S[t] Georges are progressing most gloriously. an example of Catholic *street architecture* in London must do good. what abuse has been showered down on my apology—& in the weekly dispatch that infidel pot house paper which one would not think cared at all about it but the truth is that both the infidel & protestant party big to find out that this revival of Catholic architecture is producing a great *moral* change.[9] I am now on my way to Lord Shrewsburys where I purpose remaining during the week.

with great respect believe me ever dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The 'pleasing young man' may perhaps be Richard Humphry (or Humphrey) Hill, who was seventeen when he went up to Oxford in 1842; he was a chorister at Magdalen College from 1834 to 1842 and a Demy there from 1842 to 1851; his family home was in Somerset.

[3] It seems that these are the sketches Pugin sent to Orlando Jewitt as the basis for the illustrations Jewitt prepared for the *Glossary*; it is not clear whether Bloxam has seen Pugin's drawings or proofs already of the printed text. Letters forming 'Dominus illumin' are clearly legible round the foot of one of the two different candlesticks in the illustration set into the type of p. 43 in the first edition; 'Dominus illuminatio mea', 'the Lord is my light', is the Latin motto of the University of Oxford. On p. 211 the triptych illustrating that entry has an inscription across the base 'Per Magntiam tuam Libera', the Latin with its abbreviated noun representing 'By Thy mercy deliver us'; both sketches are signed with Jewitt's initials and Pugin's in monogram.

[4] M. J. Routh was the President of Magdalen College.

[5] Pugin sends a 'sketch' on 29 September 1843 for a new gateway to be built at Magdalen College, Oxford; possibly it is the rough pencil sketch preserved as MCO MS FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 4; it is more likely to be the finished drawing, signed and dated 1843, preserved as MCO MS FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 5, and reproduced as Plate III in this volume. The gateway was to be the only structure erected to Pugin's design in Oxford, and was demolished in 1883. Not commissioned by the college until February 1844, it was Bloxam's gift and may be regarded as in one light a kindly endeavour to assuage Pugin's disappointment at the rejection of his designs for the rebuilding of Balliol College.

[6] This is the earliest mention in the correspondence of the house which Pugin built for himself at Ramsgate; he refers to it always as St Augustine's but it has come to be known as The Grange. It always pleased him to think that he lived near where St Augustine landed in the year 597 when he brought Christianity to England, and there can have been no hesitation in selecting the saint in whose honour the church which he later erected next door to his house should be dedicated.

Documents in the archives of Ramsgate Library include six plans and draft sale particulars relating to this transfer of land (R/U1561/P442). The area of the plot for The Grange, bought in September 1843, was one acre and six perches. Pugin later purchased more land adjoining this site. The vendor was a Mr Townley; he is likely to be Henry Townley (1784–1861), son of James and Mary Townley of Townley House, Ramsgate; he was a Congregational minister working in London, where for a time he ran the Bishopsgate mission, and where he is buried in Highgate cemetery.

[7] Pugin designed a tomb and a window above it, made by Wailes, in the church of St John the Baptist at Bishopstone in Wiltshire in memory of George Augustus Montgomery (1795–1842), who was rector there from 1821 until his death in an accident. Pugin's diary records that he was 'At Mr. Montgomerys [*sic*]' on 7 August 1837. A monumental brass costing £28. 10*s.* is entered to Mrs Montgomery in MWDB at 22 September 1843, and five shields for the brass, at a cost of £4. 15*s.*, are added at 9 October 1843. In a list between pp. 24 and 25 of Pugin's diary for 1844 the first entry is 'Tomb Bishopton' against a sum of £32. 16*s.*, nine shillings less than the total of the amounts which MWDB records. The invoice of 21 September 1843 submitted to Hardman by the engraver Heath shows that he charged £20. 19*s.* 9*d.* for his work on the brass, which consisted of a 'Central Cross with Evangelists Lamb &c and Inscription to surround D°. with the letters in relief'. Heath's invoice of 7 October 1843 is also preserved in the bundle for that year in BCA; he charged £3. 13*s.* 2*d.* for his work on the brass plates of the five shields. The monument is thoroughly described and illustrated in Owen B. Carter, 'Some account of Bishopstone church, in the county of Wilts', [Weale's] *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, 4 (1845): 1–7; there is an illustration of the tomb in *GP*, p. 188.

[8] The new chapel at Ushaw College, which was built to Pugin's design, is likely to be one of these commissions; perhaps the church at Salford, for which his plans were not adopted, is another; the third may be St Mary's, Edmund Street, Liverpool.

[9] The review of the *Apology for the Revival* in the *Weekly Dispatch* (20 August 1843): p. 406 is severe, calling the book 'rancorous' and its author 'bigotted' and 'superstitious': 'We have never read a work which displays a more perverted mind.'

To WILLIAM DUNN — En route, Tuesday, 26 September 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 19[1] *Address*: W. Dunn Esq[r] / Bath house / Newcastle on Tyne
Postmark: SP 26 1843 in Northampton; SP 27 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ London & Birmingham Railway Tuesday

Dear Sir

I purpose D.V. being at Newcastle on Thursday Oct. 5[th]. M[r] Myers will meet me at the same time.

I remain dear Sir
yours truly ✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Friday, 29 September 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/61 *Address*: dalene College / Oxford. *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton. feast of S^{t} Michael

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I herewith you the sketch for your gateway—& I have treated it as a mere arch in a wall which is the way that I think it ought to be done.[1] I am decidely for erecting it on the scite of the present Italian one—as it will Look exceedingly well at the end of the avenue.[2] I intended the centre image for that of S^{t} Mary Magdalene. (an image of that saint is in the present Gateway.) on the right, Bishop Wainflete kneeling.[3] On the Left S^{t} John the Baptist, in the stringcourse over the door an inscription relative to the fondation of the college, in the spandrils Lilies angels & scrolls in the panels the arms of the college—& of Winchester supported by angels.[4] Oak gates with a small wicket.[5]

I think you will readily understand my intentions & be able to explain them. pray give m kindest respects to the venerable President.[6] I hope to see you b Long but am going north next week to Newcastle. the R w on at Cheadle & covered with Lead. it has a very noble appearance. Nothing Like high roofs covered with Lead. it will be a most solemn church. I am sure you will make a pilgrimage to see it when it is compleat. I am happy to say the furious curate has Left & all is going on quietly again.[7] I shall be truly glad of a Line from you & remain dear M^{r}. Bloxam with respect

your devoted & faithful Sert.
✠ A Welby Pugin

I believe I told you that I am just commencing a catholic residence for myself at Ramsgate.[8]

[1] The 'small design' promised in the letter to Bloxam of probably 23 September 1843.

[2] Pugin's gateway was built on the site of the 'present Italian one', erected about 1635 to a design thought to have been made by an architect named Christmas; the old baroque structure is the subject of a plate drawn by A. C. Pugin in Rudolph Ackermann's *A History of the University of Oxford, its Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings*. 2 vols. London, 1814.

Pugin's 'avenue' is the tree-lined path known as the 'Gravel Walk', which ran parallel with High Street from the corner of Longwall to the gateway, which stood at right angles to the street.

[3] William of Waynflete (*c.*1395–1486), Bishop of Winchester, was the founder of Magdalen College; the college was established some time before his statutes for its government were brought to it in August 1480.

[4] The statues on the original entrance to the college, now the Muniment tower, included Waynflete, kneeling in prayer, Mary Magdalene, and John the Baptist. It is apparent from illustrations of Pugin's gateway as it was constructed that a small number of the details intended here were modified: for instance, Waynflete stands.

[5] The wicket is clearly visible in contemporary illustrations of the gateway.

[6] The MS is mutilated, so that the words 'my', 'before' in the next sentence and, probably, 'Roof is now' in the sentence after that are partly spoiled. The president was M. J. Routh.

[7] Pugin tells Bloxam about the 'furious curate' in his letter of 2 September 1843.

[8] Pugin tells Bloxam about his house at Ramsgate in the letter probably written on 26 September 1843.

To GEORGE MYERS Ramsgate, autumn 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC MFT, p. 176[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

M[r] Myers

it is impossible to get tiles to mitre. it will be bad job altogether for they will not *come in to the dimensions* any way & you better say so.

as to the Railing it is very difficult to make one to cost very litle but I sketched one which I now send you. it looked very well. [*Sketch: wooden railing with quatrefoil at intersection of diagonal braces marked 'only sink' and 'halved*[?]*' and with dimensions of '3' and '4½'*] one of these spaces for a Door. [*Sketch: section showing 'brace'*]

pray send me the *accounts* you promised.

I am sure it will Not do to get any timber here. the fathoms Beard has got are very bad—we cant find any bottom in one part.[3] it is most curious & chalk all round.

✠ AW P

[1] Perhaps the letter was written about the time when Pugin was beginning to build The Grange, but it is not possible to date it with any confidence. A plan of the foundations of the house and various sketches of stairs are described in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 73.

[2] The letter is written in pencil; the MS is pasted in a scrapbook, the verso being thus rendered invisible.

[3] Beard, a carpenter, works for Pugin at Ramsgate in 1845. No Beard appears in the census returns for Ramsgate in 1841 or 1851.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL Alton Towers, Monday, 2 October 1843?[1]

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: J. F[?] Forristall. Esq[r]. *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers. S[t] Leger[?] day.

Dear Sir

on calculation it appears that if the smaller slates are used (which I should very much prefer) the cost will be 1[s]. [d]6 a Square more than the Contract price—on account of the increased quantity of battens & copper nails which will be required. it will remain therefore for the Gentlemen of the comittee to decide upon the maner. I consider the smaller slates infinitely preferable in every respect.

There is another matter which requires speedy consideration. it appears that the comission will compel us to make a gutter towards the street. if so—as far as we are obliged to go it better be done in accordance with the final plan of parapets & pinnacles so that when the gutter and stringcourse are compleated it will be so much work finally done—for if a temporary gutter is Laid it will be costly & have to be redone whenever the parapet is to be built. I hope when the gutter is done the comittee will allow one bay of the parapet & 2 pinnacles to be built to shew the effect of the whole. [*Sketch: parapet and two pinnacles*]

I have just had a Letter from M^r^. Myers In which he informs me that the comittee meeting is put off. I was very sorry to Learn this as it is most important that the gutter question should be settled as speedily as possible as the roofs are rappidly finishing & something must be decided.

M^r^. Myers holds an order for a £500 payment which is now due for some days.[2] I hope you will manage to get this paid to him. as you are well aware he is using every exertion to get all covered in before winter & needs every assistance being so far in advance of his payments.

I remain dear Sir your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The doubt about the dating of this letter is caused by the difficulty of reading the saint's day which Pugin writes at the head of it. There is a reference to 'the gutter &^c^. towards the road' in Pugin's letter to Forristall postmarked 23 August 1842; if the day of this letter is that of St Leger or Leodegarius, the date must be 2 October; but Pugin was not at Alton Towers on that day in 1842 nor in any other year for which a diary survives during the construction of St George's until 1845, which is too late to be deciding the size of slates for the roof.

[2] Presumably the order for payment of 21 September 1843.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Wednesday, 4 October 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/84[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ North Union Railway. Wednesday[2]

Revd & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I have just seen a paragraph in the Times stating that the Revd M^r^. Sibthorpe has been to communion in the Parish church at Ryde.[3] as I can Scarcely credit the truth of this report & in the absence of positive evidence am unwilling to condem I write to you to get some positive information. if this really be the case I think we shall all join in deploring the Sad example of inconsistency. I can understand a scincere & devout anglican continuing to pray for union & working for the revival of antient devotion & faith but *when once a man has taken vows of canonical obedience to the holy see* I cannot conceive his casting them off at pleasure. knowing the high honourable feelings of M^r^. Sibthorpe if this report be true I shall be induced to think that his mind must have been injured in his unfortunate fall. what frigtful scandals occur on every side. Look at that wretched ecclestick Oxley whose miserable Letter was printed at Length in the Tablet.[4] At Least the Letter he has *signed* for I am sure he never wrote it, & the the wretched views which are put forth as his reasons for joining[?] in the anglican comunion. one almost feels tempted to exclaim omnis homo mendax.[5] really the Bishops should revive the solemn excomunication of unfaithful churchmen by bell book & candle. what a dreadful affliction for Bishop wiseman if this affair of M^r^. S. is true.[6] he was blamed on all sides for admitting M^r^. S so soon to the Sacred function but he had the highest confidence in his scincerity

& piety & he was no doubt infuence by feelings of respect for so distinguished an anglican ecclisatic. pray send me a few Lines at your Earliest convenice—for I need hardly say how anxious I am to Learn the truth, if it be so the injury to the movement will be inculable. for the future no person should be reconciled without a probation of the same Length as that of the antient Cathecumens.

with great respect dear M^r^. Bloxam
yours most devotedly ✠ AWelby Pugin

Direct to me Rev^d^ D^r^ Youens S^t^ Nicholas copperas hill
Liverpool.[7]

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The North Union and Preston railway was opened in October 1838. 'Oct. 4. 1843' is inscribed in Bloxam's hand beside Pugin's day.

[3] An item in *The Times* (3 October 1843): p. 4, reads: 'Ryde, Isle of Wight, Oct. 2.—Yesterday the Rev. R. Waldo Sibthorp received the Holy Communion at the parish church at St. Helen's, near this town. We presume this is a virtual return to the bosom of the Anglican Church.'

[4] Under the heading 'Mr. Oxley's defence—reply to the *Tablet*', *Tablet*, 4 (30 September 1843): 614, Henry Lewis Oxley (1790?–1856), ordained in 1820 and formerly a member of the Dominican order and priest in Leeds and Leicester, writes from Derby a long statement of his reasons for leaving the Catholic Church; he left the priesthood in 1842 and was the subject of an editorial, 'Conversion of a Roman Catholic priest', in the *Tablet*, 4 (16 September 1843): 585–6.

[5] The Latin is part of a verse in a psalm: 'Ego dixi in excessu meo: Omnis homo mendax', Psalm 115 in the Vulgate, 'I said in my haste, All men are liars', Psalm 116 in the Authorized Version, verse 11 in both cases.

[6] It was Wiseman who received Sibthorp into the Catholic Church and ordained him with a promptitude which caused remark at the time. According to Richard J. Schiefen, *Nicholas Wiseman and the Transformation of English Catholicism* (Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 1984), Wiseman was so overcome by Sibthorp's defection that he 'took to his bed' (p. 123).

[7] Pugin gives Youens as his address in his letter to Bloxam of 2 July 1841, too.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Newcastle, Wednesday, 4 October 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/142 *Address*: Rev^d^. J. Bloxam / S^t^ Mary Magdalene College / oxford[1]
Postmark: OC 4 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne; OC 6 1843 in Oxford

I have just got to newcastle where your kind note was forwarded. I shall be glad to build the parsonage house although I suppose the *nursery* must be a prominent feature.[2] still we may as well get all the good we can. I have had a sad Letter from John Hardman. his sister Died Last week R I. P. & now the chaplain of the convent & the Sacristan of S^t^ Chads are not expected to Live—this business of M^r^. Sibthorps has quite upset me.[3] the scandel & triumph of infidels will be so dreadful. pray Send me word of all you know about it. I still cling to the hope it is not true.

[1] Pugin pencils the initials 'RJB' in the upper left corner of the address panel, as if to remind himself, once the paper is folded and sealed, that this is his letter to the 'Rev^d^. J. Bloxam'.

[2] Pugin is not known to have built any Anglican parsonage at this time.

[3] Anne, Hardman's sister and wife of James Vincent Gibson of Liverpool, died on 25 September 1843 aged 29, according to the *Catholic Directory* for 1844, p. 56.

Despite the plural form of Pugin's verb, the chaplain and the sacristan may well have been one and the same man: it seems that John Moore, who came from Oscott to be administrator of St Chad's from 1841 to 1848, also acted as chaplain to the convent at Handsworth.

The 'business' of Sibthorp is his re-entry into the Church of England.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Tuesday, 10 October 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/83[1] *Address*: Rev[d]. J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / Oxford
Postmark: OC 10 1843 in Wolverhampton; OC 11 1843 in Oxford

✠ Grand Junction Railway Tuesday

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I got your Letter at liverpool Last night, with the confirmation of this most distressing business.[2] I quite agree with you that these sudden conversions are generally bad especially in these days of wretched opinion. it was quite different in the case of Pagan converts in Earlier days. I do not think anything can be more painful than the exibition of such inconsistency in a person so highly respected. I can scarely believe however that he will Lend himself to the Exeter hall protestants.[3] what a fearful case. a priest fresh from being anointed with the holy Chrism & having scarcely pronounced the conical vows of holy obedience before the of God to break every tie with seeming indiference.[4] if he is not diseas in mind I would rather be the veriest protestant on earth, than him for he has not only broken vows & faith to answer for but all the Scandal that must arise. I am as much grieved for Bishop wiseman as anyone for he acted for the best & now of course he will be attacked on all sides. it is indeed a dreadful case & should make us doubly watchful against the power of the devil, it also teaches us that the grace of God is quite separate from Great abilities. no man ever set forth the *unity* of the church & its *authority* better than M[r]. S. his sermons on these subjects were overpowering & he is the first to practically refute all he has said by acting on the extreme of private judgment. we have heard nothing of M[r]. Sparkes.[5] Miss Y. still professes herself a scincere Catholic & nothing tangible can be brought against her.[6] it surprises me much that when M[r]. S. found his mind assailed by temptations & distracting views that he did not open his heart to his bishop or some grave priest but he never spoke to a soul upon the subject & the first intimation of his change is a paragraph in a Protestant Paper.[7] as you say from first to Last he has acted on protestant Principles. if you have any intelligence about his future views or movements perhaps you will Let me know. of course I shall not correspond any more with him.[8] all that is now left is to weep & pray, for in his return to Anglican comunion he does not of course bring good views. he must have ***new*** ones[?] as a protestant.

with great respect
belive me ever yours most sincerely ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The entire letter, including the address, is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin's list of visits to Kirkham in MS V & A L.50-1982/3 records that he was there on 9 October 1843. The 'distressing business' is the reversion of Sibthorp to the Church of England.

[3] Exeter Hall, in London, was the headquarters of what was viewed as extreme Protestantism.

[4] The paper has been cut round the seal, and the mutilation mars this sentence and the next; the solecism 'conical' is, however, Pugin's.

[5] Pugin attempts to mitigate the effect of Sparkes's misdemeanours in his letter to Bloxam of 2 September 1843.

[6] Isabella Young appears first to be mentioned in Pugin's correspondence in his letter to Gentili of 26 May 1843.

[7] The paragraph in *The Times* about which Pugin writes to Bloxam on 4 October 1843.

[8] No letters from Pugin to Sibthorp are known of any date but Pugin did not in the event cease to have dealings with him from this time onwards. Sibthorp seems to have felt some embarrassment about approaching his former fellow Catholics. His letter to Bloxam of 25 April 1844 survives at Pusey House, MS Ollard Papers, Box XIX, no. 25.

I sometimes & rather with increasing strength, feel, that if Pugin w[d]. give me a model of such a Church as you speak of Tubney being, I should be inclined to build it, & officiate, without asking anyones permission—& carry out to the full my views of the Service—&c.—all the Rubrics & so forth. Should you object to ask him for such a plan? I can*not*, as I am circumstanced. . . . Nettlestone, where you know I have an house would be a nice spot for a small Church.

To LORD SHREWSBURY

London, Saturday, 14 October 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [88] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Saturday. afternoon

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I was so hurried at Nottingham that I had not time to write & was equally pressed at Birmingham in explaining brasses Chalices &[c]. I arrived at London yesterday & went directly to S[t] Georges Fields the convent & houses of which are going on most deligtfully and will be I expect roofed in before winter—The spire at Nottingham produces a most Glorious effect. it can be seen from most parts of the town. the stained glass is fixing in the interior & in a few weeks it will be well worthy going to see—I do hope & trust your Lordship will go & see what is going on. you really see nothing of the *revival* to which your Lordship has so mainly contributed. I got all the accounts settled with Bishop Willson.[1] M[r] Tempest is not going after all to Hobart town but remains at Skipton.[2] all the Irish volunteers at Maynooth have also deserted Bishop W. who is nearly Left alone.[3] The colouring matter at S[t] Georges chapel was not antient but a bad *stone wash* done in size. the antient painting was concealed by it. The work of Hearne & Byrns antiquities is not worth having.[4] they are mere *Picturesque Landscapes* & give a very poor idea of the buildings. I will write again in a few days. in the mean time believe me my dear Lord Shrewsbury

with great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Already in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 19 September 1842 Pugin expresses his fear that it will be a 'bad business' if the accounts for St Barnabas's are not settled before Willson leaves for Hobart.

[2] Thomas Peter Tempest (1808–61) was the fifth son of Stephen and Elizabeth Tempest of Broughton Hall near Skipton, Yorkshire; educated at Oscott, he was a priest at St Chad's, Birmingham. Tempest appears to have wanted to serve as priest at Skipton but was not appointed to that parish.

[3] St Patrick's College at Maynooth in County Kildare just outside Dublin, the principal seminary in Ireland. One priest to accompany Willson was, according to *Andrews*, p. 110, William Hall (1807 or 1808–66), a Londoner educated at Ware.

[4] *Antiquities of Great Britain, Illustrated in Views of Monasteries, Castles, and Churches, now Existing. Engraved by W. Byrne, F.S.A. from Drawings made by Thomas Hearne, F.S.A. with Descriptions in English and in French.* 2 vols. London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1807. There are more than eighty pictures in the publication.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Tuesday, 17 October 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [60] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ oct. 17. 1843.

Memorandum of having recd. the sum of seven hundred pounds on account of S^{t} Bernards church up to this date.[1]

£700. 0. 0

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I send above an acknowledgement from Myers of having received £700 for S^{t} Bernards. I was there Last week. it will be a most solem church very simple but most devotional. I am glad to hear Father Bernard has paid £90 more for the wall plates & side Rafters will be on next week & I shall want £150 more.[2] the whole will be covered in a very short time. if your Lordsip has occasion to write up to the bank—please tell them to credit me that amount.

I have just heard of 2 oxford men making their profession of faith by way of set off to M^{r}. Sibthorpe—they are horrified about his business at oxford.[3] I have had several Letters on the subject. I was at Nottingham the other day. I am sure your Lordsip will be delighted with it, for it is by far the grandest thing we have done—the Bishop is going to build the Boundary wall &^{c}.[4] he seems very much pleased with it. very fortunate we got M^{r}. Sibthorpes 3000 just in time. if the building had not *been comenced* so *soon* we should never have got that money.[5]

The convent & houses at S^{t} Georges are getting on famously—Everything is progressing. I will not forget the sugar basins when I take a morning *Lounge*.[6] I Looked about for some at Newcastle Liverpool &^{c} but saw nothing of the kind—I am afraid there will be warm work in Ireland. it seems to me the Government allowed the agitation to go on too Long—before they attempted to put it down—I hope good progress is making with Buttress &^{c} for the Doria Rooms.[7] the Chancel

Roof ought be on at cheadle by this time. I shall soon have a Lot of glass Ready for the nave.

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
ever your most devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Myers inscribes a closing bracket and his signature, with his Christian name abbreviated as usual to 'Geo', immediately after Pugin's words.

[2] J. B. Palmer, the prior of Mount St Bernard's.

[3] One of the '2 oxford men' is likely to be Charles Seager about whom Pugin writes to Bloxam on 31 October 1843. Sibthorp's horrifying act was to revert to the Anglican Church.

[4] The bishop is Thomas Walsh.

[5] Pugin's emphasis points to Lord Shrewsbury's disquiet when St Barnabas's was commenced late in 1841.

[6] *Fisher* speculates that the sugar basins which Lord Shrewsbury commissioned Pugin to buy may have been part of 'an intended gift' (p. 94) to one of the most distinguished guests ever received at Alton Towers. Henri (1820–83), Duke of Bordeaux and Count of Chambord, was the last representative of the elder branch of the Bourbons and claimed the throne of France as Henri V. The duke and his retinue arrived on Saturday 4 November and stayed until Monday 13 November. This is the first of many allusions to a flurry of purchases and preparations for the visit, of which *Walsh* gives a detailed account. In the catalogue of Pugin's library sold after his death, the copy of *Walsh*, lot 486, is described as a '*presentation copy to Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, half calf gilt*'.

[7] The Doria rooms added at Alton Towers in 1843; Lord Shrewsbury's daughter Mary married Prince Doria.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Friday, 20 October 1843?

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/17 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Friday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have just returned from Ramsgate & found your Lordsips 2 Letters one with an order for £150 for S^{t} Bernards.[1]

1st The mistake of the name John for *William* Talbot in the Brass has been altered.[2]

2. I always direct small parcels as your Lordsip mentions.

3^{d}. I will not fail to be at Alton by 2 oclock on the 2^{d} of November with the silver basons. in the mean time a Letter directed to Chelsea will find me as I am only going to M^{r}. Drumonds & Lord Midletons.[3]

4. when I was at Birmingham the cross & bell were both well advanced.[4] I will not fail to bring them with me as I shall come through Birmingham.

5. I have written to Denny to send me the size of the entrance.[5] I will then get the stuff & send down a Drawing for the framing which ought to be made so as to take to peices & be easily put together again for some future ocasion.

I have just returned from Ramsgate. I had a fine run down on Wednesday in the NW gale. I saw 2 vessells driven ashore on the Foreland one an emigrant ship outward bound. the poor people were saved with difficulty. the sea sometimes fling over her topsail yards. I was in a very fine vessells. we did not ship any altough the sea ran very high on the pitch of the Foreland.[6] all the vessells in the Roads Lost anchors & Cables. I understand there are other oxford men in progress.[7]

with great respect I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 17 October 1843 asks for £150 for Mount St Bernard's.

[2] A brass commemorating Anne Talbot is set in the wall of the cloister of St John's Hospital at Alton; she was the second wife of William Talbot of Wexford and stepmother of Lady Shrewsbury, and she died on 5 May 1843. Miss Talbot who commissioned the memorial was one of Anne and William Talbot's daughters; she was also called Anne. The coloured illustration of the brass in *GP*, p. [185], shows the figure of William Talbot (d.1849) which was added in 1850.

Heath's invoice to Hardman for his work on the brass is dated 29 September 1843 from 68 Great Charles Street, Birmingham.

25 lb$\frac{1}{4}$ Plates for Mrs Anne Talbots Monumental Brass—@ 1/10	2	6	3$\frac{1}{2}$
Engraving D°. Complete consisting of Large Cross on Inscription a Female figure with Scroll and Heraldic Shield—	14,	8,	6
Cutting edges, Waxing in various Colours and polishing, with Screws and 20 Rubs mounted	2	17	-
	19.	11	9$\frac{1}{2}$
C^{r}. 4$\frac{1}{2}$lb Scrap—7^{d}—		2	7$\frac{1}{2}$
	£19.	9.	2.

William Cook's invoice of 27 September 1843 charging £8. 16*s.* for the black marble slab and for screwing the brass into it, preserved in BCA, carries Hardman's annotation: 'Talbots'. In MWDB the brass is entered to Miss Talbot at 13 October 1843 at a charge of £28. 15*s.*; letting it into the slab costs £9. 10*s.* more, making a total sum, with packing, of £38. 19*s.* George Winter's letter, dated 3 February, covering payment by Miss Talbot's cheque on the Uttoxeter Bank is preserved in ML 1844, and the Metal sales ledger records payment on 5 February 1844.

[3] Pugin's correspondence with Henry Drummond appears to begin on 31 October 1843. According to Pugin's list of his visits to Peper Harow in 1843, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1(1), he was there on Friday 27 October.

[4] A sacring bell 'to drawing' at a price of £5 and an altar cross, parcel gilt, at a price of £7. 10*s.* are entered to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 1 November 1843.

[5] The dimensions were needed so that Pugin could arrange an awning over the steps leading up from the carriage drive where the duke would alight to the grand entrance to Alton Towers. It was there, outside the great doors, that Lord and Lady Shrewsbury stood to receive the Duke of Bordeaux on his arrival; others, according to *Walsh*, who greeted him, amid shouts of 'Vivat', included Pugin.

[6] The paper is torn at this point.

[7] Not on the waters of the Thames estuary but towards the Church of Rome.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH

London, Saturday, 21 October 1843

Text: MS SAA St G[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Oct 21. 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S[t] Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work.

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the comission on the above.

£25. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in an unidentified hand:

	ab	pre
M[r] K Hodg.	15	21

To WILLIAM DUNN

London, Saturday, 21 October 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 39 *Address*: William Dunn Esq[r] / Bath house / Newcastle on Tyne. *Postmark*: Chelsea; 21 OC 21 1843; OC 22 1843 in Newcastle on Tyne

✠ London Saturday.

My Dear Sir

I have returned for some days but have been prevented from Sending the gas fittings owing to a most severe attack of influenza which has paralysed me completely as I am scarcely able to write this. I shall hope to get right in a few days as I have had the same order every winter for some time past.[1] I shall be glad to have the agreement.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is torn by the seal; presumably Pugin wrote 'disorder'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY

London, Monday, 23 October 1843?

Text: MS PC Franklin [72] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I will attend to everything without fail. I am going this afternoon about the engines stuff &c.[1] I do not think illumination Lamps are good.[2] they will Look Like a vauxhall night.[3] I think I can arrange some thing better. I expect the Dimensions of the Doorway from Denny by tomorows Post & then I will send the framing. I am only just up for I have been regularly paralyzed by influenza but am much better & fit for service.

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] When Pugin sends Lord Shrewsbury his account late in November, the 'engines' are entered as 'fire Engines'. As *Fisher* explains, these are not fire-fighting appliances but means of floodlighting the building. *Walsh* describes the brilliant moment as the duke drove up in his carriage: 'Tout-à-coup portes, croissées, ogives, remparts, créneaux, tours et tourelles rayonnèrent des milles feux d'une splendide illumination' (pp. 209–10).

The 'stuff' is likely to be canvas for the awning.

[2] Lamps were needed to light the steps to the grand entrance, and *Walsh* notes that the conservatory, through which the party passed to reach the main rooms of the house, was full of coloured lamps.

[3] Vauxhall Gardens, south of the river Thames in London, a popular pleasure resort from the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Tuesday, 24 October 1843?

Text: MS MCO 528/72 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I was out of town when your Letter arrived & I have since had a very serious attack of influenza but am now nearly recovered. I Lose no time in forwarding to you the first sketches for a choristers house.[1] the plan will combine great convence with a venerable Looking exterior. it is of great importance for the working of the establiment to have a kitchen court at back. I know this from experience. I have arranged the masters bed room so as to command the Dormitory which is composed of 16 cells separatly boarded & through ventilation above.[2] at the end I have placed the singing school which will be high Like a chapel Large & well Lit with a fire place.[3] I have made a WC. for the use of the Dormitory at night without going below. this altgh unknown to antiquity is really essential for health. The serts rooms are quite separate from the house & approached by another staircase.[4] I send also a perspective view to give you an idea of the Elevation.[5] I have kept it quite in character with the college. I propose the Dining room to have a plain open roof Like a hall. I shall be delighed to have an opportunity of seeing your venerable president & explaining my design.[6] I purpose therefore coming down to oxford on *Monday* next so as to arrive by a morning train & stop all night & proceed to Birmingham next

day.[7] in the hope therefore of seeing you so soon I defer all remarks on passing events.

with respect
ever yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

perhaps you will drop me a Line to Let me know if Monday will suit you. it is the only day I can contrive to come.

[1] It was determined late in 1843 that a new school and master's house be built for Magdalen College School, on a site at the corner of High Street and Longwall, part of the college grounds. Pugin's design, showing the 'Ground plan' and the plan of the first floor, survives at the school, one of a collection of drawings all with the classification LH. 1; Bloxam inscribes it '1st Set of plans. 1843'. An ink drawing, signed and dated 1843 by Pugin, it has all the features he goes on here to describe, besides others which he does not point out, like a 'common room for choristers—35×15' with the 'masters sitting room' directly above it. Pugin's plans were not adopted and he drew more designs in the autumn of 1844, but difficulties arose and it was several years before construction began, not to his design. Designs for the school are listed, and some illustrated, in R. White and R. Darwall-Smith, *The Architectural Drawings of Magdalen College Oxford* (2001).

[2] On the plan the '16 cells', eight on each side of the room, are described as 'open at top'; from the doorway of the 'masters bed room' the view down the full length of the space between the two sets of 'cells' is uninterrupted.

[3] The 'Singing school', measuring 28 feet by 16, is marked '20 feet high' on the plan.

[4] Bedrooms for servants are placed over the scullery and pantry in a separate wing from other accommodation.

[5] This drawing seems not to have survived; its place in the collection LH. 1 is taken by another on which Bloxam inscribes '1st Set of plans designed in 1843.—This is a copy of the original design by Pugin which has been mislaid.'

[6] The president was M. J. Routh.

[7] It is clear from subsequent letters that Pugin did not visit Oxford on Monday 30 October, apparently because the president was unwell.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Tuesday, 24 October 1843?[1]

Text: ST, App. 8, pp. 11 and 13 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

I will not fail to be at Alton D. V. by the day your Lordship mentions, when I hope to find all the trenches duly completed and the ecclesiastical work proceeding with ——. . . .[2]

The garden engines were sent last night to the place your Lordship directed, addressed to Mr. Winter, Alton Towers.[3] The tea caddies and tongs were sent off on Saturday. The awning stuff will go off tonight with the securing thread. The drawing I send with this. I have the greatest difficulty in procuring the small sugar basins. I have only as yet been able to get 2 and where I am to get the others I do not know for I have nearly exhausted all the likely places. Denny has sent me the height of the doorway but I think I have got it the right proportion. I have made the awning 12 feet high and by keeping it flat at top it will be easily done. I think Harris will understand the sketch.[4] If your Lordship things [*sic*] it too high it may be reduced but it should not be too low to enter such lofty doors.

[1] The dating of the first of the two fragments brought together here, its end marked by the addition of ellipsis points, is uncertain; the second extract is more securely placed.
[2] The 'trenches' are probably being dug for foundations. The long line is used in ST to indicate an unspecified extent of illegibility.
[3] Perhaps the 'garden engines' addressed to George Winter were devices for illuminating the famous gardens at Alton Towers.
[4] Thomas Harris was a carpenter working at Alton.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Wednesday, 25 October 1843?

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/15 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Wednesday evening

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have ordered all the cloth Tassells &ᶜ which will all go off tomorow evening by Rail & Express. I am obliged unfortunely to go off to Mʳ Drumonds tomorow afternoon so that I shall Not be able to get to the Euston hotel if your Lordsip comes up.[1] I have suceeded at Last in getting 2 more siler basons—for sugar. they are very pretty.

with great respect dear Lord Shrewsbury
your Lordsips devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The Victoria and Euston Hotel in Euston Grove, off Euston Square, was run in 1843 by Joseph Dethier & Co. and from 1844 onwards by Zenon (or Zenoni) Vantini; by 1845 the London terminus of the London and Birmingham railway was immediately adjacent to it.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Thursday, 26 October 1843?

Text: ST, App. 8, p. 13 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

I will send down the lamps on Saturday. I have succeeded in getting 2 small basins, very pretty ones indeed. They are old Dutch and will come down by tonight's train with the cloth etc., for the Prie Dieus.[1] I have sent capital figure but no *gimp* as it is detestably modern and bad. Thomas had only 2 small basins which I have got.[2] He says he can't get any. He used to have them but they have come very scarce. It was quite a chance my getting the other 2 and I went to a great many places for them, everywhere I could think of. I will try the envelopes.[3]

[1] The prie-dieu for the duke was 'covered with a velvet cloth embroidered with *fleurs-de-lis*' (p. 95), according to *Fisher*.
[2] Thomas's was a retail firm of goldsmiths, silversmiths, and jewellers with manufacturing connections, situated at 153 New Bond Street; started about 1760, it was managed from about 1825 until 1847 by Francis Lewis Thomas and John William Thomas; the firm continued until 1941.
[3] The account Pugin sends at the end of November shows that he bought envelopes for Lord Shrewsbury.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Saturday, 28 October 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [28] *Address*: Right Honble / The Earl of Shrewsbury / Alton Towers / near Cheadle / staffordshire *Postmark*: 28 OC 28 1843; OC 29 1843 in Cheadle

✠ London Saturday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have just returned from M^r^. Drummonds.[1] I will send the other 50 yards off to night & the illumination Lamps.[2] I have only time to save the post.

with great respect dear Lord Shrewsbury
I remain your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I Leave town early on *Monday* for oxford.[3]
sibthope goes to mass *every morning*!!!!

[1] Pugin writes his first letter to Henry Drummond probably on 31 October 1843.

[2] One reason for the quantity of fabric which Pugin despatched to Alton Towers was the requiem mass celebrated on Monday 6 November, at the request of the Duke of Bordeaux, to mark the anniversary of the death of his grandfather, King Charles X of France; for the occasion the chapel was draped in black. Pugin was in charge of the reordering and *Walsh* notes that he had 'présidé à l'arrangement d'un catafalque semé de larmes et de fleurs de lis d'argent' (p. 218).

A letter written by Lord Shrewsbury to Pugin on All Saints day, Wednesday 1 November 1843, is preserved among ML Undated 1839–44.

The *illumination* lamps are come after all, *& nothing else*—They will, I fear, give little or no light—so I wish you would bring with you 6 (six) single-burner lamps from Birmingham, of decent appearance, & with a ground glass shade, either such as will *hang* against a wall, or will stand on a bracket—Three on either side, will help the others out.

We can get nothing in the country. There must be plenty of light on the steps.

Ever truly yours
Shrewsbury

The Brackets or nails can be fixed on the uprights of the frame work.

Lord Shrewsbury adds a message for Hardman in case Pugin has already left the town: he is to send the lamps to the station at Uttoxeter.

The earl sends a second letter on the same day to Hardman, to make sure that he sees that the first letter is intended for him as well as for Pugin; he adds as an afterthought at the head of the sheet: 'I hope the Chapel Bell has been sent.'

In yet another letter in the same file, the earl writes to Hardman from Alton Towers on 'Thursday', perhaps 2 November 1843, stating that he wants six more lamps, which are not for the 'principal rooms' and which should be 'of *bronzed* metal in preference to brass. Immitation bronze will do very well.'

MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury at 4 November 1843 '6 Bracket Solar Lamps & Glasses' at a price of £5. 4*s*. and '6 Bronzed Lamps & Glasses' costing £8. 4*s*.

[3] Pugin did not in the event go to Oxford on 30 October.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Tuesday, 31 October 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/75[1] *Address*: Rev^d^ J. Bloxam / S^t^ Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: OC 31 1843 in Birmingham; NO 1 1843 in Oxford

✠ London & Birmingham railway. eve of all saints

Revd & Dear M^r^ Bloxam

I am Exceedingly sorry to hear of the presidents indisposition.[2] at his age any complaint is alarming & there is an old sayin that when the old one goes there seldom is found a better which in the present case might be litteraly true. I will however hope it is but a slight attack whhich will not be productive of any serious results. I can assure you that I knew nothing whatever of M^r^. Seagers business till some days after.[3] I only saw him once in my Life & that for a very short time & I am very sorry that such matters should prevent us having the pleasure of meeting & conversing for it would be quite monstrous to hold me responsible for the acts of individuals with whom I am in no way connected. In fact I have made up my mind not to be excited abt anything for extraordinary ocurences have become quite common in these times. I am on my road to Alton. if anything occurs pray drop me a line there.

ever with respect belive me dear M^r^ Bloxam
yours most devotedly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.
[2] M. J. Routh, born in 1755, was in his late eighties.
[3] Charles Seager (1808–78), scholar of Worcester College, Oxford, from 1834 to 1838, became a distinguished orientalist, expert particularly in Semitic languages. Although Pusey, for whom he lectured in Hebrew, and Newman, whose help Pusey sought, advised against the change, Seager was received into the Catholic Church at Oscott on 12 October 1843. His wife made her conversion in 1844.

To HENRY DRUMMOND[1] London, Tuesday, 31 October 1843?[2]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/11[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Eve of All hallows.

Dear Sir

I herewith send you a small sketch of the alteration I propose in your offices.[4] I think you will find them perfectly convenient & spacious. I have kept to *your present boundary Line & not encroached upon the* road as on setting them out there appeared to me a sufficient width of open court between the gallery & the offices.[5] I can get 6 bed rooms over the scullery & Serts hall 4 with fire places. the Larder & pastry will have a Northern aspect.[6] Serts hall &^c^ Southern. I have provided a store room. I purpose making 2 water closets to comunicate with your private staircase & 2 in offices. I forgot to ask you where your tank or resevoir of water was placed from which you supply your offices. *this I should know.* I can arrange the chimneys &^c^. without difficulty—& I have sketched out all the Roofs valleys—& gutters.

Respecting the argmt of clery in choirs mented in your note which I have just received—I am not aware of any work which treats particulary on the subject.[7] the best information is to be gained from the stalls of the clergy as they arranged in choirs that have not been changed. I have found as a general rule that the Bishops Throne in Pointed churches is placed on the *Espistle* side the same side as the sedelia. I am rather inclined to think that in the *Saxon* churches the Bishops seat was *behind* the altar as in the Basilicas. The dean & subdean sat facing the altar on Each side of the entrance under the rood screen. the canons next to them extending Eastward according to their number, & further Eastward the prebends. when I return I will Look up such information on the subject as I posess & forward it to you. the *ambo* I do not believe to have ever been introduced in England. I have never found either an account or example of it.

I am on the point of starting for Alton—but was anxious to put you in posession of my ideas respecting Your offices that you might Look them over & forward them to me on my return with such observationts as may sugest themselves to you.

I remain Dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

H Drummond Esq[r].

[1] Henry Drummond (1786–1860), a banker, an MP, and holder of other offices, lived at Albury Park, Surrey, which he bought in 1819. Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake, noting in her *Journals and Correspondence* (London, 1895) that he was 'one of the richest men' (vol. 1, p. 171), maintains that 'ladies lose their hearts by dozens to his handsome form and fascinating conversation' (p. 172), but Pugin found him sometimes a puzzling and difficult man to deal with. Drummond having built a new Catholic Apostolic church at Albury to the design of W. M. Brooks (1800–49), the old parish church of St Peter and St Paul, close to the house at Albury Park, was closed in 1842. In it, Drummond employed Pugin to design a chantry chapel, and he had him devise a number of schemes for alterations to his adjacent house but exactly what work was done at the house is not clear. Some certainly was, for in a letter which is dated 6 August 1845 although preserved in ML April 1845, Earley suggests to Hardman that as Drummond refuses to allow him to paint in the chantry he 'might go on with the work in M Drummond's House as there is A great deal to be done there'.

A list of work contemplated or executed for Drummond is written on fol. 118 of Pugin's account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3, with prices against each entry; there is no indication of date. Six two-light windows with transom cost £54, eight smaller two-light windows £46, and two three-light windows with transom £27. An oriel window costs £100, clock face and panels cost £58, two large panels, perhaps large 'lion' panels, £25, six panels for parapet £36, '100 parapet' £36, '70 feet of string &' perhaps 'coursing' £27, '24 feet centre part' £10, '2 stone pedestals & block—Eagles &c' £22, and 'turrets pediments & vanes' £46.

[2] Pugin was not in London and 'on the point of starting for Alton' on 31 October in any year while he lived in London for which a diary survives.

[3] All the correspondence from Pugin to Henry Drummond forms part of the collection of Drummond papers in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle.

[4] The 'offices' are probably the domestic ones, the kitchens. Pugin's notes of his commissions in his account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3, include 'offices at Albury' (fol. 27). It is in this part of the house that the strongest evidence of Pugin's hand survives.

[5] By the 'road' Pugin may mean the broad path which still runs between the kitchen wing of the house at Albury and the slope of the hill behind.

[6] The *OED* defines a 'pastry' as the room where the comestible is made but the usage is already becoming obsolete.

[7] Ecclesiology was among Drummond's interests and supplies a topic in a number of the letters Pugin writes him.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Sunday, 5 November 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/38 *Address*: The Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Cheadle; NO 6 1843 in Oxford

✠ Alton Sunday.
Gunpowder plot. [*Sketch: explosion*]

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just got your kind Letter. I will manage to come round by oxford on my return.[1] I am truly glad to hear that the president is better.[2] I can assure you I quite *Long* to see you—but I quite into Your reasons for not coming Last Monday—& I hope & trust nothing will prevent our meeting—soon. I cannot Leave alton till the departure of the Duc De Bordeaux who is here with a numerous suite—he will go I expect on Monday (tomorow) week.[3] I do not think £100 would possibly do the side window in your chapel.[4] there are 6 figures besides tracery in Each. I should think the double will only do them well for they should be first rate & the cartoons would be expensive for the images.

I will send you a Line before I come.

with respect ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
your most devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The visit to Oxford proposed in Pugin's letter of 24 October 1843 was declined.

[2] The president was M. J. Routh.

[3] The Duke of Bordeaux left Alton Towers on Monday 13 November; Laura Phillipps in her diary also notices the large size of his entourage. Her list of Lord Shrewsbury's other guests includes several already known to Pugin such as Mary Amherst, Hibbert, and Wiseman. In MWDB 'M[rs] Hibbert' is charged £5 at 29 June 1844 for 'Framing a likeness of Duke of Bordeaux'.

[4] In what is only the second letter he writes to Bloxam, on 13 September 1840, Pugin anathematizes the 'wretched brown windows' in the 'otherwise splendid chapel' of Magdalen College and laments a lost opportunity to replace 'those dingy windows with brilliant glazed Lights'. Perhaps his criticism lingered in Bloxam's mind. There are five windows on each side of the chapel; in the late 1850s glass made by Hardman was installed.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Tuesday, 7 November 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/74 *Address*: Rev[d]. J. Bloxam. / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: NO 7 1843 in Cheadle; NO 8 1843 in Oxford

✠ Alton. Tuesday.

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I will be with you D.V *without fail* on the *15th*. I will try for the 14th but I hardly think it possible as I shall not get away from here before Monday & have to come Round by Northampton &^{c}.—but on the 15th you may rely on me.

I fear there is Little hope of anything good being done in the present state of excitement.

I have not spoken about the magdalen sketches to any body.[1] we are all very gay here at present. I admire the Duc du Bordeaux very much. he hears mass every morning regularly. this is good in these days.

I do not think that with all expenses of scaffoding fixing carriage &^{c} you can reckon on each window costing Less than 200.[2] as I said before the cartoons should be beautifuly done. they should be something truly good & very carefuly designed.

with respect dear M^{r}. Bloxam
ever your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Perhaps the drawings for the 'choristers house', probably sent to Bloxam on 24 October 1843, or possibly the 'sketch' for the proposed gateway, forwarded to him on 29 September 1843. James Mozley, a Fellow of Magdalen College, had no scruples about mentioning the gateway; in a letter written on 14 November and printed in *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley, D. D.* (London, 1885), he tells his family that 'we are going to rebuild our gateway in Gothic style. Pugin has sent in a plan which will probably be adopted' (p. 149). The same letter contains a reference to the possibility of new windows for the chapel but does not indicate that Pugin will be consulted.

[2] Pugin first discusses new glass for Magdalen College chapel in his letter to Bloxam of 5 November 1843.

To JOHN HARDMAN?[1] Alton Towers, about Friday, 10 November 1843?[2]

Text: MS BMAG L180.84[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

the 2 images for the niches will be sent from Nottingham where they are making. I should like the image of the B Virgin painted as much as possible to the great one we have. that of S^{t} Joseph—in a gold under tunic diapered with a green cloak Lined with purple. [*Sketch: niche with inscription and instructions about colour*]

The faces better be done by M^{r}. Mackay.[4] they should be very good. [*Sketch: details of decoration of niches*] you have plenty of fleur de lis but if you cannot get them right if you send me a paper the size I will draw them out for the 50000th time.

These niches &^{c} are for southport—when they are packed it must be very carefully & the images must be packed seperately from the niches.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The whereabouts of the MS and the subject-matter of the letter suggest this recipient.

[2] It is not possible to date this letter with precision. There is an entry to Pugin in MWDB at 14 March

1844 of '2 Images in Niches' at a cost of £9. 15*s.* with an additional charge for carriage to Birmingham; MWDB gives no indication of where the images are destined for, however, whereas Pugin states here that those he sends are for Southport. In his diary for 1844 in a list between pp. 24 and 25 'Images and niches, Southport', is entered against a sum of £30.

Two letters preserved in ML refer to the images. James Newsham (1789–1855), educated at Ushaw and serving as a priest in Yorkshire and Durham before in 1841 he moved to the church of St Mary which Pugin designed at Southport, writes to Hardman on 19 December 1843 because 'M^r^ Pugin refers me to you' to find out whether the two statues can be in place in his church before Christmas Eve. On 'St John Ap.', 27 December, he writes again from Southport informing Hardman first that 'I have by me a letter from M^r^ Pugin of November, telling me the statues were finished and ready for painting, and describing how they were executed. 2°. I have another letter of the 18^th^ Instant from M^r^ Pugin telling me that the Statues & Niches have been in the hands of M^r^ Hardman for several days to finish'. It is plain from this letter that Hardman in reply to Newsham's first has stated that he has not yet received the statues and that the work on them will take at least ten days. It is these letters which yield the suggestion of a date.

MWDB enters to Pugin at 31 March 1844 'A Pair of Branches with 3 Light Nosils' costing £5. 10*s.* which are for Southport and perhaps related to the images in their niches. The Metal sales ledger debits Pugin £9. 19*s.* 10*d.* at 14 March 1844 for goods for Southport and £5. 12*s.* at 31 March. An unsigned note about the collection of the statues from the railway station by the carrier is dated from Southport on 13 March 1844; and ML 1844 contains also Newsham's letter of 10 May enclosing '£40—for M^r^ Pugin on Acc^t^. for the two statues' and promising the balance as soon as the money is raised.

[3] The MS is rather a drawing accompanied by a letter than a letter with an occasional sketch. The inscription accompanying the first sketch is '✠ Sancta Maria ora pro nobis Sancte Joseph ora pro nobis', the two prayers written one above the other and then bracketed together at the right, with the instruction 'white Letters with gilt initials' written against the bracket. Eleven parts of the sketch are marked 'gilt' while other directions read 'blue', 'a Line of red', 'white', 'hollow gilt & the small spandrils picked out red', and 'The inside of niches Red—with white Roses powdered'. The second sketch calls for 'gilt fleur de lis on a Blue ground—the fleur de lis to have a black line Round them & very carefully done', 'only the chamfers of outer panels gilt', and 'spandrils gilt the edges picked out in Red'. On the verso is written in an unknown hand 'A W. Pugin Cheyne Walk Chelsea London'.

[4] Probably Edward W. Mackay, a painter, stated by Richard Osmond in *Early Victorian Portraits* (London, 1973) to have been professor of painting at Oscott and 'an intimate friend of Pugin' (vol. 1, p. 387). Mackay had already been engaged for fine work, for Hardman's Metal sales ledger notes a payment of £2. 5*s.* to him for 'Painting figures' on 20 June 1842.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Thursday, 16 November 1843?[1]

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/18 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. S^t^ Edmund. Archbisp Cant. day.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

Denny writes me word that the underpining is proceedings but the foundations of the bay window are omitted, this is a bad job for if the bare moulding is run across we shall Lose the bond & it is likewise a great waste of work as the same weathering set further out with rough backing would have done.[2] I thought the work was stopped for the winter or I should have gone into detail on this matter. I am Likewise very uneasy about the shoring up. the rains are incessant here—& if the precautions are neglected I expect some serious accident will happen. I drew out the foundation of the bay window for Denny before I Left. it consisted entirely of weatherings—without mouldings or any fine work—& it is sad job to omit it. I know Cheadle presses & I thought on that account your Lordsip would not go further this year

with the underpining, but if that work was continued it is a great pity the bay window is left out. I heard that things are better Looked after at the Hospital.[3] this is a great consolation to me for the state of things there made me wretched—I hope the joiners are all sticking to cheadle Roof &c & it will rejoice me much to hear of the works going on again at Cownslow.[4] pray Let me know when it will be well for me to come down again. I have always great misgivings when I am away. I am working incessantly at various buildings above all. I am going to build a pointed chancel to a *Grecian* chapel.[5] why not? many a grecian chancel has been tacked on to a pointed church. now comes the reaction. I trust Lady Shrewsbury & the Miss Talbots are all well.[6]

believe me my dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faithful SerSert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] *Wedgwood 1985*, apparently following ST, dates this letter unequivocally to 1843 but there is little doubt that it was written in 1842, for the alterations to St Joseph's were completed by October 1843.

[2] *Fisher* points out that in Pugin's time the only bay window built at ground level at Alton Towers and therefore needing 'foundations' was the great window of the dining hall; Pugin's improvements there were not, however, carried out until some years later.

[3] St John's Hospital at Alton.

[4] Counslow was the quarry, lying between Lord Shrewsbury's estate of Alton Towers and Cheadle, from which the stone for St Giles's church was hewn.

[5] This is almost certainly the same hybrid commission in Southampton as Pugin mentions to Rock in his letter perhaps of 23 September 1843.

[6] One Miss Talbot is Anne, Lady Shrewsbury's half-sister; another may perhaps be her younger sister, Catharine, the date of whose marriage to Henry Lambert of Carnagh, Wexford, is not given by Burke when he records that she has issue in the edition of 1849 of *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*; Jane, a daughter of J. H. Talbot who married James Power of Edermine in 1843, is perhaps a slight possibility; her sister Matilda Anne Eliza, who married O'Neill Segrave in May 1848, may be a more likely one; but most probably the other Miss Talbot is Mary, daughter of J. J. Talbot by his second marriage and a half-sister of Lord Shrewsbury.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Friday, 17 November 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [81] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have taken more pains with the south porch at cheadle than anything I have ever done. what is groining a Litle place 8 feet Long. it would be the sweetest thing about the whole church—& so Easily done & all the dressed wood work saved.

herewith is a list of a few churches with *Groined porches* & *wooden Roofs inside.*

S[t] Peters oxford	S[t] Aldates D[o]
S[t] Peters Norwich	Bury S[t] Edmunds Parish church.
wells church Norfolk	Cley church norfolk
holm church norfolk.	Inglethorp church D[o]. Trumpington

church Cambridge. Brant Bruton church Linclonshire. Heckington church Lincolnshire—These are just a few I recollect on the moment—but there are *hundreds* of *examples* of *small groined porches—with wooden Roof.*[2]
the reason is obvious. there being *an open outer* arch
Roof would naturaly decay in a short time
case ***inside*** *the building.* In fervent[?]
opinion & pass this Little
I may almost

th great resp
Lordsips d
but[?]
distressing

[1] In the letter to Lord Shrewsbury which can be dated with some security to 20 November 1843, Pugin makes what seems a relaxed reference to the groining of the south porch of St Giles's church at Cheadle; this letter can be assumed therefore, in its anxiety, to precede that one; by how long a period of time, however, is unclear.

[2] The MS is damaged across both lower corners, and from here on only unconnected fragments of Pugin's text remain.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Monday, 20 November 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [34] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Monday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I will forward you the plans for the kitchen &c at the hospital as speedily as possible.[2]

I fear a stone roof altough very good in effect would be dreadfully cold for the poor people—besides making a very heavy job for such a roof would naturaly require great butments. I am working as hard as possible at the compleation of my glossary and Bernard smith is coming to me on Tuesday to finish the translations—so if not absolutly necessary I would not Leave home at the present time—But If your Lordsip wishes it I will come.[3] *For I* never *am or could be* too *busy to attend to anything that your Lordsip wished done*—the works at Alton & chedle take place of every thing. they are the only jobs that give me real pleasure* & satisfaction. nothing else is properly carried out. I do not think that more can be accompled than getting in the fondations at present & this can be done perfectly from the drawings but as I said before I am at your Lordsips disposal.

The Glass I will order imedialty. if the deal is varnished with *Brown varnish* it will Look exceedly well. there must be some painting to relieve it—afterwards. does

Deny know that your Lordsip does not mean to have any plaster at all? are All the walls to be lined with thin pine?

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

* if the south Porch is groined I shall be perfectly happy.

[1] The letter is approximately dated by Pugin's statement to Bloxam in his letter of 24 November that Smith is at work on the *Glossary*.

[2] St John's Hospital at Alton.

[3] The title-page of the *Glossary* states that the work contains 'Extracts from the works of Durandus, Georgius, Bona, Catalani, Gerbert, Martene, Molanus, Thiers, Mabillon, DuCange, etc.' which have been 'faithfully translated by the Rev. Bernard Smith, of St Maries [*sic*] College, Oscott'. The very learned text runs to about two hundred and twenty pages, citing in authentication of its definitions many scholarly works with which Pugin's correspondence demonstrates him to have long been familiar; of many of them he owned copies, as the catalogue of the sale of his books after his death discloses.

Pugin's diary for 1844 notes that 'Smith left' on 18 January; it is the first entry for the year. If Smith came on Tuesday 21 November 1843, as this letter indicates—and he was certainly already 'doing wonders' by 24 November when Pugin writes to Bloxam—he spent eight weeks helping his friend with this task.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Tuesday, 21 November 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/73 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Chelsea; 21 NO 21 1843; NO 22 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Tuesday.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I never like sending rough estimates for they are very liable to mislead, an estimate should always be carefully prepared & I should not like to incur the expense on so great an uncertainty.[1] unless persons were well versed in the *spirit* of antient design they could not appreciate or understand such a building as I sketched & I had but little hope when I did it of its adoption. I do not think it could be finished under between 4 & 5000 but this is a mere guess & no estimate. I only judge by the cost of coresponding buildings which I have erected. I cannot conceive who can have come against me from Balliol except the master as the fellows have alywas appeared Most friendly.[2] I would not on any account appear to intrude myself in this business. it was my duty to comply with a request of the president but I would not enter into anything like a competition on any consideration for obvious reasons.[3] I cant however sufficiently thank you for all your kindness & goodwill in this matter—& in process of time the true thing may at Last triumph.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Apparently Pugin refers to the design for a 'choristers' house' which he sends to Bloxam with the letter he probably writes him on 24 October 1843.
[2] Pugin's intuition is astute: it was Jenkyns who precluded his appointment at Balliol College.
[3] The President of Magdalen College was M. J. Routh.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, about Tuesday, 21 November 1843?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [20] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have by this post sent off all the full size details for finishing S[t] Johns.[2] I have not Lost a moment since I received the dimensions. I am sure your Lordship will never forgive yourself—if you cut out that Litte bit of groining.[3] it is regular Porch groining not Like the chapel of B Sacrament. how could I shew your Lordsip the drawings when I only made them the other day. I was obliged to do them in London on account of the *authorities*. it is indeed a good job & only a *Litte one*. I implore for S[t] *Giles sake* that it may be carried out. I am sure your Lordsip will be delighed with it. Pray Pray Pray.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

Davis is concealed in London in a garret cleaning[?] Pictures.[4]

[1] This letter cannot be dated with firmness.
[2] St John's Hospital at Alton.
[3] The groining of the south porch of St Giles's church at Cheadle.
[4] Davis is first mentioned in Pugin's letter to Rock of 13 December 1841.

To JOHN HARDMAN London, Wednesday, 22 November 1843

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] Jn[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: 22 NO 22 1843; NO 23 1843 in Birmingham

Dear Hardman

do not you think it would be as well for M[rs]. Powell to have a piece of 50 yards of the IHS silk made.[2] it is certain to be used—before Long. Lord Midleton is very anxious about his small shrine.[3] I know you do not Like the job but you must tackle it. also the chalice for M[r] Sherburne.[4] pray get a copy of it. I think you can make a very good Lamp from the one I sent for nottingham—pray send up my things—up. I send you a plain slip. see how quick I supply you & you neglect me altogether. if you

knew what I suffer what want of the ***Earnings***—you would not serve me so. too bad too bad too ba.[5]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

The chalices are drawn out of proportion in the feet. they are too small & too Lanky.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1841–44 Box'. In the microfilm of the letters to Hardman in the BCA deposit which is held in HLRO, this letter has been assigned the number 86.

[2] Lucy Powell (1793–1863) was a daughter of John Hardman senior by his first marriage, to Juliana Wheetman, and thus a half-sister of Pugin's friend John Hardman, who was born to his father's second marriage, to Lydia Wareing (d. 1816). In 1815 Lucy married William Powell senior (1789–1861), who owned a brass foundry in Birmingham and is sometimes referred to as a partner in Hardman's firm; they had thirteen children, five girls and eight boys. With the help of her daughters, Lucy Powell established a business making up textiles, especially to Pugin's design and order. The advertising supplement appended to the *Catholic Directory* for 1851 carries on p. [192] an item explaining the nature of her business.

ECCLESIASTICAL VESTMENTS, EMBROIDERY, &C.

MRS. L. POWELL AND DAUGHTERS beg respectfully to state that, in consequence of the increased demand for the Laces, Fringes, Silks, &c. used in Ecclesiastical Vestments, they have succeeded in making such arrangements as to enable them to effect a considerable reduction in the prices of their work. They rely upon the kind patronage of their customers to support them in their endeavour to extend the sale, and thus to bring into use the best materials at the lowest possible cost.

Mrs. L. P. and Daughters avail themselves of this opportunity to express their gratitude for former orders, and their anxiety at all times to exert themselves to the utmost to give satisfaction to their customers.

Mrs. P. and Daughters make all kinds of Ecclesiastical Vestments, Albs, Surplices, Altar Frontals, Hangings, and Linen, on the shortest notice, and on the most reasonable terms.

Several new and beautiful patterns in Silks and Laces, from original Drawings by A. W. Pugin, Esq., are ready, and may be procured of Mrs. Powell, No. 13, Easy-row, Birmingham, or at Mr. Burns' Repository, 17, Portman-street, Portman-square, London, where specimens may be seen and orders are received.

P.S. An extensive Stock of Embroidered Crosses, Monograms, &c., for Vestments, and Altar Frontals, always kept on hand, ready for use.

The firm's letterhead, surviving on invoices in BCA and apparently designed by Pugin, is more succinct: 'Mistress Powell and daughters Embroidery Fringe Gold and Silk Laces Vestments and Altar linen made to order lv Frederick St Birmingham'; a Gothic type is used throughout, as can be seen in the reproduction of an invoice in Margaret Belcher, 'Debtor to . . .', *True Principles*, 1, no. 10 (Summer 2000): [2]–[3].

[3] Hardman seems not to have tackled this job with alacrity: only at 30 April 1845 does MWDB contain an entry to Lord Midleton for 'Repairing & Gilding Old Enameled Feretrum' at a cost of £4. 18*s*.

[4] Thomas Sherburne (1779–1854), who came from Lancashire, was trained at the English College in Valladolid in Spain and ordained in 1803. Charles Fitzgerald-Lombard, *English and Welsh Priests 1801–1914* (Bath, 1993), states that Sherburne's 'real name was Irving' (p. 64). He was priest at The Willows, Kirkham, where Pugin's new church was being built. 'A Chalice & paten Regilt &c' are entered to 'Rev Sherbourne' in MWDB at 23 March 1844; the price of the work is £2.

[5] The seal damages the MS slightly, lopping the last letter from 'bad'.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM London, Friday, 24 November 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/91 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: NO 25 1843 in Hounslow; NO 26 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Friday.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just returned from Ramsgate & got your kind notes. wailes direction is Westgate, Newcastle on Tyne. I fear the *transparencies* you speak of have Long since disapeared.[1] they were some of the huge things Like scences—which even were they in existence would cost more in carriage than they could be worth—but I believe they have All been cut up & destroyed as useless Lumber. however I will enquire of M[r]. Nichols for I know anything that could be of service to you is quite at your disposal.[2] I am now working away at my Glossary & Bernard smith is doing wonders for me. I hope to have it out very soon after Xmass.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] It is possible that Pugin refers to transparencies used to illustrate a lecture on stained glass which he gave at Oscott. When the *Catholic Magazine*, 3 (January, February 1839): 17–34, 89–98, prints his 'Lectures on ecclesiastical architecture. Delivered to the Students of St. Mary's College, Oscott, by A. W. Pugin, Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in that College. Lecture the Third', a note to the text states that 'transparencies, on a large scale, were exhibited in illustration' (p. 21 n) of the successive styles of stained glass distinguished in the lecture. The magazine adds that the 'originals may still be seen at St. Mary's College', and *Wedgwood 1985*, identifying the lecture on stained glass as that noted in Pugin's diary at 19 September 1842 when he was 'At Oscott' and his 'address' was 'delivered', states that 'Two of Pugin's demonstration sketches for this lecture remain in the Oscott College Archive' (p. 81). Perhaps Bloxam wanted to see them in connection with the hope of installing new windows in the chapel of Magdalen College.

[2] Probably Richard Nichols, a bookseller in Birmingham. Early correspondence from him preserved in ML Undated 1839–44 is sent from 8 New Street, the address of the bookselling and printing business of Wrightson and Webb; by no later than 1845 he is established on his own account and has a letterhead, which looks as if it was designed by Pugin, which announces him as a 'Bookseller, Stationer, Printer, Binder, Lithographer, & Engraver, at the Sign of St. John, No. 1, New Street, over against the Swan Coach Office, Birmingham'. A trade card which he was using in 1847 also appears to be Pugin's design; held in BCA, it is illustrated in Margaret Belcher, 'Debtor to . . . ', *True Principles*, 1, no. 10 (Summer 2000): [2]–[3].

To WILLIAM DUNN London, Friday, 24 November 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 43 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Nov[r] 24 1843

Dear Sir

I think the tiles will Look far better set diagonally and will give orders for their being done so.[1]

The position of the sedelia was one of the principal points discussed when I was at Newcastle—& it was agreed to be a great improvement as it ennabled those in the South aile to see the altar perfectly through the Easternmost arch.[2] I suggested it on this account as the form & decoration of the sedilia remain unchanged.

respecting the contract.[3] M^r^. Myers objects to those clauses which reserve so much percentage on the payments & the £1000 security. he considers the bondsmens signatures quite sufficient security on a building nearly finished. the only object of such clauses is to prevent a contractor receiving money & not compleating the work—now in the present case the work has alwyays been considerably in advance of the payments—& Latterly so much so that I believe he would be strictly entitled to interest on the delay.[4] I know he is suffering much inconvenience at the present time owing to the amount of capital engaed in the building & therefore it seems to me that the security clauses are quite uncalled for. strictly Speaking this is no affair of mine but having induced M^r^. Myers to undertake the building I feel in justice bound to speak on his behalf. all my business has been carried on so much on the principle of good faith & confidence on both sides—that I am unprepared for these sort of difficulties. In my opinion all you can reasonably require is that M^r^. Myers should produce 2 responsible securities to sign the contract with him. In the course of a few months all the fittings will be finished & fixed The carving & images compleated—and the building will be quite compleat acording to the original agreement.[5] was the work only in its comencement there might be some reason for insisting on the Clauses but in the present stage of the work I see none. however that is a matter for yourselves & M^r^. Myers to settled. as far as I am concerned I give you my candid opinion of what is right & reasonable. I intended the standards & branches to be of Brass.[6]

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

W Dunn Esq^r^

[1] A letter from Myers, MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 42, written on 23 November 1843, states that he is laying the quarries according to Pugin's orders.

[2] A design for the seating in the chancel of St Mary's is catalogued in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 71.

[3] The difficulties with the contract for the building of St Mary's, Newcastle, which is first discussed in the correspondence in Pugin's letter to William Riddell of 2 January 1841, were prolonged. A number of letters relating to the present tussle survive: MSS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 45, from Riddell to Myers on 8 December 1843; NRO. 2988 / AWP. 46, from Myers in reply on 9 December 1843; and NRO. 2988 / AWP. 47, from Myers to Dunn on 13 December 1843. The matter is still not settled by the time of Pugin's letter to Dunn of 23 December 1843.

[4] Myers was well aware that money was outstanding: MSS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 40 of 30 October 1843, 41 of 9 November 1843, 44 of 4 December 1843, 46 of 9 December 1843, and 47 of 13 December 1843 are all letters from Myers, to Riddell or to Dunn, asking for his overdue payment. In MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 48 he acknowledges receipt of some money but MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 49 of 18 December 1843 shows him asking Riddell for a further payment still.

[5] Some details about the fittings of St Mary's are listed by Pugin on fol. 123 of his account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3. In the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament the reredos is set down at £115, the screen and iron work at £70, two images at £20, a tabernacle at £14, a side screen at £24, and candlesticks for the

screen at £11. In the Lady chapel the altar and reredos cost £145; the screen costs £65, the small screen £24; the candlesticks for the screen cost £11 and images £20.

[6] Myers's letter to Riddell of 30 October 1843, MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 40, makes reference to the fittings for gas lighting; presumably these are what Pugin intends too; he explains the delay in sending the design for them in his letter of 21 October 1843.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Tuesday, 28 November 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [83] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Tuesday 28th

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have been anxiously expecting to receive a few Lines from you on your return from the north as I presume your Lordsip has come back to alton some time scince. I have forwarded to Denny all his instructions for compleating the Porches at cheadle & in a few days I will send the new spire which will be I trust a most glorious one, I have got a rare collection to make it from. I suppose by this time the Last of the towers is quite finished—& the *buttress* started near the drawbridge entrance. The Duke de Bordeaux was at wailes factory for about 1 hour & a half & I understand was much deligted with all he saw for St Georges—Nottingham, Cheadle &c.[1] I am now finished the remaining of the Cheadle cartoons for the windows & I fully expect to produce some good things—your Lordship will be deligted with the Buildings at St Georges. stanfield says they are the finest things he has seen in London.[2] that he could stop & sketch. so much for turrets high roofs & belfries &c. your Lordsip will be glad to hear that I have rather a strong job in hand for Mr. Drummond. I slept or *Laid* there Last—I am going to repair[?] the whole of the old church & make a fine chantry chapel of the South transept with 3 brasses—a high tomb Stained windows &c.[3] nothing yet settled at oxford.[4] still a furious opposition which nips everything in the bud. all my hopes fixed on Cheadle—& nottingham. will your Lordsip send me soon after Xmass the £100 for Breewood ch.[5] I have advanced it as they were hard up. he window for St Georges will also want paing for early in the year.[6] your Lordsip has already paid £300 on it—so there is only £200 to compleat it. The £1000 for Nottingham must be paid to Mr. Myers & it better come through the joint stock bank as he is resident in London.

I also enclose your Lordsip the bills & receipts of the things I purchased in London amounting to 40. 2. 6.[7]

they are as follows. fire Engines[8]	14.	19.	0
canvass	9.	7.	6
Do.	4.	14.	6
Lamps.	1.	9.	6
2 sugar basins	5.	0.	0

2 D°.	4.	8.	0
envellpes		4	
	£40.	2.	6[9]

In all these I made the best market I could—with Dic[t] for Ready Money—so I trust your Lordsip will be well satisfied in this respect.[10] Minton writes me word that he is proceeding fast with the Cheadle tiles. we shall have the finest floor there in Europe. I shall be deligted to receive a few Lines from your Lordsip when conient. I am working away as hard as possible.

with great respect
dear Lord Shrewsbury
I remain ever your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] *Walsh* states that the Duke of Bordeaux inspected Wailes's workplace on 24 November.
[2] Others also went to view progress: Benjamin Webb notes in his diary that 'Telford shewed a party of us over the Convent &c at S. Georges' (fol. 54v) on 12 January 1844.
[3] Pugin's correspondence with Drummond from about 30 November onwards deals with this commission.
[4] The question of rebuilding Balliol College to Pugin's designs was settled before he drew them, although Pugin was left in the dark about his rejection and payment for his services was much delayed, but he may be thinking of various alterations at Magdalen College too.
[5] The top corner of the sheet is torn away, and the tear has removed part of 'church' and, in the next sentence but one, the initial 'T' of 'The'.
[6] The east window in the chancel was Lord Shrewsbury's gift.
[7] The purchases reported in Pugin's letters to the earl late in October 1843, apparently in preparation for the reception of the Duke of Bordeaux at Alton Towers.
[8] Devices for illuminating Alton Towers.
[9] Another hand inscribes '*Paid* £40. 2. 6' to the left of Pugin's total.
[10] Presumably the abbreviation is for 'Discount'.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, about Thursday, 30 November 1843?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/34 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

to prevent delay I herewith send you a plan of Albury church with a list of the required alterations & repairs.[1]

I have not quite compleated the drawings of your chantry but expect to send them off by Mondays post or Tuesdayes *at* Latest.[2] I however inclose you a skech of one of the sepulchral slabs to shew you my idea on the subject.[3] the 4 emblems of the evangelists shew the faith of the deceased in the holy gospels. the Cross is budding emblem of hope—& resurrection. it is based on the Lamb of God & stands on the 3 grees or steps symbolical of the 3 virtues of faith hope & charity—the shield is hung on the stem to particulise the individual & at the bottom is a shield with a

monogram. each slab will have a different cross but this will shew the principle on which they are designed.

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] No MS matching this description survives in the Alnwick deposit but the plan may be that catalogued in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 174, as no. 170, a 'Rough ground plan' inscribed with notes of repairs and alterations; the paper on which it is drawn is watermarked '1843'.

[2] The drawing described as no. 171 in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 174, may be one of the drawings Pugin promises; on paper watermarked '1843', it shows a plan of the south transept where the chantry chapel will be formed, an elevation of windows and an arch, and details of heraldic decoration.

[3] Two designs for monumental brasses, which 'have the characteristics of preliminary designs made on the site' (p. 174) and which are signed and dated 1843, are described in *Wedgwood 1985*, where they are no. 172 and no. 173 in the catalogue. The latter, which most closely corresponds to the design Pugin goes on to describe here, is reproduced as an illustration there, as it is in *Meara*, p. 66, where the other design is also copied, p. 65; *Meara*, p. 120, describes the former of these two designs as it was executed. Three drawings for this commission are held in BMAG: L170.84, L171.84, and L172.84; each is inscribed 'Brass for H d' and signed and dated 1843; L172.84 is reproduced in *Meara*, p. 122. MWDB records, simply, '3 Monumental Brasses to drawings' at 4 October 1844; the cost is £150. Hardman's Metal sales ledger notes a cash payment of £100 from Drummond at 31 July 1844, and shows a credit to Pugin of £5 at 4 October 1844 for the drawing of the brasses. Heath's invoices are also preserved in BCA, in a bundle for 1844: he charges £21. 10*s*. 3*d*. for the brass for 'H Drummond', £17. 15*s*. 6*d*. for that for 'M. H. Drummond', and £19. 8*s*. 6*d*. for that for 'A. H. Drummond'; all three invoices are dated 20 September 1844.

The chantry chapel commemorates Drummond's three sons. Henry Drummond married Lady Henrietta Hay Drummond (d.1854), daughter of the tenth Earl of Kinnoull, in 1807. Their three sons all died before their parents: Henry, born in 1811, died in 1822; Malcolm Henry, born in 1821, died in 1842; Arthur Henry, born in 1823, died on 6 August 1843.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Thursday, 30 November 1843

Text: MS PC Franklin [32] *Address*: Right Honble / The Earl of Shrewsbury / Alton Towers. / near Cheadle / Staffordshire *Postmark*: Chelsea; 30 NO 30 1843; DE 1 in Cheadle

✠ London Thursday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have not heard a word about the intended school at Banbury—but as soon as D^r^. Wiseman Lets me know I will then send the sizes of the required scantling.[1]

if the Fosse is to be protected it should be by Stancheons and chains—at the corners.[2] I enclose a sketch—which will I think answer the purpose. the chain should be a good deal stronger than that used at the drawbridge & hang from stancheon to Stancheon. The Last of the towers will never produce its proper effect till the Last of modern pinnacles round the octagon are worked up into ashlar.[3] with great respect I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury

in haste your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The first reference to Pugin's work at Banbury in the correspondence occurs in his letter to Rock of 25 August 1841.
[2] Pugin had a fosse excavated along the north front of Alton Towers; it ran as far as the barbican gate, completed in 1842, at the east end, and was spanned by the drawbridge.
[3] The octagon hall at Alton Towers.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Friday, 1 December 1843

Text: MS MCO 528/24 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Chelsea; DE 1 1843; DE 2 1843 in Oxford

✠ London. Friday

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

since I had the pleasure of seeing you, circumstances have occured with rispect to My Glass Painter at Newcastle, which will prevent me from undertaking the glass windows at Magdalen (supposing they were done) in the way we proposed.[1] I will fully explain the whole affair to you when we meet—but I can see clearly that the man who litterly knew nothing when I took him in hand is endeavouring to build himself Up on my foundations, and on all sides there are persons Who not having the moral courage to acknowledge the scource from whence they get what they require employ wailes as a means of obtaining all my designs & reshearches without incurring either expense or What they would consider the odium of employing me, now I am determined to put an end to this & I am sure you will say I am right—he certainly has a good stock of patterns in hand but I think if cut off the supply some of them would have to come out often. pray do not mention this to any one—but I am sure you will see that it would be far better for me to have nothing to do with the glass at Magdalen than to undertake it in a manner that would only tend to forward this system which is both unjust and degrading to myself. with great respect dear M[r]. Bloxam

I remain ever
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The 'Glass Painter at Newcastle' is Wailes; Pugin first writes to Bloxam about new windows for the chapel of Magdalen College on 5 November 1843.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Sunday, 3 December 1843

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/48 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London feast of S[t] Francis Zavier

My Dear Sir

I herewith forward you the working drawings for your offices and in so doing I can assure you that they will in all respects answer their intended purposes. I have taken all possible pains with the acess lighting ventilation & draining—& they are a right good substantial job that will not need eith repairs or alterations.

all I feel uneasy about is the execution. it is a very difficult mass of building full of little things that must be strictly attended to as the work proceeds—with a good deal of underpinning—& joining of new work to old. however if you have confidence in your people & will relieve me from any responsibility for want of attention or skill on *their* part I will be satisfied. the first thing for me to do is to come down & explain the drawings to them or rather to the Joiner who seems an intelligent man & who should act as foreman.[1] if I explain to 2 each may not understand but may think that the other does. I find it the best plan to make one responsible for the rest. There will be a great many things to think of & get ready before we can make a start. it is a Large building & full of work plain it is true but still work that requires to be well & solidly done. if you carry this plan out as I have arranged it from the worse I think you will have one of the best set of offices in England. I entreat of you not to spoil this—by a false idea of economy—or you will regret it when it is too Late. I can pledge myself that there is nothing unecessary introduced for effect. it is all *pure convenice* & solid *construction.* Perhaps you will Let me know if my coming down on *Thursday* would suit your convenice—I want to stop at home after Xmass for some weeks to finish my Glossary & should wish therefore to come next week.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

when I come down I will give you my idea of the cost of the buildings.

[1] The foreman was Anthony Browne, the surname sometimes being spelled Brown. In the census of 1851, thirty-eight-year-old Browne is described as a 'Master Carpenter', living with his wife and three children in Albury where he was born. A notebook, MS 1191/1[(1)], in which he kept sporadic records, often of an autobiographical nature and cast in the third person, is held in the Surrey History Centre: he was employed as a carver and joiner in the construction of the Irvingite church at Albury; on 28 June 1840 'M[r]. Drummond ordered Browne to tell the architect he dont want him any longer'; on 28 June 1841 'H D[d] sent for A[y] Browne to take the management of his buildings and abused My Father very much'.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH — London, Monday, 4 December 1843

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Dec^{r}. 4 1843.

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S^{t} Georges church Lambeth as to entille him to a further payment of five hundred pounds.

£500. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

I also empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the comission on the above amount.

£25. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin

To HENRY DRUMMOND London, Monday, 4 December 1843?[1]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/23 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I herewith send you the working drawings for the chantry with which I have taken all possible pains. I also send detailed drawings of the tiles which you will be good enough to return to me—after we get the Roof on & the walls well drained & dried I propose plastering then to prepare for Painting the heraldic & other devices on them.[2] on the raised part of the chantry immediately under the window I propose raising the brass in comemoration of your eldest son on a *high tomb* with angels with Labels shields of arms &^{c}. this would be quite correct—& will distinguish the tomb from the others. I should get this worked in Caen stone in London & the carving would be beautifuly done with the shields ennameled.

my idea for the stained glass is as follows. in the small window of two lights next the tower—images of SS Peter & Paul under canopies—as the saints in honour of whom the Parish churgh is dedicated.[3] In the small window next the Great window—effigies of kings arthur & malcolm under canopies.[4] In the great window—rich diapered glass with shieds initials &^{c}. in the centre light an image of S^{t} Henry.[5] in the Quatrefoil the evangelists our Lord glorified &^{c}. I wish also to have the sides or reveals of the windows painted with diapering & inscriptions.

I have set every moulding out *full size* to enanble your joiners to work them exactly. Now in all this chantry there is nothing unreasonable or extravagant. if you will Let me carry it out as I propose you will be well satisfied & it will certainly be the the most correct revival that will have been accomplised & it will form a Practical illustration of the great work you have now in Progress. I have just got your note. I am truly glad that the Brass meets with your approbation & I hope you will be equally pleased with the others.[6] touching the albe—I am astonished that a Learned antiquary Like yourself should find fault with the apparels on the sleeves & on Front—which are found without exception on all antient albes—pray Look imediatly into cotmans brasses.[7] Wallers brasses.[8] strutts costumes.[9] D'Agincourt

histoire de L'art.[10] any where, every where & you will find them figured as made in the one sent. as an author yourself I am sure you will excuse a *corrected sheet* of *my Glossary* on albes which I herewith send you. I really think you will alter your judgment on this matter.

touching the stained Glass—I will give you every information & assistance—& I almost think I could officiate as master myself when I come down for I understand it well & have painted myself on glass in former days. Your daughters might in time fill all the windows of the old church with proper glass & produce a beautiful effect.[11] all I shall beg for is that the glass for the *chantry* may be executed by old hands of my own for I want something very good indeed. for the floor of the church it would be well to have staffordshire tiles. I can get them for you if you approve of it & of different colours—at no great expense. They will take some time getting so the sooner I know about them the better. I do not think you will be able to keep your old cellars. I must have *foundations* for my new work—we shall see. The drawings will be all down *this week*. I work as hard as I can but you must rember I do everything myself. designs are generally spoilt by the vile way in which they are set out by mechanical clerks. all the soul is Lost, Like a bad translation of a book.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

will you be so good as to inform Lady Harriet that her Irons are in progress—for the windows.[12]

I most eartnestly beg of you to use Riga oak for the screens or the doors will never stand well.[13] the sooner the stuff for these screens is sawed up & Left about to season the better.

it will be necessary to have all the working drawings Pasted on cloth before they are put into the hands of the workmen. the cloth must of course be strained.

The other brasses I will send with the other drawings.

I hope you will cover the chantry with Lead from the offices. the painting will never be well preserved with any other covering.

The ceiling work will do in Red pine but oak is the *right thing*.

[1] In his letter to Drummond tentatively dated about 30 November 1843, Pugin expects to send drawings for the chantry 'by Mondays post or Tuesdayes *at* Latest'.

[2] When the time came to decorate the walls, heraldry did indeed supply the motifs, as it often did in Pugin's designs. The bearings of Drummond, those of the family of the earls of Perth, are: the arms, or, three bars wavy gules; the crest, a falcon rising proper; the supporters, two wild men wreathed about the temples and loins with oak-leaves, each holding a club resting on his exterior shoulder, proper; and the mottoes, one, over the crest, the Latin 'Virtutem coronat honos', that is, 'honour crowns virtue', and the other, below the shield, 'Gang warily'.

[3] This proposal was carried out.

[4] The choice of kings and of the saint two sentences later is determined by the names of Drummond's sons, as Pugin explains in his letter to Drummond probably written on 5 December. The figures now in this 'small window' are St John and St Andrew.

[5] St Mary replaces St Henry in the 'great window' but other details were executed.

[6] Pugin encloses a sketch of a brass with his letter to Drummond of about 30 November 1843.

[7] It appears from Pugin's letter to Drummond perhaps written on 5 December 1843 that the alb may have been made for Drummond by Mrs Powell. Pugin refers Weale to Cotman's books in his letter of 18 March 1843.

[8] J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses, from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century.* London: William Pickering, 1842. A list of subscribers in the 1864 edition includes the name of Pugin, '*Deceased*', but the publication was not included in the sale of Pugin's books after his death.

[9] Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England, from the Establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the Present Time.* 2 vols. London: J. Edwards, 1796–9.

[10] Jean Baptiste Louis Georges Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens, depuis sa Décadence au IV^e^ Siècle jusqu'à son Renouvellement au XVI^e^.* 6 vols. Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823. Pugin's copy of the first edition, with more than three hundred plates, lot 125 in the catalogue of his books auctioned after his death, was bought by Hardman for £13. 10s.; the work was judged important enough to be listed on the title-page of the catalogue.

[11] Louisa Drummond (1813–90) was the elder daughter; the younger was Adelaide (d.1883), who married Sir Thomas Rokewode Gage (1810–66), a barrister, in September 1850.

[12] Drummond's wife.

[13] The screens enclosing the chantry are oak, but not recently imported from Riga. Anthony Browne's notebook has an entry for 26 May 1845: 'The oak skreens carving for the old Church out of the old Bell stage of old oak By A. B.'

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Tuesday, 5 December 1843?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/21 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I herewith send you the designs for the other 2 Brasses. I am sorry you will not have the tomb as it would have produced a grand effect—& I do not think any one could have taken it for an altar—as would stand *East* & *west.*[1] my reason for introducing the 2 serious kings Malcolm & Arthur was in allusion to the names of your sons—& for the same reason I selected S^t^ Henry.[2] I had no idea of representing him as *giving a blessing*—but standing in his robes. our Lord in the Quatrefoil is giving the benediction. I should not of course think of introducing anything that would objectionable to you and if you wish it I will substitute some other figure but it seemed so apt to the family christian name henry that it naurally ocurred to me. it appears I have mistaken the holly for the Thistle.[3] I will rectify this imediatly. I will also introduce Lady Harriets arms.[4] the angles were Left for the emblems of the evangelists.

I can assure you it is no use whatever to cover the chantry with zinck. we might as well put up tin. I would rather use slates, tiles or anything. Lead is the real thing—and the only Lasting material.

with regard to cost. If the whole thing was in my hands I could of course tell you to a shilling the exact expense but it is impossible for me to estimate correctly what the screens Roofing &^c^ will come to with your own men. your best way will be to pay them by the job & find stuff. with respect to all I have to do I inclose you a very accurate estimate which you may rely upon.[5] I am very sorry about the albe—but you never mentioned to me those objections & of course I had it made Like those of the

fine period of Xtian art. M^rs^. Powell writes to me & informs me that she is making a cope for you &^c^. now I fear greatly this will not meet your wishes as it is a facsimile of an old one—& moreover the very stuff of which it is made is from a peice I had wove Latly from a pattern found in an tomb of the 14^th^ cent. You can however remove the apparels—the form of the albe itself is most antient—you will receive the whole of the drawings for the offices this week.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I must beg of you to Let me have the sketches of the brasses to prepare the working drawings by—& I will return them as soon as those are compleated.

The is one point conected with brasses to which I beg to draw your attention. the inscriptions as worded at present are both modern & common place. the comment, (Sacred to the memory) is unknown in antiquity. if you disaprove of the inscription on the medieval monuments surely something might be selected from the Catacombs of very early date which would breathe a more catholic tone & accord better with the style of memorial.

[1] In the event Drummond had the tomb.

[2] The word 'serious' is written over the top of another word, possibly 'ferocious', that Pugin wrote first and then tried to obliterate; perhaps he was picking up an expression which Drummond had used in objection.

[3] The Staffordshire tiles on the floor of the chantry bear a pattern of holly.

[4] Lady Harriet's arms are those of the Earl of Kinnoull, which the Lyon Register records as: 'Quarterly: 1st and 4th Grand quarters counterquartered; 1st and 4th Azure, a unicorn salient Argent, armed, maned and unguled Or, within a bordure of the last charged with eight half thistles vert and as many roses gules joined together per pale, as a coat of augmentation for the Earldom; 2nd and 3rd Argent, three escutcheons gules, for Hay; 2nd and 3rd Grand quarters counterquartered, 1st and 4th, Or, three bars wavy gules surmounted by a scimitar in pale argent, for Drummond; 2nd and 3rd Or, a lion's head erased within a double tessure flory counterflory gules as a coat of augmentation granted to William, Viscount Strathallan, on the creation of that dignity.'

[5] MS Alnwick C/17/1 is Pugin's 'Estimate for Glass—tiles—& painting &^c^ for the chantry at Albury Church' for 'Henry Drummond Esq^r^.'

2 windows in East wall—with 2 figures & canopies each & wire work to protect the same	78.	0	0
the Large South window containing about 100 feet of glass	150	0	0
copper wire work for D^o^	7	10	0
the Tiles will cost on the average—9^d^ each—exclusive of the Moulds—which wary acording to the pattern. the moulds become your property & you can have any quantity made from them—at any time.			
The 3 Brasses—with their marble slabs—& Letting in &^c^	175	0	0
Painting the celing & gilding arms &^c^. painting the reveals of windows with scrolls & devices stencilling the walls—with Initials & badges. from 170 to 200			
Banner with bracket—&^c^.	12	0	0
crucifixion in the east wall with a Rich canopy— and gilding to the same.	30	0	0

The estimate is dated 'Dec^{r} 5 1843' and signed '✠ A Welby Pugin'. Another hand rules a line below '30' and inscribes

454
200
654

Pugin's figures in fact add to a total of £452. 10*s*.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST MARY'S CHURCH, NEWCASTLE? — London, Thursday, 14 December 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 50 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Dec^{r}. 14 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work—of the fittings for S^{t} Maries church Newcastle on Tyne as to entille him to a second payment of £200 on acount of acount of the same.

£200. 0. 0

✠ AWelby Pugin
Master of the work

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of ten pounds being the comission on the above.

✠ AWelby Pugin

To LORD MIDLETON — Peper Harow, Thursday, 14 December 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1⑦ *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harow Dec^{r} 14 1843

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work at the Gate house Spring & chantry as to entitle him to a payment of five hundred pounds being £200. 3. 2 as a final balance of the gate house & the remaining 399 16. 10 on the Spring & chantry.

£500. 0. 0[1] ✠ AWelby Pugin Master of the work.

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twenty five pounds being the architects comission on the above sum.

✠ AWelby Pugin

£25. 0. 0

[1] The two component amounts make a total of £600 but Pugin's figures are correctly copied.

To LORD MIDLETON — Peper Harow, Thursday, 14 December 1843

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1⑥ *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Peper Harow. Dec[r] 14 1843

I hereby certify that Mess[rs] Moon have Duly performed so much of the work of the oxenford farm buildings as to entille him to a further payment of Six hundred pounds.[1]

£600. 0. 0

✠ A Welby Pugin
master of the work.

[1] This is Pugin's last surviving order for payment on the work at Oxenford. MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1① is his receipt for £25. 15s. for the final balance of commission on the farm buildings and for commission on the Mousehill house; it is dated 9 July 1844, a day on which his diary says he 'Went to Lord Middleton'. A note on the page facing p. 3 of the same diary records 'comission on Moushill Carpenters work' in the sum of £5.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Friday, 22 December 1843?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/31 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Friday in Ember week

Dear Sir

I can readily overcome the difficulty of the Larder by Leading a tunnel of cold air under the floor with turns[?] that may be opened at pleasure—& create a most powerful draft & with a top ventilator you will able to keep meat perfectly in the worst weather. [*Sketch: larder showing 'space under floor' and tunnel introducing 'Cold air'*] before I sent the drawings to you I made a rough estimate of the offices & if they were new & all the materials to be bought they I considered that they would cost between 2 & £3000 but then I reckoned stone for all the windows & deep foundations which are altered. This estimate is perfectly useless in the way you build for you have so much material on the spot of your own & also a great quantity of old material to work up some of which the Lead, paving, glass & is valuable. I really under *existing circumstances* cannot possibly tell you what it will cost. the best way will be to Let the windows doors &[c] by peice work & the walling by the Rod. I think my sugestion about the cold air will render the removal of the offices unecessary.

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To WILLIAM DUNN London, Saturday, 23 December 1843

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 54 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Saturday in Ember week

Dear Sir

I should have replied sooner to your Letter but I have been very hard pressed for time owing to several new buildings having Come to my hands rather unexpectedly.[1] I forward you a sketch of an organ gallery with stone pillars & carved caps of rather a plainer description than the Last. the cost of this would be about £35 more than the original one. It would Look exceedinly well & be very substantial. respecting the tiles I ordered all the open spaces to be Laid diagonally and the alleys to be Laid Square—as they were originally so designed and the tiles when Laid otherwise would not come in to the space without cutting—I likewise ordered a margin of stone to be Laid between the squares & the diagonal tiles. [*Sketch: tiles laid diagonally*]

M^r^. Myers must state his own objections which I believe he will do early in the week but it appears to me that they simply amount to his objecting to securities or reserved funds on a building nearly compleated & in which he is so far in advance of his payments. I cannot see any real grounds for dispute. the building will be duly compleated according to my estimate which I originally believed & am now quite certain was a very fair one. there is no question about any extras or anything more than was agreed—and why should a man be asked to find securities for the due performance of what he has done. if we were just beginging the case would be different.

I remain dear sir
yours truly in haste
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Dunn's copy of his letter to Pugin is extant, MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 51:

AWP. 21 Dec^r^. 1843

D^r^ Sir

May I request the favor of a reply to my letter of the 11 inst respīng the organ Gallery & the contract parlārly the former as the workmen are hurrying the laying of the Tiles & it will be a pity to have them exposed to damage by the erection that may be made.—Tho' I have written sev^l^. letters I have not induced M^r^ Myers to state his objections to the Contract. His conduct in this respect is most extraordinary.—

W D

The Tiles are being laid in the manner originally commenced which you disapproved of—Why is this.

To HENRY DRUMMOND London, Friday, 29 December 1843

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/41 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Feast of S[t] Thomas of Canterbury.

Dear Sir

1 The discovery of the nich is deligtful.[1] of course it should be restored—if you rember in my view of the chantry I indicated in a nich in that spot.

2[d] respecting the 2 feet projection of the buildings the only dificulty I see is in the passage from the staircase to the bed rooms that you built but on the whole I think it will be an improvement.

3[d]. you cannot possibly alter the present arrangement of the chimney shafts without *ruining the whole thing.* the shafts A must come down from the serts bed room near your staircase & the water closets—& the stack B as at present arranged is the best thing about the whole job. [*Sketch: plan showing shaft 'A' and stack 'B'*] I have taken the greatest pains with it & it will answer capitally—both for effect & utility. I entreat of you not to think of this alteration which would spoil everything—I wonder your man did not see himself that it could not be, I explained everything to him about the new chimneys & closets &[c] in place of the old ones. I took great pains about the kitchen flues & if you alter them they will be regular failures. I hope I shall hear from you that you have given up the idea for I shall be miserable about it.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

if the chalk is good in Quality it will do well for the dwarf wall of chantry.[2]

[1] The niche, in the east wall of the chantry, contains a crucifix, as foreshadowed in Pugin's estimate of 5 December 1843, with two kneeling female figures.

[2] The dwarf wall in the chantry is not made of chalk.

To HENRY DRUMMOND

December 1843?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/55 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

The accomping sketch will give the exact size of the groove for the Iron lights.[1] I am expecting them up daily if not hourly from the foundry & they will be imedially forwarded to Albury. I ordered them the very day I returned from you after the building was finally settled. I hope you will Let me arrange about the stained glass for the chantry when next I come down or else we shall not have it for the next winter.

I remain with respect dear sir
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Perhaps the same windows for Lady Harriet as are referred to in the letter which may have been written to Drummond on 4 December 1843.

January to June 1844

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Monday, 1 January 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/53 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Feast of the circumcision of our Lord

My Dear Sir

The niche should certainly be restored—& For this I can prepare a drawing when I come down.[1]

I think it advisable to Leave the sacrarium and panel at back of altar to shew the antient arrangement of the chantry. at any rate they need not be filled up as the walls cannot be plastered till the spring.

I am truly glad that you have not altered the chimneys. I feel certain that you will be equally glad yourself when the building is finished. I should Like to hear further about the passage when the accurate measures have been taken.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I am working day & night at the Glossary.

[1] In his letter probably written on 29 December 1843, Pugin expresses his pleasure in learning that Drummond has discovered this niche; the same letter refers to the chimneys.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE[1] — early January 1844?[2]

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/1 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Sir

I can assure you I am so constantly occupied that I hardly get through my own works—and at the present time I am obliged to make double exertion to complet my new work on ecclestical ornament which is to come out as soon as possible.[3]

I remain yours—in great haste
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] J. G. Crace (1809–89), like his father Frederick before him, ran an interior-decorating business at what was then 14 Wigmore Street, London. When the two men met is not known but Crace became one

of Pugin's closest and most frequent collaborators, each engaging the other on many commissions. Thomas Wyse's account of his meeting with Pugin in December 1843 suggests that the association was just being formed at that time. The MSS of several hundred letters which Pugin wrote to Crace are extant, and if this, apparently the first of them, is marked by a certain curtness of tone, it is in that regard by no means representative, for the correspondence is almost invariably amiable and respectful, if businesslike. The MSS of many of the letters are annotated with a date, which often seems to record when the letter was received rather than when it was written; *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 109, states that these jottings were made by Crace. A catalogue of these letters was compiled for the National Register of Archives, Historical Manuscripts Commission, in 1969 by R. A. Storey, and this edition is much indebted to it.

[2] The year and the month are indicated by the endorsement '*1844* AW *Pugin* Jan^ry', and the early part of the month is pointed to by Pugin's reference to his absorption in the task of completing his *Glossary*. According to his diary he 'Finished text' on 20 January 1844, but Bernard 'Smith left' on 18 January and it is assumed that this letter was written before Smith's departure.

[3] There is evidence that Pugin was not so engrossed with the *Glossary* that he eschewed all diversion. Benjamin Webb's diary records not only that on 11 January 1844 'Haskoll & I visited M^rs Pugin: Bernard Smith there' (fol. 54v) but also that on 16 January 'Butterfield & I dined with Burton, meeting Pugin, Bernard Smith, Haskoll, Gray[?], Russell, Rowlatt & Carpenter. Two Barrauds came in'; then on 19 January Webb went 'with Forbes Haskoll & Burton to Pugin's to tea & supper'.

These entries seem to supply the earliest proofs of Pugin's acquaintance with the architects William Butterfield (1814–1900) and Richard Cromwell Carpenter (1812–55), who were both patronized by the Cambridge Camden Society and with both of whom he was later to have professional dealings. Burton may be Thomas Jones Burton, who took his BA from Cambridge in 1841 and was a member of the Cambridge Camden Society, and who is listed in the Anglican *Clergy List* for 1844 as curate of St James's church, Enfield, Middlesex, where J. F. Russell was perpetual curate; in the summer of 1844 Burton was received into the Catholic Church at St Edmund's College, Ware; it is possible but not proven that he was a relation of Louisa Pugin, whose maiden name was Burton. Russell was a visitor to Pugin's house; when he writes to Hardman from his home at Eagle House, Enfield, on 1 September 1845, in a letter filed in ML, he identifies the candlesticks that he wants to purchase by reference to those he saw at Pugin's: 'M^r Pugin had a pair on his little altar at Chelsea.' Joseph Haskoll (1819–71) Pugin had met not later than when he visited Cambridge at the beginning of May 1842; his name, spelled 'Hoskoll', and address at 'S^t Peters Walworth', where he served as curate from 1843 to 1847, are written on a front end-paper of Pugin's diary for 1844. Gray, if that is his name, has not been identified. Rowlatt may perhaps be John Henry Rowlatt (1803–92), who went up to St John's College, Cambridge, in 1822, was ordained priest in December 1841, and held the post of librarian of the Middle Temple in London from 1837 to 1861, but the identification is by no means certain.

The Barrauds have not been identified. Perhaps Forbes was James Stewart Forbes (1812–71) of Christ's College, Cambridge, member of an Aberdeen family, son of a baronet, who took his BA in 1841, and was a member of a committee of the Cambridge Camden Society at one time.

To WILLIAM DUNN? — London, Tuesday, 9 January 1844

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 24[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Jan^r. 9. 1844[2]

Dear Sir

scince I received your Letter I have been so incessantly occupied with the text of my new work that I have not had a moment to attend to anything else but I now hasten to reply to your comunications.[3] I was very sorry to perceive from your former Letter that such trifles as the tile Laying should become the source of unpleasant feelings. M^r. Myers was not justified in imputing motives but nothing

could be more annoying to a man than to have a quary floor stopped half way, and that without any real cause.[4] I know you had the foundations of the organ gallery in view, but do you imagine for a moment that M^r^. Myers would think of making an extra charge for taking up the few quarries that would be required for such a purpose? I am quite certain he would not; indeed it would be much Less expense to himself to do so than to have to Leave a tile floor half finished & the edges trodden down. in all the other works in which I have been engaed we never had occasion for official notices about anything much Less for trifles which are not worth the paper. Churches should not be built on the same principles as barrack contracts. For my own part I believe I feel quite as much anxiety that everything connected with a church should be really good, as those for whom it is built, if not more, and nothing can be more distressing to me, than while I am arranging beautiful detail & carving & improving everything as much as possible the most trifling circumstances are converted into subjects of unpleasant discussion. When I undertook the erection of the church I did so with the full intention of making as fine & worthy a building as means would possibly allow—& I selected M^r^. Myers to serve the interests of the building, not my own—because I felt satisfied & am so still that I could not get what I wanted properly done under any other circumstances—and moreover I had full experience of his integrity & zeal. I was however totally unprepared for the manner in which this building was to be carried on or I should at once have declined the business. I had always been the *friend* & *adviser of my employers* & those employers for the most part ecclesiastics whom I served in love in concience & whose interest was as my own & who placed entire confidence in my knowledge & integrity. with these reciprochal feelings I have been ennabled by the blessing of god to effect in a few years a greater revival of antient excellence that could possibly have been anticipated and I may most scincerely state that in these endeavours I have been well & faithfuly seconded by M^r^. Myers who has on many occasions done much at even a personal loss to meet my wishes. These circumstances have never been understood or appreciated by the Newcastle church committee. from the very beginging I have been considered as any other ordinary man of business looking out only for himself, I have heard of nothing but penalties sureties & securities. even at the very onset I was called in & ordered out like a Pork contractor in a workhouse & subjected to indignities which I only submitted to out of the respect I felt for the Revd. M^r^. Riddell & the Bishop and the difficulty in which they would have been placed by my withdrawal from the undertaking—but I can assure you that with my feelings on these subjects I would not for 20 times the comission again undergo the misery of working with people—who meet the very best exertions with sneers & suspicion.[5] The church at Nottingham by far the best building I have produced & at nearly double the outlay of the one at Newcastle.[6] The building was comenced & carried through on a mere note of hand, & that in a most glorious manner. be assured when a man of real Catholic feeling is engaed to errect a church he is bound by far stronger ties than any yet framed by Legal knowledge. The only necessary part in these undertakings is to settle the amount to be expended—that persons may not be

drawn into unforeseen expenses—& then to do ones best. God knows I have done so in Every work in which I have been engaed & so mean to continue to the end—but to carry out this system it is necessary that the confidence of the employers is equal the intentions of the employed.

In the present case the difficulties about the signature of the contract arise entirely from the want of this & M^r^. Myers naturaly hesitates to sign a document that seems preparing[?] for a Law suit on the face of it & by which the smallest departure from drawings may be compleatly wrested against him, when he worked in this case as usual on the good faith of my instructions. He is quite willing to sign a contract that the whole building with its fittings will be compleated for the stipulated sum—& to abide by my arbitration for the setlement of any dispute as to the explanation[?] of the work intended But with the building so much advanced & the fittings more than half compleated he will not agree to the security clauses—reservations of percentage &^c^. when he has been so Long in advance of his payments by a very Large sum.

again he objects to the introduction of ashes to a certain depth in the contract & the size of the bearing plates under floor joists for this reason. In the original specification I gave him in my own hand & which he has in his posession the said plates are figured $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$. how they came to be otherwise I know not unless in coping out I mistook my 3 for an 8. this is in itself a small matter & I should not have given it a thought, but under existing circumstances it might be made the source of fresh discussion.

as to the ashes they were not in my original specification at all nor was any such item in his but when I received a comunication from you on the subject I told him what was wished & begged him to manage it which he has done.[7] In any usual contract whatever is done beyond the work stipulated for in the specification given by the architect is charged extra—but this is not his wish or intention. The building will be compleated for the sum agreed but as the present words of the contract stand he might be compelled to pull up floors & if the exact quantity of ashes named was not there he might be put to a great expense for an item which he was not strictly bound to do but which he agreed to perform at my request without charge. all this would never have occured to me had I not when last at Newcastle heard it put as a question to the committee wether the East window was to be *altered* or *not* because it was *Larger than the drawing shewed* altgh a great improvement effected at my particular request & at the cost of the contracter.[8] if business was to be done in this manner very different drawings should be made than those I am in the habit of preparing and which are only suited as I before said to a system of entire confidence. I have neith time nor inclination to work otherwise—& if I had fuly understood more was required I should have unhesitatingly declined the business but now the building has been built, it would be most unjust to frame a contract in which neither good feeling nor good understanding have any part & is suited only to the most minute and accurate details, & by which the great East window itself might be pulled out. with respect to the execution of the work I would appeal to any one really

acquainted with the subject if every detail is not carried out in the most perfect manner—far superior to what is indicated on the drawings & fully proving the intention of M^r^. Myers to carry out all my intentions & ideas & when the whole of the internal scupture is finished & the altar screen font &^c^ errected it will be a very fine revival of the decorated period. there is no ground for dispute whatever. I am quite satisfied that M^r^. Myers has most compleatly carried out my intentions. there is no violation of agreement as regards cost, no demand for extra work & if you will only remove the objectionable clauses about reserved funds & penalties figure the plates according to the original specification 5×3 omit the depth of ashes & levelling & name me as abitrater in any dispute as to what was intended to be done M^r^. Myers will sign the agreement & with it put an end I trust to this miserable misunderstanding.

I remain yours truly ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is transcribed in *Bartley*, pp. 205–7. Various pencil underlinings and rules in the margin of the MS are thought to be the work of another hand.

[2] Pugin first wrote '1843', then presumably he but possibly another corrected the mistake.

[3] The 'new work' is the *Glossary*.

[4] MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 52 is a copy of Dunn's letter of 27 December 1843 to Myers requiring him to suspend work on the laying of the tiles for the floor. MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 53 is Myers's reply of 28 December 1843.

[5] William Riddell, priest at Newcastle who was appointed coadjutor in 1843; the bishop of the northern district was Francis Mostyn.

[6] The church at Nottingham is St Barnabas's.

[7] Pugin wrote the word 'specification' after 'nor was any such item in his' but it is smudged, as if he meant to cancel it.

[8] The east window is a Jesse window, made by Wailes whose monogram, 'WW in white and gold' (p. 8) on a red shield, is visible in the lower left corner, according to *Bartley*, who gives a full description of the design. Made in 1844, the window was a gift of members of the Dunn family, as an inscription at the foot records.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Saturday, 13 January 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/9 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Saturday the 13th.

My Dear Sir

I have to apologise for not answering your Note sooner but I have been driven to the Last moment in compleating a portion of my glossary. I expect the whole text will be finished next week.

there is noting I dislike so much as what is called an ornamental cottage—a residence of so humble a description should be treated as such without pretensions. the cottages I have built are very simple indeed—Like the old ones & picturesque only from circumstance. I have no drawings by me as I only do these things when wanted—& moreover I should Like to see the *scite* you propose to erect on for it is

surprising how Local circumstances may be turned to convenience & consequent effect. I shall be of course at albury before Long & if you will shew me the place I think I can suit your wishes.[1]

respecting the ornaments for terraces—the old way was something heraldic on a pedestal—but if you want to plant flowers—I see no difficulty in designing receptacles for them in old character.[2] my principle in all these matters is to work on the *principles* of the old men & to carry them out as they would *have done under our circumstances.* I have ordered all the iron window Frames so that the work may not be delayed.[3]

I remain dear sir with respect
yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The earliest visit to Albury noted in Pugin's diary for 1844 was paid on 10 April and 11 April.
[2] Pugin encloses a sketch of a suitable flower pot with his letter to Drummond of 12 April 1844.
[3] Pugin's letter to Drummond probably written on 9 February 1844 reveals that iron frames were made for 'Lady Harriets boudoir' in Albury House but such frames seem also to have been made for the chantry chapel and for the new offices.

To JOHN DOBRÉE DALGAIRNS[1] London, Monday, 22 January 1844?[2]

Text: MS BOr. A. 20.4[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: St Stephen Harding*][4] ✠ LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS. [*Sketch: title-page of '✠ lives of the english saints saint stephen of citeaux'*][5] if you need further instructions write.

Dear M[r]. Dalgairns

I herewith send you a design which will I hope meet M[r]. Newmans wishes.[6] It should be placed in the middle of the title as I have sketched by the side. at top in old text LIVES OF THE ENGLISH SAINTS and at the bottom. the size of these letters should be SAINT STEPHEN OF CITEAUX but thus THE size & if they could be printed in *red* it would be a great improvement.[7] if you find that the top line is too long you might put it thus—✠ LIVES OF THE
ENGLISH SAINTS. with this I send you a small sketch how it should be arranged. the design represents S[t] Stephen writing with a cistercian house behind. you must Let me know of the next saint in time that I may prepare another cut of the same size of a suitable design.

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] J. D. Dalgairns (1818–76) went up to Exeter College, Oxford, in 1836 and moved to Littlemore in 1842; he joined the Catholic Church in September 1845. He was the sole author of three titles and joint author

of two more among the volumes in the series of *Lives of the English Saints* for which Pugin provided illustrations.

[2] This approximate date is indicated by the attendant correspondence and by Pugin's preoccupation until 20 January with finishing the *Glossary*.

[3] The text of the letter is written in ink but some of the lettering is pencil. The MS, reproduced as Plate IV, is also printed as a small illustration to Leon Litvack, 'A brief alliance: Pugin, Newman and the English saints', *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, 12 (October 1985): 376–81.

[4] Pugin is designing a title-page for a life of St Stephen Harding written by Dalgairns. This was the first biography to be published in a series of sixteen volumes issued during 1844 and 1845 with the collective title *Lives of the English Saints*: see *Belcher 1987*, B22.1. Besides the drawing for St Stephen, Pugin furnished designs that were used as frontispieces to ten other volumes, one serving in addition as a title-plate for the series. Pugin's monogram is present on six of the illustrations in the set, that of Orlando Jewitt on only one of them, that for St Stephen. In his letter to the *Tablet* of 31 January 1846 Pugin reveals that at first he declined the invitation to make the illustrations.

[5] Another hand inscribes a dagger before Pugin's 'saint stephen of citeaux' and notes '† St Stephen Harding' below the sketch.

[6] It was Newman who conceived this Tractarian venture into national hagiography, and he acted as editor for the first two volumes, St Richard besides St Stephen Harding.

Some of the history of the undertaking and of Pugin's part in it is told in correspondence which survives. MS BOr. VC/25/21 is a letter from the author of the life of St Augustine in the series, Frederick Oakeley, written to Newman on 'Tuesday', simply, which may have been 16 January 1844, informing him that the publisher James 'Toovey thinks of getting Pugin to supply a design for the Wrapper to be used after the two or three first N^{os}. If you won't have any objection to this will you tell him.' On 17 January 1844 from 36 St James's Street, London, Toovey writes, apparently to Newman, in pursuance of this hope: 'It would be a nice thing if we could have a good design and very desireable if M^{r}. Pugin would supply it' (MS BOr. VC/25/7). On 20 January Toovey reports, again apparently to Newman, that, as regards the wrapper, he and Oakeley thought they 'could not do better than take M^{r}. Pugins advice, but when we have his design it will be much more easy, to judge of the effect and can print it in 3 or 4 colors for that purpose' (MS BOr. VC/25/8). He notes that Oakeley favours the colour 'lilac'.

By now Newman seems to have been persuaded that Pugin should be consulted, for on 24 January Toovey seeks his opinion of Pugin's suggestion, made in this letter to Dalgairns: 'I understand M^{r}. Pugin has sent a design for the wrapper, is it such as you think you should like to use,? I hear it is rather designed for the Life of S^{t}. Stephen, than for the whole of the series:—if it meets your approval will you send it me that it may be put in hand' (MS BOr. VC/25/11). He alludes to Oakeley's willingness to take over the editorship which Newman wishes to resign, and adds that 'M^{r}. Webb of the Camden Society as also M^{r}. Oakeley and Copeland, think the wrapper would be preferable, if it were rather a quiet color'.

Copeland may be William John Copeland (d.1885), who went up to Trinity College, Oxford, where Newman had also been an undergraduate, in 1824 at the age of nineteen, and became a Fellow there from 1832 to 1849.

Newman's communication with Toovey, written from Littlemore on the same day as Toovey's letter to him, is preserved at St Edmund Hall, Oxford, in a collection of unpublished correspondence concerning the *Lives of the English Saints*, bound in a volume which has as a title on the spine 'Lives of the English Saints: Letters from J. H. Newman and others'. 'M^{r} Pugin has sent me a design', Newman writes, 'which I have sent to the engraver. The title is above and below it, and he wishes the title to be printed in red' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 6); as Newman does not want to superintend the publication, he refers Toovey to Oakeley; the printers are to be Mozley; and Newman does not like 'lilac' or 'flame colour', which he finds 'staring', suggesting instead 'some shade of yellow' with the letters either white or red. Henry Mozley and Sons, of Derby, printed a number of the lives during 1844 and 1845 but the life of St Stephen Harding was printed by Gilbert and Rivington, St John's Square, London, and was their only work for the series; eight of the volumes were printed by S. & J. Bentley, Wilson and Fley, of Shoe Lane, London, and seven by Mozley.

On 26 January Toovey, after reporting that Oakeley is ready to assume responsibility as editor, expresses concern about cost: 'It occurs to me as almost a pity that M^{r}. Pugins design, if I understand rightly, is to be used only for the cover,—that which has been supplied I hear is applicable only to S. Stephen, if they are to be different to the several lives, it will considerably increase the cost, for what will ultimately be destroyed when bound up.—Could there not be such a design as should be fitting to the work as a whole?' (MS BOr. VC/25/12). In his letter to Toovey of 28 January Oakeley reports: 'I have

written to M^r^. Pugin for a design for the S. Augustine' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 51), and in a further message on 1 February 1844 he repeats his news: 'In my note to M^r^. Pugin I merely asked him to make his design for S. Augustine of Cant^y^. perhaps M^r^. N. has also communicated with him ab^t^. it' (fol. 53). Toovey proposes on 30 January that five shillings be paid to Pugin for the design of St Stephen and five shillings for the wrapper. By 9 February Toovey can inform Newman that 'M^r^. Pugin has kindly supplied a design for the Life of S^t^. Augustine which is very beautiful and I am about to put it in the engravers hands' (MS BOr. VC/25/20). Newman, writing from Littlemore, advises Toovey on 10 February that 'I have sent to M^r^ Pugin for a design for St Richard' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 11); Pugin's reply on the same day is printed in this edition at that date. Toovey addresses Newman again on 23 February: 'I have this day received from M^r^. Pugin an impression of the S^t^. Stephen' (MS BOr. VC/25/23); Toovey would like to go ahead with the printing. On 26 February he has received the 'cuts' (MS BOr. VC/25/24) from Orlando Jewitt, who he has already informed Newman on 22 February will be executing the frontispiece of St Stephen, and hopes to publish the life that week. 'I will at once write to M^r^. Pugin', he goes on, 'for designs for S^t^. Wolstan and the Hermit Saints, he mentioned that that for S^t^. Augustine would do for all Archbishops of Canterbury except S^t^. Thomas.

I have mentioned Thompson our best engraver on wood to M^r^. Pugin,' who approves of him. Toovey continues: 'I should therefore propose to place S^t^. Richard as well as S^t^. Augustine in his hands; it is thought that S^t^. Stephen might have been better; by M^r^. Oakeley as well as others.

I should think the Family of S^t^. Richard might appear by the end of March.'

On 1 March Pugin writes to Newman, although he seems not to have posted the letter until he returned to London on 5 March; his letter is printed in this edition at the former date. Its perusal provoked Newman to a stern rebuke of Toovey (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 13):

Littlemore, March 6—1844

Sir

From a letter received today from M^r^ Pugin, I learn that you have been giving him directions, about a design he is making for *me*, which may answer your own convenience—and that in contravention of my own instructions to him, given not without a careful thought of what might prove convenient to you afterwards.

Of course I have written word to him that he is to attend to me, and not to any one else.

Your ob^t^ Servant
John H Newman

On 8 March, the day of Pugin's next letter to Newman, printed at that date in this edition, Toovey also wrote to Newman again, seeking to conciliate by explanation: 'After the receipt of your last (of the 4^th^) I wrote to M^r^. Pugin to inquire when I might hope to receive the design for S^t^ Richard. I had previously written for designs for S^t^. Wulstan & the Hermit Saints, I also mentioned that if he could I should prefer if they were such as could be used for all Bishops &^c^ as the case might be, and not peculiar to the Life for which they might be first used.—I had also mentioned my wish for a general design for the wrapper which I understood you to leave me at liberty to have if I thought it desireable' (MS BOr. VC/25/27).

Toovey is still placatory in his next communication to Newman, on 11 March: 'I have received the enclosed from M^r^. Pugin, and which I thought you might wish to see before they were placed in the hands of the Engraver.—that for the Cover will have the Motto altered,—In the Family of S^t^. Richard S^t^ Winibald's is to be turned inwards as marked with the pen.—that for S^t^. Augustine will serve for all Archbishops of Canterbury except S^t^. Thomas.—and the 4^th^. will serve for Edward the Confessor and such others as were Kings.—it was intended for S^t^. Richard, but M^r^. Pugin drew the other in accordance with your wish,—and from him I understood what was mentioned in your last, which was quite unintentional' (MS BOr. VC/25/28). Two days later, on 13 March, he adds in further justification that 'M^r^. Pugin thought that the expression he intended in the figure of S^t^. Stephen was lost, this and what you mentioned of M^r^. Jewitt being much engaged, led me to mention Thompson who is reckon'd the best wood engraver' (MS BOr. VC/25/29). On 20 March the publisher passes on Thompson's approximate figure of eight pounds for engraving the St Richard design and informs Newman that the life of St Stephen has now sold about six hundred copies.

On 27 April 1844 Newman judges the 'wood cut' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 16) of the family of St Richard 'very well done', and requires the drawings of 'the two frontispieces' for other lives to be sent to him. On

7 May 1844 Toovey tells Newman: 'I saw M^r^. Pugin on Saturday last and am daily expecting a design' (MS BOr. VC/27; this classification refers to a bundle of several undifferentiated MSS) for the Hermit Saints; 'I enclose for your approval one he gave me of a Bishop which would do for S^t^. Wulstan'. On the following day, 8 May 1844, again from Littlemore, Newman thanks Toovey for letting him see 'the beautiful design' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 17) for 'St Wolstan'. Toovey sends the other 'frontispiece' on 16 May: 'I enclose also for your approval M^r^. Pugin's Design for the Hermit Saints, he thought perhaps you might prefer to have a motto as there was nothing peculiar to make it well to affix a name' (MS BOr. VC/27). On 1 November 1844 Newman considers that 'one of the figures of Bishops already cut would do for St German, though he is a sort of Latin Bishop—but M^r^ Pugin will do nothing but Gothic' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 28), and that another drawing, not identified, 'is one of Pugin's best'. A letter from R. W. Church to Toovey is preserved in the same collection; Richard William Church (1815–90), Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London, from 1871 until his death, was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, from 1838 to 1854. Dating from Oriel College on 12 July 1844, Church promises that, as soon as he can, he 'will communicate with M^r^. Pugin' (MS SEH KK 79, fol. 34) about the 'woodcut' for the life of St Wulstan, of which Church was the author.

Jewitt's account to Newman is also preserved in BOr. VC/27: on 13 March 1844 he charges eight guineas for engraving the St Stephen Harding on wood and ten shillings and sixpence for the 'Lettering' of the Cistercian saints.

Faber and Thomas Mozley were other Oxford men of Pugin's acquaintance who contributed to this ill-fated enterprise, for which Pugin submitted his last design, that for St Edmund, on 1 May 1845, according to his diary; for that, he seems to have made a charge of £2. 2*s*.

Seven of the eleven authors whose work Pugin illustrated joined the Catholic Church, six of them in 1845, the year when Toovey also made his conversion, in December. In his *Apologia pro vita sua*, published in 1864, Newman recollects that 'As soon . . . as the first of the Series got into print, the whole project broke down. I had already anticipated that some portions of the Series would be written in a style inconsistent with the professions of a beneficed clergyman . . . but men of great weight went further in their misgivings than I, when they saw the Life of St. Stephen Harding, and decided that it was of a character inconsistent even with its proceeding from an Anglican publisher: and so the scheme was given up at once' (Norton Critical edition, ed. D. J. DeLaura, New York, 1968, p. 165), and no more lives were published than those which had already begun to be written.

The engraver may be John Thompson (1785–1868). Thompson was used by the Cambridge Camden Society to make the wood-cut which accompanies the article 'Sigillum Societatis Camdenice Cantabrigiensis. A.S. MDCCCXXXIX', *Ecclesiologist*, 3 (September 1844): 184–5, and which shows the seal, 'sigillum', which Pugin designed for the society; Benjamin Webb notes in his diary that 'Pugin sent his design for CCS sigillum' (fol. 56r) on 30 March 1844.

[7] The lettering of the titles and sometimes some other details in all the published volumes are printed in red.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Thursday, 25 January 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/40 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London feast of the conversion of S^t^ Paul

Dear Sir

I am most anxious to know how the work is proceeding at albury. in all My buildings I make a rule for the foreman to report progress once a week and as your carpenter acts in that capacity I should be obliged if you would tell him to do so—for it is impossible for me to calculate & have everything ready in time unless I know exactly what is doing.[1] I have ordered the Cast iron frames some weeks ago so the

work will not be delayed for want of them. the Brasses are in hand but it will be some months before they can be compleated.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The foreman at Albury was Anthony Browne.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Tuesday, 30 January 1844?

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/20 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Tuesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

The Glass is gone—& will be at Alton I hope imedially after your Lordsip arrives. I purpose coming down by the middle of the month.[1] I quite Long to see the progress of works. I am obliged to go down to Ramsgate tomorow.[2] I am very full of Business just now & amongst other things a Large window for *D^r. Pusey*!![3] so we progress. Bishop willson has gone down to Plymouth to join his ship.[4] he takes out a great deal with him.[5] *40* Large chasubles!!! Several tombs 2 altars compleat, fonts &^c. tiles—&^c. & *3 models* of *small churches* all to take to pieces with the roofs &^c framed. simple buildings that can be easily errected. It is quite delighful to start in the good style at the antipodes. It is quite an honour. I can assure your Lordsip I did not Lose a day about the glass, the other lot appears to have laid a long while at the carriers—I will write again when I return from Ramsgate.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury with the greatest respect
your devoted & faithfu Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's next visit to Alton, according to the evidence of his diary, was paid from 1 March to 4 March.

[2] Pugin's diary shows that he left London for Ramsgate on 30 January and returned on 1 February; presumably he means that 'tomorrow' is a day that he will spend in Ramsgate.

[3] Pusey commissioned Pugin to design stained glass for the church of St Saviour in Leeds. G. G. Pace states in 'Pusey and Leeds', *Architectural Review*, 98 (December 1945): 178–80, that Pugin was 'responsible for the glass of the Martyr's and the Passion windows in the south and the north transepts' (p. 180) and the west window with the Holy Face.

Pugin notes in his diary that 'Dr. Pusey came' on 26 January 1844. Pusey had Benjamin Webb for company, for Webb's diary records at the same date that 'D^r Pusey called on me: examined cartoons of his windows: with him to Pugin's, & thence to Evensong at Margaret Chapel' (fol. 55r). Also in Pugin's diary for 1844, on the page facing p. 3, is an entry, 'D^r. P. 50. 0. 0', apparently a payment connected with Pusey's windows. Pusey appears to have sought Bloxam's opinion of the design of the glass for in a letter of 20 April 1844, preserved at Pusey House, MS Pusey Letters 128, Bloxam assures the Tractarian leader that he would 'not hesitate to adopt English Inscriptions in the windows both from the excellent reasons

assigned—and also because we find a parallel case in sepulchral inscriptions—which were not only written in latin but also in french and english according to circumstances. Pugin has himself admitted the principle by placing english inscriptions on brasses &c.' Pugin had further meetings with Pusey in York on 10 June and in London on 3 September, according to his diary, before he 'Finished designs for Dr. Pusey's windows' on 14 November 1844; the glass is not yet made, however, when he writes to Pusey on 14 July 1845. H. P. Liddon in his *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey* (4 vols. London, 1893–7) relates that 'Pugin had offered through Mr. Webb a design of the "Holy Face" of our Lord in one of the windows' (vol. 2, p. 478), and Pusey wrote in response: 'I like his design . . . very much. The only thing about which any one can have doubts is the introduction of The Holy Face.' It was the local bishop who had 'doubts', grave and ineradicable ones, as Pugin's letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 26 October 1845 proves that he came to know.

[4] 'B. Willsons ship sailed' is the entry in Pugin's diary at 22 January 1844; presumably it left London on that date. The *Catholic Directory* for 1845, p. 162, records that Willson departed for Hobart on 4 February 1844.

[5] Items to Pugin's design in Australia are discussed by Brian Andrews in 'Pugin in Australia', *GP*, pp. [246]–57, where the statement that Pugin was 'at Ramsgate' (p. 247) at this time is incorrect. In his book *Australian Gothic* (Melbourne, 2001), Andrews quotes on pp. 108–9 Willson's draft of a speech he was to make to a meeting of clergy in Hobart in October 1844.

I was called upon to come to a new land, where there was not a single thing for the use of a Bishop, and mark me, *where they could not be procured.* . . . I procured at the cheapest cost possible in Italy, France, Belgium and England through the zeal of my dear and valued friend Mr. Pugin one of everything requested for a Bishop, such as pastoral staff, mitre, Cappa Magna, pectoral Cross . . . not less than 40 sets of vestments—linen of every description for several churches—such as albs, surplices, amices, Altar cloths, Chalice linen etc. common cloths . . . Crosses, Chalices, Ciboriums, Pixes [*sic*], holy oils stocks . . . a portable Altar for use of the Bp when travelling—and in order to introduce the proper church style in this distant land, I also procured a font rightly constructed and fitted which will serve as a model for all other churches, also stone picinas [*sic*], stone crosses, models of churches constructed on proper scales all by the great restorer of Church architecture and church furniture Mr. Pugin.

Andrews makes a thorough investigation of Pugin's legacy in Australia.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Thursday, 1 February 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/45 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I have only this moment returned to town & found your Letter. *tiles* would *Look* the best covering & be quite in character with the materials of the county but slate *makes* the best & most secure covering & fits better to the Lead flashings but as far as effect is concerned I should prefer the former. I Leave it therefore to you to decide which you will use.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devotedt Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Saturday, 3 February 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/54 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea Feb. 3[d].

My Lord

I have just returned to town & found your Lordsips letter. presuming that you are still in London I direct this to Tattons hotel—and will call anytime your Lordsip may appoint.[1] I have had a Letter some time ago from Pierce in which he said he had heard from M[r]. Foly—but he has not yet forwarded the estimate &[c]. to me. The dilatory way in which they do business in Ireland annoys me beyond measure. the sooner your Lordsip can Let M[r] Myers have the working drawings for the chancel the better as the reredos &[c] will take some time.[2] many thanks for the Game which arrived quite safe and was as usual excellent. I got the carriers receipt for the *Chantry glass* some days ago so I hope & trust it is arrived.[3] I can assure your Lordsip that *I* do not Lose a day about anything—but the time these sort of things takes is most annoying.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Thomas's Hotel at 25 Berkeley Square, Mayfair, was run by Richard Tatton.

[2] The chancel of the church of St Nicholas at Peper Harow.

[3] Wailes's undated note, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1[9], covering his account for work at Peper Harow church, does not make clear whether he charges for glass for the Midleton chantry or for the chancel window which Pugin promises in his letter to Lord Midleton of 7 December 1844.

To THOMAS TALBOT BURY — London, Monday, 5 February 1844?[1]

Text: MS V & A PD D.119-1890 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Bury

I herth send you the interior view of ushaw.[2] pray my dear fellow do your best for me. it is indeed important to get them.

ever thine
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's letter informing Newsham that he has 'put the interior view in hand' is probably to be dated 7 February 1844.

[2] Pugin is engaging Bury to engrave for him the drawing which this brief note accompanies. Signed in monogram and dated '1844' by Pugin, the drawing shows a '✠ view from the antechapel' of the interior of the new chapel Pugin has designed for Ushaw. The MS is catalogued in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 236, and reproduced as an illustration on p. 237. Pugin notes a payment of two guineas to Bury on the front end-paper [c] of his diary for 1844.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Tuesday, 6 February 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/70 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea Tuesday

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I need not say how much gratified I am with the contents of your note but I do not mean to *mention the affair to a soul* for the present.[1] when it is half up it will be quite time enough. I think I could magnage to get down early next week say Tuesday if that would do.[2] what is the reason for the suppression of the angels, & mitres over the shields for which there is such excellent authority in the Cloisters of the college? surely it is not with a view to Expense as I could manage that. the spaces are *very Large* & will require filling in. perhaps you may be able to drop me a Line on this point.

with great respect
I remain ever your most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

My book is now only waiting for Jewitt.[3]

[1] The '*affair*' is the construction of the new gateway at Magdalen College. At the front of the volume in which the MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1 MSS used to be bound Bloxam makes a note that Pugin's plan for the new gateway is to be adopted, with some alterations, in consequence of a College Order, a resolution of the governing body of president and Fellows, of 1 February 1844.

[2] Pugin's diary records a visit to Oxford from Monday 12 February to Tuesday 13 February 1844.

[3] Pugin's 'book' is the *Glossary*.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Tuesday, 6 February 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/55 *Address*: Right Honble / viscount Midleton / Peper Harrow / near Godalming / Surrey. *Postmark*: Chelsea; FE 7 1844 in Kingston; FE 8 1844 in Godalming

✠ London. Feb. 6. 1844

My Lord

I wrote a note on saturday Last directed to your Lordship at Tattons hotel—which I fear has not reach you. perhaps your Lordsip will be good enough to send me a line & let me know. I shall be obliged to go north early next week.[1] if your Lordsip wishes it particulary I would manage to come down to Peper Harow before I go but I would rather defer it till my return which will not be long.[2]

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] When Pugin left London for Oxford on 12 February, he began a journey which took him to points as far north as Liverpool and Newcastle, with many intermediate stops, before he returned to London on 5 March.

[2] The next visit to Peper Harow noted in Pugin's diary was paid on 11 April 1844.

To CHARLES NEWSHAM[1] London, Wednesday, 7 February 1844?

Text: MS Ushaw OM/Pu 8 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Wednesday.

Revd & Dear Sir

I have put the interior view in hand & hope to let you have a Lot of the prints very shortly.[2] what you propose about the building will not I fear answer and I will endeavour to explain the reason. A gothic building is quite different from any other. all the expensive work *is in* what is usually called the *shell.* what you speak of leaving out are small items when compared with the body of the work and unless included in the 1st contract would cost you above £25 per cent more afterwards which would be 5 times as much as the interest of the money and even then, they would not answer the purpose of the contractor so well as at the present price. the ceiling ought to be comenced very soon. the joiners can plane up the boards in bad weather when they would be Losing time. the tiles for the floor would all be ordered & come with other materials. if they have to be sent alone see the extra expense. then the bricklayers can Lay them at odd times but if a man has to be sent afterwards on purpose to Lay them his expenses alone add several pounds. I merely mention these things to shew you that unless a builder can make the *best of his time* it is impossible to do the work at a reasonable rate. if you cut out these things in the present contract you may depend on their costing you a great deal more afterwards. a disadvantage to both parties—I think you are quite right to omit the fittings and I woud not urge you to include the roodloft—but such things as ceiling plastering & flooring ought certainly to be included for the reasons I have stated—& if *I* was going to pay for the building I would not omit them on any account as the builder with the best intentions could not possibly do them at the same price afterwards. I will forward you the draft of the agreement by the end of the week—& bring the drawings of the roodloft with me.[3]

I remain dear sir
with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Charles Newsham (1792–1863), educated at Ushaw, taught there and held the office of president from 1837 until his death. He made great improvements to the education and discipline of the college as well as to its buildings; he was also an accomplished musician.

[2] The 'interior view' of the chapel at Ushaw which Pugin sends to Bury, perhaps on 5 February 1844. The 'prints' would be sold to raise money for the building.

[3] Pugin paid a visit to Ushaw from 24 February to 26 February 1844, according to his diary.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Thursday, 8 February 1844?

Text: MS PC Franklin [95][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Thursday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I leave town on Tuesday D. V. and am am going to oxford thence to Captain Hibberts—Birmingham—Nottingham & so work my way to alton.[2] The snow has all disapeared here & the wind southerly so I hope it will be all gone at alton by the time I arrive.[3]

Millers book is an elephant folio.[4] I saw it at Bohns. it is impossible for me to bring it as I have to go so many hundred miles round—& it would harly go on my back much less in a bag. it is a capital book & contains some very good things. I quite long to see the progress of works—at the church.[5] D[r]. Puseys window is all glass.

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

only consider my Lord the number of conveyances I must go in before I arrive at alton. Such a book as Millers might be spoilt with every care. I may have very bad weather—snow & rain & Long distances in gigs.

[1] Another hand inscribes a rough ink cross on the MS after 'arrive' at the end of Pugin's first paragraph and draws a line from it round to another cross at the end of the second paragraph.

[2] The journey which Pugin began on Monday 12 February is shown by his diary to have taken him to all these places before he reached Alton on 1 March.

John Hubert Washington Hibbert (1805–75), of Bilton Grange, Rugby, where Pugin had probably been working since the time of his first visit there in October 1841. Hibbert entered the army as a young man and was made a captain in the First Regiment of Dragoons in 1826; he left the army before his marriage but kept the title he liked to use. He married in January 1839 Julia Mary Magdalene (d.1892), née Tichborne, the widow of Charles Thomas Talbot whom she had married in 1830; C. T. Talbot was a son of Lord Shrewsbury's great-uncle Francis Talbot; Julia Hibbert was thus by marriage a second cousin of Lord Shrewsbury. Hibbert joined the Catholic Church in 1849.

[3] Pugin notes a 'Heavy snow storm at night and day' in his diary at 2 February.

[4] Pugin probably means William James Müller's *Sketches of the Age of Francis I[st]*, published by Henry Graves, 6 Pall Mall, London, on 1 August 1841, with lithographs by Day and Haghe; perhaps its pictures of royal and noble society at Fontainebleau, Chenonceaux and elsewhere appealed to Lord Shrewsbury as a vision of what life might be made at Alton Towers. On the front end-paper [a] of his diary for 1844 Pugin jots a note of 'Mullers sketches time of Francis 1° for L. S.' Elephant paper is a size of drawing paper measuring 28 inches by 23 inches (approximately 71 cm by 58 cm); Müller's volume measures about 55 cm by 39 cm.

[5] The church of St Giles at Cheadle.

To HENRY DRUMMOND London, Friday, 9 February 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/54 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Friday.

Dear Sir

1 I would certainly advise you to have the road 1 foot below the floor. I am sure that advantage of dryness will amply repay the expense.

2^{d} I shall be very glad to have the windows made of stone. with respect to the form of those in gable of kitchen the *working* drawings are to be followed.[1] you will find the square heads so far more convient for offices & I have all the iron frames prepared for them.

3 I fully expected that the chantry roof was rotten, it will be proper to frame the new one forthwith that we may get it on to protect the plaster—which I should to have done about June—so as to have rest of the summer to dry in & be ready for decorating in 1845.

4th. nothing can be better than concrete for foundations *as Long* as *it is kept below the ground.* I should say about 1 foot below.) you will then find it answer admirably & you may use up all your small stuff. be careful that it is *pitched in from a good height*—that is a great point. you must have a scaffold raised over the foundations for the purpose about 10 feet high.) [*Sketch: labourers wheeling rubble up slope and tipping it into foundation*] the Iron work & glass for Lady Harriets boudoir &^{c} are just compleated & will be forwarded to you in a few days. I am going North & as soon as I return I purpose coming down to Albury.[2] the time of year for great exertion is fast approaching. you must get your roof on before next June if possible so as to be dring inside.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] MS C/17/137 at Alnwick is Pugin's sketch of a blank 'shield for gable of kitchen $\frac{1}{4}$ real size', with the direction 'This line to follow rake of gable'.

[2] Pugin's diary yields evidence that he next went 'to Albury' on 10 April 1844 and stayed the night at 'Mr. Drummond's'.

To JOHN HENRY NEWMAN[1] London, Saturday, 10 February 1844

Text: MS BOr. VC/24/55 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea. feast of S[t] Scholastica
42 cheyne Walk

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I will attend to your wishes with as litte delay as possible. I am oblged to leave town on Monday but will continue to make the designs while on my journey. I expect to be in oxford on Monday but fear that I shall be too pressed for time to be able to come over to Littemore. I am now executing some designs for the Rev[d] M[r]. Oakley of the same descriptions as those you require.

I remain dear Sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The background to this letter is given in the notes to the letter which Pugin probably sent to Dalgairns on 22 January 1844.

To MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM?[1] Bilton Grange, Wednesday, 14 February 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/188 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Bilton grange. Wednesday.

Dear Sir

I find to day from my Letters that I am obliged to proceed in a contrary direction to that of Rugby but I expect to be passing through on Monday next when I will take my chance—of having the pleasure of seeing you for a short time.[2] I remain dear Sir yours most truly

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The recipient is indicated by the present location of the MS and by his residence in Rugby. Pugin first writes to M. H. Bloxam on 28 April 1842. By the time of this letter they may have had in common the additional interests of the gateway at Magdalen College, in connection with which M. H. Bloxam carried out various professional tasks, and the installation of a window to Pugin's design in Rugby, a commission about which he writes to J. R. Bloxam on 28 March 1844.

[2] Pugin's diary shows him travelling from 'Birmingham to Bilton' on Monday 19 February 1844.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Bilton Grange, Wednesday, 14 February 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/21 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Bilton Grange
wednesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am stoping with Captain Hibbert & arranging his proposed wing—the frost[?] is now gone again but it will be some days before I can reach alton as I must go first to the north & liverpool. I cant imagine the reason of the Glass not having arrived. I saw the Last case packed & directed & going some time ago. it ought to have arrived Long since. Indeed I did not neglect it—I took every precaution to have it sent as quick as possible. it must have arrived ere this. I quite long to see the works at Cheadle &c.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips most devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Sunderland, Thursday, 22 February 1844?[1]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/49 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Sunderland. Feb. 22d

My Dear Sir

your Letter has just been forwarded to me here. I will lose no time in ordering an iron frame to be forwarded to you for the masons to work by. the pattern for the screens[?] must stand over till I return south when I will lose no time in coming down to albury & explaining these matters. I have this day seen the glass & iron work for the upper lights of Lady Harriets boudoir &c. they are just finished & will be forwarded by the beinging of next week. I hope you will be pleased with them. I think they are a good job for they combine ornament with security.

I remain dear Sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's diary records, apparently quite unambiguously, that he arrived in Sunderland on Friday 23 February and left the following day. An early hand endorses the MS 'Feb 1844'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Newcastle on Tyne, Thursday, 22 or Friday, 23 February 1844

Text: MS PC Franklin [78] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Newcastle on Tyne.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have this day seen the cheadle windows in progress. they will be *glorious. excelent* ***drawing.*** the acts of mercy are really admirable.[1] I am certain that your Lordsip will be pleased with them, they combine the richness of the old men with true drawing.

I was at Nottingham on Wednesday. I quite Long for you to see that church.[2] the effect is most solemn, some modern people complain it is too dark but it is just the thing. they are not used to solemn buildings. I am working my way by ushaw kirkham &ᶜ. to alton where I hope to arrive by the middle of the week or the Latter end but I do not want if possible to stay Long till about the 14 or 15 of march when I can stop for then I shall have finished Dʳ Puseys job and another job at *oxford* which will delight your Lordsip when I tell you but it must not be talked about for the present & it is of the utmost importance to get *it in hand at once.*[3] I am dying to see the progress of things at cheadle. everybody talks about about it. it must be a model. I start the great church at Liverpool next week & also a small collegiate chapel for the new bishop besides a house for a merchant a few miles from the town.[4] hoping to find your Lordsip in the enjoyment of your usual good heath & the snow gone on my arrival I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury

with Great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The second window in the north aisle of St Giles's represents the seven corporal works of mercy: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, harbouring the stranger, visiting the sick, ministering to prisoners, and burying the dead.

[2] St Barnabas's is 'that church'.

[3] The job not to be talked about is the gateway for Magdalen College.

[4] Pugin tells Bloxam about the new church of St Mary in Liverpool in his letter of 26 August 1843.

The 'small collegiate chapel' is the chapel at Bishop Eton, Liverpool, built for George Hilary Brown (1786–1856), vicar apostolic of the Lancashire district from 1840, when it was created, until 1850. An ink drawing of the chapel, undated but signed by Pugin with his initials in monogram, is MS YCBA B1977.14.20655. The chapel was later subsumed into a larger church on the same site, in the design of which Pugin's son Edward may have played a part.

The 'house for a merchant' is Oswaldcroft, erected for Henry Sharples on land adjacent to the Bishop Eton chapel. Pugin's diary records a meeting 'At Liverpool' with 'Mr. Sharples' on 16 February 1844; in a letter dated 28 February 1844 and preserved in ML, Sharples mentions that he saw Pugin in Liverpool on 15 February, and 15 February is the date when Weedall reports, in another letter filed in ML 1844, that Pugin left Fieldgate for Liverpool 'this morning', so perhaps the diary entry is slightly inaccurate.

Construction of the house was well under way by 12 November 1844 when Sharples informs Hardman, in a letter kept in ML, that he hopes to have the 'roof on as quick as possible' and adds: 'I like the house very much. It is larger & more costly than I anticipated but for £100 it would be unwise to have contracted any of the rooms.' The initials H S provide a motif for the Minton tiles laid on the floor of the entrance hall at Oswaldcroft. Pugin's later correspondence with Crace discusses furnishings for the house, and Crace's account-book for 1845, MS RIBA PUG. 13/5, credits Pugin £2 as his percentage on 'Sharples Sofas'. A number of designs for the house are preserved in the MFT collection: for a cabinet, for instance, fireplaces for the drawing-room, dining-room and library, and picture-frames. Hardman supplied many items of metalwork: an entry in MWDB at 6 December 1845, for instance, charges Sharples two shillings for '1 Brass Gothic Window fastener', two shillings and ninepence for a 'rack' for it, and three shillings and

threepence for a rack with 'Fleur de Lys Ends'. Sharples's letter of 27 December 1845 encloses 'outlines' of handles and escutcheons for a sideboard; he wants them in January, and they may be the goods charged to him in MWDB at 24 February 1846. Sharples continues to be a client of Hardman after the completion of Oswaldcroft, and he was already a customer before he commissioned Pugin to design his house. A monumental brass costing £25 with a black marble slab for a further £10 is entered to him in MWDB at 1 July 1843. The letter of 12 November 1844 covers payment of £19. 17*s.* for 'An Oratory Cross set with Stones to Ivory Figure', costing £7. 10*s.*, and 'A Reliquary of the Holy Cross & 12 Apostles', costing £12. 5*s.*, entered to him in MWDB at 5 September 1844. ML also contains another letter from Sharples, dated 20 January 1844, to 'My Lord' about the relics of the twelve apostles to be placed in this reliquary.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ushaw, Sunday, 25 February 1844?[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/50 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

The bearer of this is D[r]. Newsham the president of Ushaw College. I am about erecting a collegiate church for him at the college which will be dedicated in honour of Blessed Cuthbert. before beginging operations he decided on visiting the collegiate chapels of oxford—and of course Magdalen stands first on the list. I feel assured you will afford him every facilty for examining the same at Leisure. he is going to have a regular choir with stalls *Screens* &[c]. & everything perfectly correct. you will find him a most Learned amiable & pious man but unfortunely rather deaf. I need not Say more.

believe me ever
with great respect dear M[r] Bloxam
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The preservation of this letter of introduction among the MSS at Magdalen College affords a presumption that Newsham presented it there, but neither there nor at Ushaw is evidence readily available to reveal when he did so. The foundation-stone of the new chapel at Ushaw was laid on 23 April 1844, and it can be surmised that Newsham made his tour of inspection before that date; Pugin was at Ushaw from 24 February to 26 February 1844.

To JAMES TOOVEY[1] — not later than Sunday, 25 February 1844[2]

Text: MS BOr. VC/25/24[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I know of no one better, I am not sure that M[r]. Jewitt is well skill'd in figures though unrivalled as an engraver of gothic details.

[1] James Toovey (1813–93), publisher and bookseller, of 36 St James's Street and, from September 1844, at 192 Piccadilly, London. Correspondence from Toovey preserved in ML suggests that both Pugin and Toovey saw advantages in their acquaintance. On 9 April 1844 Toovey writes that Pugin talked to him 'yesterday' about binding books with metal corners and a cross; on 26 March 1845 he reports that when he saw Pugin the previous evening Pugin recommended him to use book ornaments with bosses; on 23

April 1845 he notes to Hardman, from whom he is by now a frequent purchaser, that 'M^r. Pugin mentions you are carving Crucifixes'. Toovey's clear drift is not merely commercial: in December 1845 he was received into the Catholic Church.

On the back end-paper [d] of his diary for 1845 Pugin notes under the name 'Toovy' the sum of two guineas for each of 'S^t Willibrord' and 'S^t Edward' against a date of 'Feb. 10'.

[2] Toovey's letter of 26 February states that he has heard from Pugin.

[3] The words printed as a letter here are quoted by Toovey in his letter to Newman of 26 February 1844; the context in which Pugin expresses this opinion is indicated in notes to Pugin's letter to Dalgairns written about 22 January 1844.

To JOHN HENRY NEWMAN[1] — En route, Friday, 1 March 1844

Text: MS BOr. VC/24/58[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Grand Juction Railway.[3] S^t Davids day

Rev^d & Dear Sir

M^r. Toovey has written to me for the illustration of S^t Richard. he wishes it so done as to be applicable to all kings (that is to all canonised kings)—but in a former Letter of yours you express a wish to have an illustration for the *familly* of S^t Richard. is there to be a separate illustration for each of those 3 saints or would you have them combined in one? please to let me know this as I mean to do these illustrations as soon as I return to London.[4]

I remain dear Sir with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The circumstances surrounding this letter about illustrations for *Lives of the English Saints* are described in notes to the letter Pugin probably writes to Dalgairns on 22 January 1844.

[2] The letter is written in pencil.

[3] According to his diary, Pugin travelled from Liverpool to Brewood and on to Alton on this day.

[4] Pugin returned to London on 5 March and remained there until Monday 18 March, according to his diary.

To CHARLES SCARISBRICK[1] — En route, Friday, 1 March 1844

Text: MS Lancashire RO DDSc 78/4 (15)[2] *Address*: C. Scarisbrick Esq^r / 11 Suffolk Street / Pall Mall / London *Postmark*: MR 3 1844 in Cheadle; 4 MR 4 1844

✠ Grand Junction Railway. Friday

My Dear Sir

I was at Scarisbrick yesterday. Buck was getting quite wrong with the roof.[3] I can assure you it is impossible to carry out such work without help. there are only 2 men

to the job & they of course can do nothing. 6 is the *least number* that ought to work at such a roof. it is quite disheartening to go & Look at it, there is reason in everything & 2 men cannot move the stuff about, in fact they are a dead loss for they get sleepy and indifferent over the work & do nothing. I would not give them a shilling a day for what they do. again such a roof should go on with some spirit, & I should go frequently & Look after the men. at present it is not worth putting you to the expense of my going over but if there were more people the whole thing would go. it is really heart breaking to have been working for years & nothing to shew anybody, not a single room finished & everything asleep. The work is twice as expensive, & it goes on so long that I possitively forget my own drawings. pray let us get on with a litle more spirit. put a sufficient lot of men on the Roof & let me go as often as necessary to look after it. it would be well worth your while to pay something to me to look after the work. I could have saved a great deal in the mistake of making the roof. At present I do not like to go because the work is carried on so irregularly & slow that I do not Wish to put you to the expense of my coming but if we went on with some spirit I would come often & things would be right. Things are very different with me than formerly. I have a great business & my time is very valuable, I cant Look after work for the mere cost of the drawings but I would put you to as litle expense as possible, but really in the way things are going on they are working badly for both sides for It is impossible to get such a great work executed as your hall without proper men & proper superintendance, Buck had no more idea of the meaning of the roof drawings than a child. I was driving at it for hours with him. there has not been so fine a roof Scince the old time & you cant expect to have it properly done without my constant attention. I have had the horrors to see the job go on so badly & 2 men *looking* at the work which would take 12 to go on properly— & 6 at the least.

pray take all these things in consideration & do put it in my power to get something creditable done. I have my heart & soul in the thing & I could fairly cry to see it go on so badly.

I remain dear Sir with great respect
your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Scarisbrick is first mentioned in Pugin's surviving correspondence in his letter to Rock of 1 December 1839.

[2] The letter is written in pencil, the address in ink. A transcription, with some variant readings and a different date, is printed in *Scarisbrick Hall: A Guide*, compiled by Rachel Hasted (Lancashire, 1987), pp. 20–1.

[3] Presumably the roof of the great hall. Perhaps the workman is John Buck, described in the census of 1841 as a 'Joiner', born in Lancashire, aged twenty-five, and living in Moss Lane with his wife Charlotte and their three children; in the census of 1851, Charlotte is listed as a widow.

To JOHN HARDMAN Alton Towers, Sunday, 3 March 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: MR 3 1844 in Cheadle; MR 3 1844 in Birmingham

✠ Alton Sunday.

you have never written to
his brass. he has been to
My Dear Hardman
what a dreadful
promise to send the
while I was here.
and yet the corona
chalice for M[r] Sher[2]
it get
Bre[3] 3
th

[1] The MS is torn so that only fragments of sentences remain. It is inscribed '1841–44 Box' and has been given the number 87 in the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO.

[2] The name is probably Sherburne; Pugin reminds Hardman about Sherburne's chalice in his letter of 22 November 1843.

[3] Probably Brewood.

To LORD SHREWSBURY En route, Tuesday, 5 March 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/16[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London & Birmingham railway. Tuesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have desired John Hardman to send off a rubbing of the late Earls brass but it does not look half so well as the real brass on acount of the different colours which are there introduced.[2] I am at a loss for the *Year* in which the earl died.[3] please to send it to M[r]. Hardman & the brass will be compleated. Last night was the comencement of the devotions of *the stations* which are hung round the church.[4] the procession chanting &[c] were quite glorious & the church crammed with people. it will be repeated every monday during Lent. I was at Mass at the Convent this morning.[5] the choir full of nuns—most devotional. how I wish your Lordsip would go about & see what is doing. it would do your heart good. really it is wonderful. S[t] Chads is doing its work famously. with the greatest respect

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The brass for Charles Talbot (b.1753), fifteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, uncle to Lord Shrewsbury, was placed in the cloister of St John's Hospital at Alton. The description in *Meara* states that 'red, black and blue mastic' (p. 124) was used to colour the brass; a rubbing of it, printed as a monochrome illustration on p. [123], shows the introduction of the motto of the Talbot family: Prest d'accomplir. The Hardman archive charts its execution: the cumulative invoice submitted by Heath on 29 March 1844 for work done up to Lady Day, 25 March, of that year includes a charge of £35. 5*s.* 4*d.* for this brass; MWDB charges Lord Shrewsbury £51. 7*s.* for 'A Monumental Brass' at 24 April 1844, with an additional sum of £9. 3*s.* for 'Letting into Slab'; William Cook's invoice for £1. 6*s.* for the packing case needed for its transport is dated 26 April; and the Metal sales ledger credits Pugin with £5 for the drawing at 26 July 1844.

[3] At the end of this sentence and above the line another hand, which *Wedgwood 1985* identifies as Lord Shrewsbury's, inscribes '*6 April 1827*', the date of the fifteenth earl's death.

[4] This sentence dispels the opacity of Pugin's entry in his diary for 4 March 1844: the reading there should be 'institution of the Stations'. The church is St Chad's.

[5] The Convent of Mercy at Handsworth.

To JOHN HENRY NEWMAN[1] London, Friday, 8 March 1844

Text: MS BOr. VC/24/60 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. S^{t} Felix

Rev^{d} & Dear Sir

I am truly glad that you are pleased with the design for S^{t} Richard. if you will Let me know what subject you would like in preference to the Right hand one I will introduce it. the king with the pillgrims is S^{t} Richard & his 2 sons starting on their pilgrimage. perhaps you are not aware of the great facility by which the *same wood block can be altered.* for instance after the life of S^{t} Richard was printed you might insert any other subjects in the same spaces. also you could change the names under the 3 Lower saints and merely print the 3 niches at bottom. [*Sketch: niches*] in fine with a litle alteration the same block might be made availible for many subjects. I mention this particularly as perhaps in this view of the case you might not wish the present design altered.

I remain dear sir
with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The context of this letter is given in the annotation to the letter Pugin writes to Dalgairns about 22 January 1844.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Saturday, 9 March 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/18 *Address*: Right Honble. / Lord Midleton / Peper Harrow / near Godalming / Surrey. *Postmark*: 9 MR 9 1844; MR 9 1844; MR 10 1844 in Godalming

✠ Chelsea. Saturday.

My Lord

I have returned from the North & shall be most happy to come down to Peper Harow any day next week that may be most convenient to your Lordsip.[1] I have got the estimates at Last from Ireland & it seems time something should be done or we shall have summer upon us again.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin returned from the north on 5 March but slipped off to Ramsgate on 6 March and 7 March; he next visited Peper Harow on 11 April, according to the evidence of his diary.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Sunday, 10 March 1844

Text: MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 10 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea feast of the 40 Martyrs.

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I have completed the working drawing for the gateway which I herewith send you & I am very happy to inform you that I find the whole expense of erecting it & in the most perfect maner including the demolition of the present gateway will not exceed £643—allowing the contractor the old stone for walling up with.[1] this will include making the hoard—scaffolding—everything—but of course my own comission & travelling expenses are independent of this sum.[2] I want to make this Little work as perfect as possible—& I shall be able to introduce a deal of beautiful detail about it. the carving must be exquisitly done—& I am very anxious to have an order or permission from the collge to get squezes of some of the ornaments on good Bishop wainfletes tomb at winchester & I must also get the contenance copied from the effiy as I wish to have everything most correct.[3]

As soon as I hear from you—I shall take immediate steps for starting the work in London as the whole of the detail will be worked up in London & all got ready for fixing so that the gate may be built during the long vacation.

I cannot tell what to do about this porters place.[4] it will Look miserable & destroy all the dignity of the design, is there no hope of getting this dispensed with & as for

cutting a doorway in the outer wall after reading Waynfletes statutes I should not like to take it on my concience.[5] it seems like breaking enclosure. I am sure the old men would not have done it.

I remain dear M^r^. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I wish you would let me have the inscription over the arch.[6] is it to be in latin or English? the president seemed to wish it as comemorative of the erection of the gate.
✠ This gate was builded in the year of Lord God one thousand eight hundred & forty four—Routh D D president

[1] It is on Friday 15 March 1844 that Pugin enters 'Sent off Oxford gateway for Magdalene [*sic*]' in his diary.

[2] Pugin's 'hoard', in the sense of 'hoarding', is a legitimate usage at the time and not yet obsolete.

[3] Waynflete's tomb, a chest with a recumbent effigy above, is in Winchester Cathedral.

[4] According to the typed transcript of the Acta held in the MCO archives, a resolution was passed on 1 February 1844 that 'Mr. Pugin be requested to consider whether it would be feasible to attach a small room for the Porter on the side of the gate'. MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 7, is Pugin's pencil sketch of what Bloxam in his inscription on it calls the 'appendage to the Porter's Lodge'. Pictures from the time show a very small structure, not the same as Pugin's 'appendage', tucked into the inner angle formed by the building fronting High Street and the wall running between the end of it and the gateway at right angles to the street.

[5] Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 8 May 1844 proves that this protest against a doorway to the street succeeded in keeping his 'concience' clear.

[6] In a photograph of the gateway preserved at MCO in a collection of 'Views of Old Oxford I', FA1 / 9 / 2P / 2, an inscription in this position is visible but not legible. In a letter to Pusey of 20 April 1844, which is kept at Pusey House, MS Pusey Letters 128, Bloxam recalls that Pugin 'suggested' an inscription in English 'for our new College Gateway, which was afterwards changed by us for a latin one'.

To DAWSON TURNER[1] London, Wednesday, 13 March 1844?[2]

Text: MS TCC DT o 14 36, fol. 132[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea 42 cheyne Walk.

Dear Sir

I feel exceedinly obliged to you for your kind comunication respecting the remains of antient painting in the parochial churches, a subject in which I take the *highest interest.* I shall be delgited to see your drawings; but you must let me know when you are likely to be in London, as I am so seldom at home.[4]

I am going to comence a small church at Lynn soon after Easter, & could then magane to come round by Yarmouth, if you thought it would Likely for me to find you at home.[5] singularly enough—there is a very simililar list of emblems to the one

you were kind enough to send me printed in my new Glossary of ecclestical ornamented, which is just publishing.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Dawson Turner (1775–1858), a noted antiquary and botanist, of Great Yarmouth, who published what the *DNB* calls 'sumptuous works' on architectural and botanical subjects. At the time of his death his library contained nearly eight thousand volumes.

[2] The MS is inscribed '13th March 1844' in Turner's hand.

[3] All the letters from Pugin to Turner are bound into one or another of the many volumes in which Turner's correspondence is gathered in chronological order. Each volume relevant to Pugin has a printed title-page: *Letters chiefly on literary and scientific subjects, addressed to Dawson Turner, during the year 184*; the figure for the respective year is then added by hand; in the case of the volume containing this letter it is '4'.

[4] The semi-colon and the comma look like the work of another hand.

[5] Plans were drawn a year earlier but construction of St Mary's in King's Lynn began only in 1844; in a letter to Hardman dated 'Feast of St. Patrick 1844', 17 March, and preserved in ML, Dalton states that he expects Pugin to begin the church 'after Easter', although it will be possible to 'erect only the "Nave" at present; & even to do this' Dalton will 'have to borrow'. The shortage of funds entailed a lowering of his sights: writing from King's Lynn in 'Passio D. N. J. C.', the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, a period running from 24 March to 6 April in 1844, in a letter which is preserved as number 32 in 'Hardman Correspondence', a file of materials that seem once to have formed part of Hardman's professional records, in BAA, Dalton informs Hardman: 'I have now about £400, & Pugin tells me he will build a nave & chancel for £661'. He is eager to have the work started; in a letter written on the feast of the 'Dolours of the B. V. M Anno Dm̄i 1844', 29 March, which is held in ML, he declares himself 'almost dying to see Mr. Pugin commence, for the mere sight of the present horrid place is enough to throw me into fits—or make him *spew*, as Mr. Pugin would say'.

When he left King's Lynn on 24 April, Pugin travelled to Great Yarmouth and, according to his diary, spent 25 April 'At Yarmouth with Mr. Dawson Turner' before resuming his journey the following morning.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Thursday, 14 March 1844?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I must send 4 plain Candlicks and a Tabernacle & cross to Brigg.[3] [*Sketch: candlestick*] we should have an iron tabernacle with a plain cross at top. the tabernacle painted &c. there is only £15 for the whole so do your best. it is is wretched place but I have made it a Little better. this will want imediate attention.

[1] The date is suggested by the entry for Brigg in MWDB and by correspondence in ML: on 3 April 1844 James Egan, the priest at Brigg, Lincolnshire, writes that the tabernacle and candlesticks, which he has been informed have been despatched from Birmingham, have not reached him; on 12 April he reports their arrival.

[2] The letter is inscribed '1841–44 Box'. In the microfilm of this collection of letters held in HLRO this letter has been assigned the number 83.

[3] MWDB enters to Pugin 'for Brigg' at 16 March 1844 a tabernacle and four candlesticks at a total cost of £15; boxes and packing add five shillings more; Hardman's Metal sales ledger enters a debit to Pugin for the sum of these two amounts on the same day. Pugin's diary for 1844 notes 'Candlesticks and tabernacle, Brigg 16. 0. 0' between pp. 24 and 25, where the calendar shows November.

To HENRY DRUMMOND London, mid-March 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/33 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I do not think the break is a serious objection. it will scarcely be noticed. I should think a foot behind the chimneys would be a sufficient space to prevent sound.

I had intended coming down this week to albury but as I have now seen your man I think I better defer my visit till after Easter when the work will be in full progress.[1] I think Brown fully understood everything. I purpose keeping the louvre of the kitchen in its present position as I want the corbel to rest on the pier. the difference of width will never be percieved. I hope that no setlement will be caused by using the old foundations in part of the walls. I have been asking Brown if the iron frames with the stained lights have arrived for lady Harriets boudoir &c. but he could not tell me. I shall be glad to know.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Good Friday fell on 5 April in 1844 and Pugin went down to Albury on 10 April. Drummond's 'man' was Anthony Browne.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Alton Towers, Wednesday, 20 March 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/57 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers.
Feast of S[t] Cuthbert.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

If it will save you any trouble I have no objection to take the contract myself althg it is the first time I ever did so & you will understand that I shall have to pay over the whole amount stated to the builder.[1] I am paid as an architect by comission that is £5 per cent. it will come to about 33 pounds to which you must add the necessary expenses for travelling when necessary to inspect its progress.

how can I possibly exectute such a work with any but my own builder.[2] see the carving & detail about it. it is a very difficult thing, althg a very small one & I want it to be perfection in its way. I never should get through it with any but men who I have schooled & you see the greater part has to be done in London under my own eye.

I purpose using Caen stone for all the dressings. I only intended having the walling work in small oxfordshire stone which would Look very well far better in my opinion than Bath. I am delighed at your inscription.[3] it is excellent. I only

mentioned the other in accordance with the wishes of the president but I shall be very glad indeed to alter it.[4] my reason for putting S[t] Swithin in a sitting position was to shorten the niche.[5] if you examine the space you will see it is necessary. I did not mean to put the pastoral staves in the right hand of the bishops.[6] it will not be so in the images. I purpose coming to you imedialy after Easter.[7] the Glossary will be out very soon. it has been entirely kept back by *Jewitt.* really he has used us very bad because he knew the urgency of the case & if he felt he could not have got through he should have said so. I am most anxious about it.

ever dear M[r] Bloxam
in haste with respect
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

please direct to me at *Alton.*[8]

[1] Pugin promises the contract for the gateway in 'a few days' in his letter to Bloxam of 26 March 1844.
[2] Myers built the gateway.
[3] It is not possible to decipher the words of the Latin inscription in contemporary illustrations of the gateway.
[4] Pugin mentions 'the other' inscription in his letter to Bloxam of 10 March 1844; the President of Magdalen College was M. J. Routh.
[5] St Swithin (d. 862) was an early bishop of Winchester; a quadrangle at the college is named after him. Routh seems from Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 5 July 1844 to have objected to Pugin's representation of him. No figure of St Swithin can be discerned in pictures of the executed gateway.
[6] Waynflete holds a staff in his left hand in contemporary illustrations of the gateway.
[7] Pugin's next visit to Oxford took place on Monday 15 April when he 'signed agreement Madalen [*sic*]', according to his diary. Easter Sunday fell on 7 April in 1844.
[8] Pugin's diary indicates that he stayed at Alton Towers from 20 March to 2 April 1844.

To LORD MIDLETON — Alton Towers, Wednesday, 20 March 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/11 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers. S[t] Cuthberts day 1844

My Lord

your Letter has been forwarded to me here & I Lose no time in repling to it.[1] I quite see the position your Lordsip is placed in & I must own that the objections are most just. I quite agree with your Lordsip that it will be impossible to errect very good & expensive farm houses on such small Farms. a Large Farm if there be such a thing would perhaps admit of one real good house & therefore I think it would be a pity to alter the present drawings.[2] I better make some as near Like them as I can on a reduced scale—I must keep the same quantity & size of windows or thereabouts as the iron sashes are all cast & ready for them—alth a few of these to spare would be no harm as they are of a size to come in anywhere. I have written by post to M[r].

Pierce to send me back the drawings & I must see what I can do towards reducing & cheapening them. I suppose if I could get them down about a third they would do—what does your Lordsip mean to do about the midleton buildings. I have all the iron sashes made for those buildings—both house & shops—& I shall want to know what better be done with them, as they should not get mixed with the others.[3] I hope by the time I see your Lordsip I shall have some satisfactory plans & estimates on a reduced scale which will answer. it is rather dificult for me to design & build such cheap & common buildings after alwayes aiming to make good things but I will do my best & try as your Lordsip says to get the coat according to the cloth—which seems to run very narrow at Ballysimon. I really thought it was a far more extensive farm.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin discusses work for Lord Midleton in Ireland.

[2] It is possible that these are the 'designs for the farm Houses & cottages' referred to in Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 30 June 1842, but his letter to the viscount of 20 June 1843 seems to suggest that it was only after this latter date that plans were drawn for farmhouses in Ireland.

[3] Pugin makes a note of 'Casements for Midleton Directed to M[r] Foley Packet offices Cork' on the front end-paper [a] of his diary for 1844, and a sum of £1. 2*s*. is entered against 'Iron[?] window for Ireland' in a list compiled between pp. 24 and 25 of the same volume.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Alton Towers, about Friday, 22 March 1844?[1]

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/2 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Sir

I saw Lord Shrewsbury yesterday evening & he desired me to design a paper for the ceiling of the bed room that could be pasted up at once instead of being composed of strips as we had arranged—you will therefore be so good as to get a block cut for it from the drawing I herewith send you.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] A contemporary hand endorses the MS 'M[r]. Pugin. 1844—March re *L[d] Shrewsbury*'. Pugin was Alton Towers from 1 March to 4 March 1844 and again from 20 March to the end of the month, not leaving till 2 April; assuming that the decision about wallpaper would be made on the spot, this letter may have been written at any time during those periods. Pugin's letter to Crace of 22 April 1844 is also concerned with papers for Alton.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Alton Towers, Tuesday, 26 March 1844

Text: MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 9 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene Collge / oxford *Postmark*: MR 26 1844 in Cheadle; MR 27 1844 in Oxford

✠ Alton Tuesday in Passion Week

Rev & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

In a few days I will forward you the form in which the contract should be worded & which can be signed when I come down after Easter—but in the mean time I wish you could send me the Drawing as I want to get the gates cut out & Seasoning.[1] I have got capital oak for them which has been down 2 years but still I should like to Get the framing out as soon as possible. I also want to have the images modelled without delay & the canopies. it is not a Large job but so full of detail that it will take time & therefore none should be lost. I am very sorry to see it noticed in the church & state gazette but it cannot have come from *me* as *I have not mentioned it about* & been very careful.[2] I inclose you a lithograph I have just made of the Cheadle spire 190 feet from the ground to the base of cross—which I trust will please you.[3] I am still at Alton—

& remain ever with respect
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 11, is Pugin's draft of a contract.

Agreement for the erection of a gateway Leading from the high street to the outer court of the college of S[t] Mary Magdalene oxford between —— & Augustus Welby Pugin architect of London.

The aforesaid A W P. (his executors &[c]) hereby agrees to errect a gateway situated as aforesaid according to the drawing & specification hereunto annexed ‡—and to cause all the work therein mentioned to be duly & faithfuly performed in a workmanlike & substantial manner—& to compleat the same with all the imagery & entail, stone work, timber work, & iron work on or before the next coming feast of Allsaints 1844—and on consideration of the above work the aforesaid A W P. is to receive the sum of —— (insert the sum according to estimate) to be paid after the folling maner (here insert the payments as I have written them on the specification)

and for the superintending of the above work he shall receive the further sum of £5 per cent on the estimate and such expenses for journeys as he may from time to time incur in superintending the erection of the aforesaid gateway

and if the aforesaid gateway be not duly compleated by the forthcoming feast of All Saints owing to the neglect of the aforesaid A W P. and not from unavoidable cause, or let or Hindrance then he shall forfeit the sum of five pounds for every week over & above the time specified untill the same be duly compleated.

‡ The specification should be copied from the one I have sent at the end of the contract—& when I come down I will mark on the parchment an Elevation & plan of the same (The words *according* to *the satisfaction of the master of* the *work* must of course be omitted—as I shall make the contract.)

The specification is preserved as MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 12.

✠ Specification of work to be done in the errection of a new gateway to the college of S[t] Mary Magdalene Oxford. 1844.

1 Pull down present gateway to ground. 2 excavate additional foundations for inner buttresses to a sufficient depth—& fill up the same with Concrete to within one foot of ground level, The concrete to be composed of six parts gravel to one of lime properly mixed & pitched in from a height of six feet above the level of ground.

The whole of the weatherings base mould strings niches arches panels &c to be worked in Caen stone. the face of the walling to be of small squared oxfordshire stone—after the maner of the antient walling and the internal part of walls to built of the stone at present in the old gateway as far as it will go & the rest to be of the same quality supplied by the contractor.

The whole of the images spandrils & panels to be fairly & artificially wrought according to the various devices & models to be furnished by A Welby Pugin the master of the work.

a pair of Riga oak gates to be prepared & hung in the arch & to be provided with a small wicket entrance in the same. the gates to be put together in two thicknesses of framing bolted with wrought iron bolts. at at every bolt a lily in flat iron. the great strap hinges & the hooks—on which they hang to be the best wrought iron & painted 3 coats in oil. a great wrought iron bar hung on a center to fasten both gates with—also a wrought iron wicket of cunning design in the sinister gate & a lock to the same with 2 keys. 2 strong bolts to the lower part of gate stiles & a fixing in the ground for the same.

and the contracter is required to exectute the whole of the above work in a good sound & substantial manner to the entire satisfaction of A Welby Pugin the master of the work—& to find all materials (excepting the old stone of gateway) & all workmanship & to provide all scaffolding ropes tackles centering & all maner of things necessary for the due performance of the said work.

✠ AWelby Pugin
Master of the work

The 'wicket entrance' is visible in the right door, looking from the outside, in an old photograph of the gateway.

On the same sheet and still in Pugin's hand is MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 13:

List of Payments to be made to the contracter during the progress & at the compleation of the gatewy on the production of certificates from the master of the work.

During the progress of the work in London in preparing the niches & fine work &c.	200. 0. 0
when the work is carried up to the top of string over gateway	200. 0. 0
when the gateway is built	100. 0. 0
when the gates are hung & the work compleated	143. 0. 0
	£643. 0. 0

A signed drawing, dated 1844, for the wooden gates for this commission is held in the MFT deposit.

[2] In the *Church & State Gazette*, 3 (22 March 1844): 180, Pugin read a very short item under the heading of 'Improvements at Magdalen College, Oxford': 'Mr. Pugin, the *Popish-converted* architect, has, we are informed, supplied a design for the gateway at Magdalen College, which will be commenced shortly. [Is this true?]'.

[3] Pugin's letter to Rock of the same date also mentions the lithograph of the spire of St Giles's, Cheadle.

To DANIEL ROCK — Alton Towers, Tuesday, 26 March 1844

Text: MS SAA T-R 179 *Address*: Rev^{d} D^{r}. Rock / Buckland / near Farringdon. / Berks. *Postmark*: MR 26 in Cheadle; 27 MR 27 1844; Farringdon

✠ Alton Tuesday in Passion Week

Revd & Dear Dr Rock

I cannot Let a post escape without Letting you know how delighed I am at your new book on the Irish church.[1] it will do immense good & difuse sound information on a most important subject that is but litte understood. I really expect great results from it. the sooner the 2d part is out the better. I inclose you a Lithograph of the cheadle spire which I think you will Like very much. it will be 190 feet high.

ever with respect
in haste yours most truly
AWelby Pugin

[1] Rock brought out in 1844 a substantial pamphlet entitled *Did the Early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy? Answered, in a Letter to Lord John Manners*; it was published in London by Dolman. Manners is addressed because of his speech in a Commons debate on the Irish Arms bill in June 1843; Rock's letter to him is dated from Buckland on Ash Wednesday, 21 February 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Alton Towers, Wednesday, 27 March 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/3 *Address*: Mr John Crace / Wigmore street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: MR 27 1844 in Cheadle; 28 MR 28 1844

✠ Alton. Wednesday

Dear Sir

I should recomend the canopies to be *hatched* with black lines on the gold as you may have seen in some old German works, but I would not have any positive shadow as the panel represents Richard the 2d. the arms should *all be the same.*[1] [*Sketch: hatching*] I will send up the 2 images in the niches tomorow with the coleurs marked.

I shall not be in London till Easter Monday.[2]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] *Wedgwood 1985* describes the drawing with which this letter is concerned; it shows half of a 'decorative quatrefoil' (p. 175) for Alton Towers, 'perhaps for the chapel'. It is not clear where Pugin intends this first sentence to end.

[2] Pugin returned to London on Saturday 6 April; Easter Monday was 8 April.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Thursday, 28 March 1844

Text: MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 8 *Address*: Rev J. Bloxam. / St Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: MR 28 1844 in Cheadle; MR 29 1844 in Oxford

✠ Alton—Thursday in Passion Week

Rev & Dear Mr. Bloxam

I inclose you a draft of—an agrement for the Gateway which will be quite sufficient.[1] your Lawyer will put it in good technical style—& sufficient space should be left on the parchment—for the drawing of the gate, say 6 inches square.[2] there is really no time to lose—for spring is rapidly advancing. I have therefore sent off the drawing to Myers to get out the moulds—& it will be a good thing to say to any restless spirits that the work is in hand—for nearly the whole must be prepared in London. having said their say I should think the penny a liners will leave off. it is very singular how all these things are known. however I think the beauty of the work will silence all grumblers. I will imedialy put the Ruby window in hand.[3] ever dear Mr. Bloxam

in haste with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

perhaps as my hand is rather obscure you will be good enough to copy out the draft I have sent you—for your Lawyer.

[1] The draft which Pugin foreshadows in his letter to Bloxam of 26 March.

[2] The lawyer was M. H. Bloxam. MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 20, is M. H. Bloxam's account to his brother J. R. Bloxam for receiving instructions and 'perusing same' on 30 March, seeking further information from J. R. Bloxam, drawing up the contract on 4 April, having it engrossed on 6 April, and sent to Oxford, and for 'Attending on Mr Pugin & yourself on your executing the agreement & attesting same'; the cost of the last item is six shillings and eightpence, and the total sum charged is £4. 0*s.* 7*d.* His receipt for payment of this amount from J. R. Bloxam on 2 April 1845 is MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 19. The formal agreement between Pugin and J. R. Bloxam, dated 15 April 1844, and witnessed by 'Matt: H: Bloxam' is MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 14; an ink drawing of the gateway as seen from the street and a section through the wall, which is signed by Pugin with his initials in monogram, is added in the space which he goes on in this letter to ask to have left for it.

In the word 'technical' in Pugin's sentence, the letter 'h' may have been added by another hand.

[3] Other correspondence makes it clear that this is a window to be identified not by any colour but by its destination: the chapel of Rugby School. The middle light of three, it depicts 'Christ blessing a child, and signing him on the forehead' (3rd ed., 1923, p. 20), according to H. T. Rhoades, *A Handbook to Rugby School Chapel* (Rugby, 1913). The glass was made by Wailes; Pugin's diary for 1845 notes 'Wailes Oct. 18 Rugby window. 1. 0. 0' on the back end-paper [e]. Rhoades states that the window was 'given by Mr. Bloxam' and the context indicates M. H. Bloxam. The gift is thought to commemorate Bloxam's father, Richard Rouse Bloxam (*c.*1765–1840), who was assistant master at the school for thirty-eight years. Originally installed in the old chapel designed by Henry Hakewill (1771–1830), the glass was transferred to the new chapel begun to William Butterfield's design about 1870 and placed in the west wall of the north transept, but the light appears then to have been lengthened to fit the dimensions of the new window.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Alton Towers, Friday, 29 March 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/47 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Friday
in passion Week

Revd & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I have drawn out the Rugby window & put it in hand but the size given is not sufficiently accurate to work by. will you have a brown paper templet cut the size & shape of the tracery & the exact space of the opening from jamb to jamb & from spring to syl. this better be sent at once to

M^r^. Wailes
Westgate.
Newcastle on Tyne. [*Sketch: dimensions required for window*]

I remain with respect
ever your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin
Turn over

Since writing the above I have got your note. I inclose a drawing of the arms over gate. I will attend to the Lodge but it can never be a good job.[1] you may safely say the work is comenced for so it is & Myers is not a man to Let grass grow under him. the whole of the moulds are ready and the stone got from France.

when up I am sure it will silence all objectors.

[1] The lodge for the porter at Magdalen College.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Alton Towers, Saturday, 30 March 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/58 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers. Saturday.

Dear Sir

I hope you will not use Copper for covering the chantry. it is a vile materials for colour—& becomes quite green. be assured there is nothing so good as Lead—& in my opinion cheapest in the end. I purpose coming to albury very soon after Easter.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have just recd yours respecting the lights—the mistake about the arms is most anning.[1] the pains I take to keep these people right is incredible & yet they will blunder. I will get them rectified imedialy—I am sure there must be some mistake about the iron work for as I drew it out no infant could have got through. as I shall

be with you so soon you better Let them remain till I arrive and I will then see about them. I understood Lady Harriet that she wished them to extend both to study & boudoir. if the smith has not worked to my drawing he shall make them right at his own expense. being at alton I could not reply sooner about the copper. had your Letter been directed here I should have got it sooner—we have no post from here on Saturday.

[1] Presumably the word was meant to be 'annoying'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Alton Towers, Monday, 1 April 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Monday

My Dear Hardman

I expect to be at Birmingham in time for Tenebrae on *Wednesday*.[2] I shall go direct to the church.[3] remind me about a book for registers at Alton When I come.[4]

ever your devoted friend
in haste
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1841–44 Box'. In the microfilm of the BCA set of letters held in HLRO this letter has the number 82.

[2] Tenebrae refers to services on the last three days of Holy Week; the Latin name means 'darkness' and probably derives from the ancient ceremony of extinguishing the lights in the church as the service proceeds. Pugin's diary shows that he arrived in Birmingham on Thursday 4 April.

[3] The 'church' is St Chad's.

[4] MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury at 25 May 1844 '2 Registers bound in Vellum with Brass Ornaments' at a cost of £6.

To RICHARD WILSON FITZPATRICK — Birmingham, Thursday, 4 April 1844

Text: MS NLI 13,751 (15) *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Birmingham. Maundy Thursday.

Dear Sir

I have just arrived at Birmingham & Lose no time in repling to you but I could not do so before with any certainty—I am quite convinced that the hearse will not be not completed for at Least *2 months* for it requires frequent attention on my part & I see they will be obliged sometimes to wait for me.[1] it is a much more difficult thing

to do *than a church* and were it not for the Love & anxiety I feel for the revival of these things I would never engage in them for you have no idea of the difficulty of getting metal work properly done—I drew out the herse most carefully and now I am obiged to cut out several details myself—to shew them. I am sure it will not be ready for fixing before 2 months & perhaps more. the expense of the man for fixing will be about 7^{s} a day & his travelling expenses.

I remain dear sir
in haste
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] It was much longer than two months before the hearse was ready. MWDB enters to 'Fitzpatrick' at 11 September 1844 'A Brass Herse from drawings from M^{r} Pugin as per Contract' at a charge of £50; with £1. 10*s*. for 'Packing & Cases', £6. 15*s*. for 'Carriage & expense of conveying to Grafton including travelling expenses, of two men time & labour of putting up in the Church', and £5 for 'M^{r} Pugin for drawings', the total account reaches £63. 5*s*. The Metal sales ledger debits this amount to Fitzpatrick at the same date and notes its payment on 25 October 1844; at 21 October 1844 the ledger credits Pugin £5 for the drawings of the hearse.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Tuesday, 9 April 1844[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/71 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Easter Tuesday.

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I purpose coming down on Monday next to sign.[2] will that suit you? please to drop me a line. all the moulds are now ready the timber for the Gates sawed out and the work will progress rapidly.

I remain with great respect
in haste
your most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Benjamin Webb's diary discloses how Pugin spent some of this day, since he notes that he met 'M^{r} & M^{rs} Pugin' (fol. 56r) when he 'Dined at Brompton with Burton'; Rowlatt was also present. Perhaps Pugin's impending travel was not much talked about on this occasion, for on 20 April, when Pugin was journeying from Liverpool to Birmingham, Webb went 'To Pugin's' (fol. 56v) and found himself 'seeing his children Edward, Anne & Agnes'.

[2] Pugin's diary records that he 'signed agreement Madalen [*sic*]' on Monday 15 April 1844.

To JOHN or STUART KNILL?[1] — London, Tuesday, 9 April 1844[2]

Text: MS SAA K Pugin 2 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea Easter Tuesday.

Dear Sir

The cost of a font depends entirely on the quantity of work about it. I should say one for S[t] Georges with the steps would be worth £50 to do it as it ought to be done & that without a cover. I shall be at home tomorow Wednesday till 12 oclock & shall be most happy to see you.

yours truly in haste
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Stuart Knill (1824–98), who held the office of Lord Mayor of London from 1892 to 1893 and was created a baronet in the latter year, followed his father, John (1780–1854), as a wharfinger of Fresh Wharf, London; the family home was Walworth House in Surrey. John Knill was received into the Catholic Church by Griffiths in 1842 and Stuart Knill became a Catholic in 1844; either man could be the recipient of this letter. The address of 'Knill' at '20 addington Place Camberwell' is jotted on the front end-paper [a] of Pugin's diary for 1844, and between pp. 24 and 25, which fall at November in the sequence, Pugin notes 'Font St. G. [£]6. 0. 0'. *Powell* recalls Stuart Knill's visits to The Grange in the years before Pugin married his cousin Jane Knill: 'Mr. Stuart Knill came often; he was much younger than Pugin and "was all right" meaning a fervent Goth. He had lived in Cologne and was a mine of German legends, and Christian thought' (p. 192). Stuart Knill is a regular customer of Hardman for small items of metalwork.

[2] The MS is endorsed in what appears to be a contemporary hand: 'Pugin April. 1844 Cost of a Font.'

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ramsgate, Friday, 12 April 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/2 *Address*: H. Drummond Esq[r] / Albury House / near Guildford / Surrey. *Postmark*: AP 12 1844 in Ramsgate; 13 AP 13 1844; AP 13 1844 in Guildford

✠ April 12. 1844

My Dear Sir

I enclose you the bill & receipt for your Iron Casements. if you will be good enough to order the amount to be paid into my account at the Western Branch of the London Joint stock Bank Pall Mall it will save any trouble. I also inclose you a sketch for the sort of flower pots that I think would answer for your garden.[1] I would have them executed in coloured ware & Then they would produce a very rich effect.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin indicates his readiness to design flower-pots for Drummond in his letter of 13 January 1844; perhaps Drummond jogged his memory about them while Pugin was at Albury on 10 April and 11 April.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Northampton, Monday, 22 April 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/4[1] *Address*: Mr. John Crace / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: AP 22 1844 in Northampton; 23 AP 23 1844

✠ Northampton Monday

Dear Sir

I expect to be in London by the end of this week & purpose calling on you on Monday morning if you will Let me know if you can be in the way & at what time.[2] I want to Settle with you about the papers for Alton. send me a line to Chelsea.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.
[2] Pugin returned to London on Saturday 27 April.

To DAWSON TURNER — Monday, 22 April 1844?[1]

Text: MS TCC DT o 14 36, fol. 187 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠

My Dear Sir

I expect to be at yarmouth on Wednesday or Thursday next and will certainly do myself the pleasure of calling upon you.[2] I expect to be at Lynn on Tuesday next in the evening but I could not think of bringing you over to meet me there. I will take my chance of finding you at Yarmouth.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed 'London 22 Apr. *1844*.' in Turner's hand but Pugin's diary records 'Coventry, Northampton, H. Ferrers, Oundle, Peterborough' on that day. He had left London on 15 April. Pugin fails to write either place or day after the cross with which he heads his letter.
[2] Pugin reached Lynn on Tuesday 23 April and Yarmouth on Wednesday 24 April, according to the evidence of his diary.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Yarmouth, Thursday, 25 April 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/22 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ yarmouth. Thursday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I write a line to say that I am half frantic with delight. I have seen churches with *the painting & gilding nearly perfect*!!!! Such screens. exquisite painting. I shall have glorious authorities for Cheadle. I am deligted beyond measure to have seen these before we begin the decoration there—they are far beyond anything I thought we had in england.

with great respect I remain
dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Saturday, 27 April 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/58 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Saturday.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just returned to town & have only time to save the post & let you know that the £200 has been paid into my bankers.[1] respecting the small church it will hold 120 in the nave & the chancel is Large & will admit of about 20 sitting stall wise between the arch & the sanctuary.[2]

If we begin before S[t] J. Baptists day we shall get well covered in before winter.[3]

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam with respect
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's diary shows that he returned to London on 27 April after an absence of nearly a fortnight. Bloxam endorses 'acknowledgement of the first 200 from Mr Pugin' on this MS; on the verso of MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 21, an account from Myers to 'Rev[d] J. R. Bloxham', Pugin jots:

April 22	200
August 8	100
Sep 18	200.

These are the dates and amounts of payment for the gateway; the account is dated only 1844, without month or day.

[2] According to T. S. R. Boase, 'An Oxford college and the Gothic Revival', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 18 (1955): 145–88, Bloxam had for some years interested himself in providing a place of worship for Tubney, a small parish in Berkshire about ten miles south-west of Oxford and a living of Magdalen College, described as a 'Sinecure' in the *Clergy List* for 1844. He kept a copious record of progress towards the accomplishment of his desire. MS MCO 743/1-2 is a letter from Richard Bagot (1782–1854), Bishop of Oxford, written on 15 August 1843 to cover a petition from the parishioners of Tubney for a church, Tubney lying in the diocese of Oxford. Bagot's letter of 30 January 1844 from Blithfield, MS MCO 743/7-8, describes the failure to provide a church as a 'blot' on the reputation of the college, since it owns all the land in the parish. The transcript of the Acta records that on 1

February 1844 the governing body resolved 'That a convenient site for a new Church to be built at *Tubney* be given by the College, and £200 (as by former Order) towards building the same'.

Perhaps during his visit to Oxford on 15 April and 16 April, Bloxam asked Pugin for a design for the new church. What Pugin sent pleased him greatly. Writing to Pusey on 20 April 1844, in a letter preserved at Pusey House, MS Pusey Letters 128, Bloxam reports that he was yesterday 'engaged all day at Tubney in looking out for a site for the New Chapel, which D. V. I hope to accomplish the building of in my Bursarial year. Pugin has made a beautiful design for it—in fact a perfect model of a little Hamlet church—which He undertakes to build for £600.'

Besides drawings alluded to elsewhere in Pugin's correspondence, the MCO deposit contains various sketches by Pugin. MS MCO 743/111 is a pencil sketch of the church inscribed 'Pugin's first thought for Tubney Church'; MS MCO 743/112 is another pencil sketch inscribed by Bloxam 'Pugin's original design for Tubney Church'; this is reproduced as Figure 6. Designs for furnishings, the altar and the piscina for 'Tubney church Oxford' are catalogued in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 84, and the MFT collection contains drawings for the altar and a gate.

On 1 July 1844 Myers, in MS MCO 743/85, agrees to build the 'Pretty little Church' according to Pugin's plans 'in a good & Workmanlike Maner' for a sum of £585; 'this Price includes the Pulpit & Plain altar flooring Plastering glazing—Staining &c'. On 11 January 1845 he sends from London, in MS MCO 743/88, prices for a lich-gate, £37. 10*s*., a boundary wall, fourteen shillings a yard, a font, £20, and tiles for part of the chancel, £12. He asks for payment of £200 on account on 6 February 1845, in MS MCO 743/89, and on 12 February, in MS MCO 743/90, acknowledges payment of £100. On 17 July 1845 he asks for another £100, in MS MCO 743/91, and later in July acknowledges receipt of it, in MS MCO 743/93. The lich-gate being eventually decided against, the font and the tiles for the chancel appear as extras when Myers renders his account of £585 on 22 July 1845, MS MCO 743/92; with architect's commission of £30, and £2 for stone at the back of the altar, the total bill reaches £649. On 29 September 1845, in MS MCO 743/94, Myers asks again for money, and on 14 October he acknowledges payment of £85, in MS MCO 743/96. The transcript of the Acta notes a resolution on 6 November 1845 that 'the Sum of £100 be allowed for the completion of the church at *Tubney*'.

Figure 6 'Pugin's original design for Tubney church', made for J. R. Bloxam

The two bells for the church were cast by Charles and George Mears of Whitechapel, London, in March 1845; their receipt for £21. 14*s.* 4*d.* is dated 4 December 1845 and preserved as MS MCO 743/101. Bloxam notes his inscriptions for the bells, in MS MCO 743/23: 'vox mea vox vita. voco vos ad sacra. veniti' and 'Agnus sancti Dei duc ad loca nos requiri'; the Latin, not quite immaculate, can be translated as 'my life is my voice' or 'my life is in my voice. I call you to the services. Come', and ' Lamb of the holy God lead us to the places of rest'; the form 'requiri' makes no sense in the context, and it is suggested that Bloxam was looking for the word 'requietis'. His inscription for the font, also MS MCO 743/23, to which a donation of £15 from Queen Adelaide was put, is 'Memento Adelaida Regina Dotariæ quæ benevola erga parvulos christi hoc Baptisterium consecrari voluit.—A. D. MDCCCXLV'; 'Remember Adelaide the Queen who wished in her benevolence to consecrate this font for the children of Christ'. This rendering of the Latin omits the word 'Dotariæ': Bloxam may have been looking for the medieval form 'dotarix', 'donor'; perhaps there is an element of confusion with the classical 'dotalis', meaning dotal, with a reference therefore to Dowager; the grammar is faulty, for the imperative should be followed by the accusative case. In a letter of September 1844 to Bloxam, MS MCO 743/110, Routh offers to polish the Latin of the inscription for the font.

The foundation-stone of the church of St Lawrence at Tubney, set in the middle of the east wall of the chancel, was laid by Bloxam on 22 July 1844, the feast day of St Mary Madgalen; Pugin was not present. Under the heading 'New church at Tubney', *Oxford University, City, and County Herald*, 39 (27 July 1844): 3, a report of the laying of the foundation-stone includes some description of the plan furnished by 'a celebrated architect' who is not named. St Lawrence's, Tubney, is also one of several churches described in 'New churches', *Ecclesiologist*, 5 (February 1846): 78–82. The church was consecrated on 11 February 1847 by Samuel Wilberforce (1805–73), appointed Bishop of Oxford in 1845 in succession to Bagot; in 1952 it was declared redundant, but the threat of demolition was stayed, perhaps because the little church of St Lawrence at Tubney is the only example of an Anglican church completely designed by Pugin. Perhaps it was because Bloxam's mother's maiden name was Lawrence that the church was given this designation.

[3] The feast day of St John the Baptist is 24 June.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Sunday, 28 April 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/162 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dom III. post Pasch.[1]

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

The designs will be with you DV on Wednesday morning—I will send an estimate as near as I can—but I could Not bind myself to a £100.[2] I will write at length with the plans.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] Dominica tertia post Pascha: the Latin date from the ecclesiastical calendar, meaning the third Sunday after Easter.

[2] The designs, presumably, for the church at Tubney.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Tuesday, 30 April 1844?[1]

Text: MS MCO 743/84[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I herewith send you a sketch of your small church.[3] I have set it out on a working scale & gone over it most carefully with Myers & I find it will cost with the greatest ecconomy £596 including a plain stone pulpit & altar. I first drew it out with a tower but it then cost £645 so I have altered it into a belfry. I have supposed the floor of church chancel & porch to be laid with plain tiles—you will perceive I have a good chancel & a vestry with a fire place, you will have to take the usual comission into consideration but there will not be any travelling expenses as I shall make the journeys to the college gateway answer both ends. if you approve of the plan the sooner we start the better so as to get the roof on early. I can send you the working drawing by the beginging of next week. I need not say that you may rely on this estimate which is caculated for a *level scite* so in selecting the situation bear in Mind to get a nearly flat piece of ground.

you will have afterwards to build a boundary wall round the churchyard and make a drain round the church but these will be trifling matters & can be done by any country mason. I have this day returned in a parcel all the books you were kind enough to Lend me.

I remain with respect
your devoted & faithf sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

a pair of plain candlesticks for your room table will come in the box with the books.[4]

[1] The references late in this letter to a parcel containing candlesticks suggest that it was written in Birmingham, where Pugin stopped on 20 April and 21 April, but it is assumed that it was in London, to which he returned only on 27 April, that Pugin consulted Myers; furthermore, the letter of 28 April promises that designs and an estimate will reach Bloxam 'on Wednesday morning'.

[2] The letter is written in pencil, except for the postscript which is written in ink.

[3] The sketch sent may perhaps be the ground-plan, MS MCO 743/118, showing a nave measuring 41 feet by 18 feet, a chancel 20 feet by 10, a vestry with fireplace, and an altar; there is also an elevation showing the belfry.

[4] A pair of iron candlesticks costing £1. 6*s*. is entered in MWDB at 23 April 1844; Pugin's wording may suggest that he is making a gift but the charge is made to Bloxam; apparently the matter was mentioned while Pugin was in Oxford on 15 April and put in hand when he reached Birmingham on 20 April. In a letter to Hardman dated 22 April 1844 and preserved in ML, Bloxam writes: 'If M^r^ Pugin has selected a pair of simple domestic Candlesticks for me, which I begged him to order, I should like to have them sent at any convenient opportunity.'

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Monday, 6 May 1844

Text: MS PC Franklin [41] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London feast of S[t] John before the Lateran gate

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have roses on paper for the ceiling of dressing room which will look exceedinly well. the moulded ribs will form a sort of panelling. [*Sketch: rectangle divided into sections, one inscribed 'skylight'*] Crace will soon have the papers down. I purpose Leaving here on Monday for Paris so as to reach Alton by the end of this month.[1] I inclose a small drawing on vellum of a cloister & cemetery by Moonlight which I hope your Lordship will use as a bookmark. I remember your being much pleased with a small one I did for the Derby reprints & I then promised to draw one for your Lordsip at the first opportunity.[2]

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert[3]

[1] Pugin sailed from London for Ramsgate on Monday 13 May, before crossing to France on 14 May. He returned to London on 29 May but did not reach Alton until 14 June. It was about this visit to Paris that Didron wrote to Pugin.

[2] The Derby Reprints were a series of cheap editions of standard Catholic works of devotion: see *Belcher 1987*, B4–B19, B21, and B23. Instigated by Thomas Sing, the priest of the church of St Mary which Pugin designed in Derby, the volumes were published by Thomas Richardson and Son of Derby from 1842 onwards, and contained, variously, frontispieces, title-pages, and ornaments designed by Pugin. In August 1844 Wiseman, speaking publicly at the time of the consecration of St Barnabas's, claimed that sales of the different titles had already exceeded one and a half million, according to the report of his speech in 'Catholic intelligence. Nottingham', *Tablet*, 5 (14 September 1844): 579–80.

[3] The signature has been cut out of the sheet.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Wednesday, 8 May 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/32 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London apparition of S Michael the archangel.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am quite delighed that we have got off with the side doorway.[1] I am getting on with my details for the gateway & shall be all ready for the time you mention—I am in great difficully about your Litle church. when I read the instructions of the society I could see that I could never get through.[2] they require detailed estimates of everything—& finished drawings of every part. now this is quite impossible for me to accomplish—it is very well for young architects who have Litte or nothing to do but I who bear nearly the whole weight of the *revival* on my shoulders & can harldly get on working 18 hours a day and without clerk or assistant if I had to get out my drawings in this maner should not be able to accomplish one 10[th]. part. that is the reason I employ myers—who takes a deal of this minutiæ off my shoulders. I should have made the whole of the drawings on a sheet of Cartridge paper—& myers would have made all the moulds for the windows &[c] at once in zinc & we should have got through. what am I to do? I really cannot make out all those detail drawings to the

scale they require. if this is indispensable I shall be most happy to *give* you my design & then you put it into somebodys hands who has Leisure to go through the required formulœ. pray Let me hear from you by *return of post*—if possible & then I should get the Letter early on Friday Morning. I remain ever dear M^r^. Bloxam

yours most sincerely & devotedly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The typed transcript of the Acta in the MCO archive records that the governing body of the college resolved on 3 May 1844 'That Mr. Pujin [*sic*] be requested to form a doorway in the wall close to the *Porter's Lodge*'. An old photograph shows a small door in the wall between the gateway and the street. MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 21, is Myers's account to Bloxam for 'rebuilding side walls of Gateway a new Porch door &^c^' for a sum of £267. 17*s*. 3*d*., and MS no. 15 in the same deposit is his receipt for 'the porters gate side walls &^c^', dated 1 March 1845. Pugin signs the account and adds the architect's commission of £13, on what he elsewhere calls 'the porters entrance', and travelling expenses for 'gateway & alterations' of £30; MS no. 18 is his receipt for this sum of £43, also dated 1 March 1845.

[2] Pugin's reference is to the national Incorporated Church Building Society, founded in 1818, which took an important part in furthering the construction of Anglican churches in England. In considering applications for subvention, the I. C. B. S. required, among other information, plans, elevations, longitudinal and transverse sections, drawings showing, for example, the construction of the roof to a scale of half an inch to a foot, 'A detailed specification of the works, stating all dimensions', and 'A detailed estimate of the expense'. When the Berkshire Archidiaconal Church Building Committee was approached for funds by Henry J. Hoskins (1809?–76), curate of the parish of Appleton, which was one benefice with Tubney, its offer of £100, relayed in a letter of 14 February 1844, MS MCO 743/57, was made conditional upon a sight of the plans before work was begun; it would be satisfied by such information as the I. C. B. S. required. Further letters of 27 April 1844, MS MCO 743/59, and 18 May 1844, MS MCO 743/61, continue to insist on inspecting the plans or working drawings. It seems that Bloxam did not apply to the national body, although he was sometimes urged to do so.

To HENRY or JAMES MOON? — London, Thursday, 9 May 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1⑧1 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Chelsea May. 9^th^ 1844

Sir

I have no objection to your employing elm piles instead of oak as I think they will be sufficiently durable for the required purpose.[2]

I remain yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed with various pencil calculations, not in Pugin's hand, concerning 'Coping in Pulborough', '*Bridge over the Brook*', and costs of Headly and Pitfold stone.

[2] The elm piles are for the bridge at Oxenford to be built by Moons; MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2⑯ is their estimate, 'using Elm piles instead of Oak', dated 11 May 1844, and their account, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2⑳, dated simply 1844, is for £342. 5*s*. The same account, 'examined' and signed by Pugin, charges for their alterations to the farmhouse at Oxenford, which totalled £244. 13*s*. They submitted an estimate, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2③, on 18 July 1844 for rebuilding the end of the house and the chimneys at a cost of £264. 13*s*., and a more detailed estimate for this and other work on 3 August 1844, MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/2④. Pugin's undated specification for altering the farmhouse, on which their July estimate is based, is MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1⑩.

✠ Specification of work to be done in the alteration of a house adjoining the farm buildings at oxenford.

Pull down the whole of gable towards park—and rebuild the same with bargate stone. quoins and dressings according to drawings to be worked of stone from Bonfield quary as far as it will go, and the rest of Headly stone.

Pull down both chimey stacks to below tiling & rebuild the same according to drawings of Headly stone.

Pull down present wall & rebuild the same of bargate stone according to drawings and by double returns to join the inner angle of ruins—oak door wrght strap hinges lock & Latch to the same. wght iron handle.

glaze windows of new gable with strong quary glass. 2 wrght iron casements to lower window and one to upper. $1\frac{1}{4}$ deal batten shutters to lower window. crest tiles On ridge of roof—provide lead gutter behind small chimy.

The contracter to find all ropes scaffolding, and all things necessary for the above work all Labour & materials except such stone as shall be supplied from Lord Midletons quarry—which shall be deducted from the estimated amount at the same price as the other stone for dressings—or Bargate stone which shall be allowed for as before—the whole of the above work to be executed in a substantial & workman-like manner to the satifaction of the master of the work.

✠ AWelby Pugin

The word 'Headly' has been cancelled in both cases and another hand pencils 'Pulborough' above it on each occasion.

To JOHN HARDMAN

London, Friday, 10 May 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

M[r]. Phillips wants a canopy for Corpus Christi precisely the same as the one at S[t] Chads.[2] you may get M[rs] Powell to make it either of *white* or *Red* IHS silk according as either may be the rediest to procure. see that the bells be well secured to the staves. those at S[t] Chads come off easily. you may certainly I think send your account to Lord Shrewsbury.[3]

I expect to be with you at Birminham imedially after Whitsunday.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

be sure M[r] Phillipps has his canopy in time.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1841–44 Box'; in the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO this letter has been given the number 88.

[2] MWDB, which determines the year of this letter, enters '4 Canopy Poles with crosses & Bells' to Phillipps at 27 May 1844 at a price of £8. 12*s*. Corpus Christi fell on 6 June in 1844. '1 Set of Canopy Crosses & Bells &[c]', at a cost of eight shillings, is entered to St Chad's at 24 April 1844.

[3] A great many items are charged to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB, and they are often expensive, if it is the size of the account that makes Hardman hesitate: the 'Corona to drawing' recorded at 28 February 1844, for instance, cost £38. The order to which Pugin refers here may be that entered at 24 April 1844 which adds 'An Ord Pro Cross Gilt & new Staff' at a cost of £6. 10*s*. to the brass for Charles Talbot and so reaches, with packing, a total of £68. 7*s*. 'Ord' may be short for 'Ordinary'; if it stood for a word like 'Ornamented', the contraction could be expected to be signalled in some way; 'Pro' can be taken for 'Processional'.

[4] Whitsun fell on 26 May in 1844 but Pugin was in Belgium on that day and did not leave London for Birmingham until 5 June.

To LOUISA ANNE RYLAND[1] London, Friday, 10 May 1844

Text: MS Warwickshire CRO CR 2120/1 *Address*: Miss Ryland / no 6 Cambridge Terrace / Regents Park *Postmark*: MY 10 1844

My Dear Madam

I enclose you a slight sketch of the tomb to stand in the centre of the chapel.[2] I should propose the pillars to be made of marble & the quatrefoils filled with brass plates engraved. I could make a very handsome thing of it. I hope you will not wish me to dispense with the cross flory at top for it is the best part of it. I expect to return from Paris in about 2 weeks & shall remain in London for two or three days before I go to staffordshire.[3]

I remain with respect
in haste your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] L. A. Ryland (1814–89), a member, in the words of *Meara*, of 'a rich Birmingham family whose money came from wire-drawing works' (p. 141). In his diary for 1845 Pugin makes a note of her address at '23 Sussex place Regents Park', London, on the page facing p. 2.

[2] Louisa Ryland commissioned Pugin to design a memorial to members of her family. The memorial, which takes the form of a tomb chest, is now placed in a south chapel of the parish church of All Saints at Sherbourne in Warwickshire, which was designed by G. G. Scott and erected at her expense at a cost of £20,000 from 1862 to 1864. Those commemorated are John Ryland of Edgbaston, who died in 1814 at the age of eighty-seven, his wife Martha, née Ruston, who died in 1817 at the age of eighty-six, and their son Samuel, of Sherbourne, who was born in 1764 and died on 6 April 1843 aged seventy-eight; other members of the family were added later. A pillar is set into each corner of the tomb, and quatrefoils are cut into the top and the ends and sides for the reception of metal plates; a metal cross is laid into the top of the tomb. Drawings for the metalwork of this project are held in BMAG, L217.84, L218.84, and L219.84; L218.84 is, like L219.84, marked for the Ryland tomb; it shows the inscription. Joseph Hall of the Marble Works at Derby notifies Hardman in a letter of 14 February 1845, filed in ML, that he sends the 'Marble Slab for top of Tomb'. A letter from Louisa Ryland preserved in ML 1845, written on 8 March from The Priory, Warwick, hopes that the tomb will be finished by the end of that month. In a letter written on 25 March 1845 and held in ML, Myers asks Hardman to send the metal to Warwick because Pugin has told him to begin fixing Miss Ryland's tomb on 'tuesday Next'; he writes for it again on 5 April. That is the date also of Heath's invoice, preserved in the bundle for April to June 1845; he charges a total of £48. 19*s*. 1*d*. for '102½ lbs Brass Plates', for engraving a 'Quatrefoil containing the initial R, with Evangelists for top of Slab and Inscription round Edge of Dº. 2 other Quatrefoils containing arms and Motto. 2 Dº. Containing inscriptions & 2 Dº having border only', and for 'Cutting edges, fitting, Waxing in various colours and polishing with 4 Rubs'. The inscription running round the edge of the top of the tomb is a text from the Gospel of St John 11:25–6; the arms include sheaves of rye, and the motto is 'Not the last'. Commemorative plates for the tomb are entered to Miss Ryland in MWDB at 20 April 1845: 'Quatrefoil Shields & Brass Work for Monumental Brass & letting into Slab' cost £71. 10*s*.; carriage of the slab from Derby adds nine shillings and sixpence, and two journeys to Sherbourne raise the sum by £1. 18*s*. 6*d*. Hardman's Metal ledger notes a charge of £5. 15*s*. 10*d*. for 'Fitting to Rylands Tomb' at 2 May 1845, and enters a credit of £2. 2*s*. to Pugin at 13 September 1845 for the drawing of '1st. Brass' for Miss Ryland. On the back end-paper [b], Pugin's diary for 1845 has a note of 'Journey to Sherburne &c. 15. 0. 0'.

[3] Having left London on his way to Paris on Monday 13 May, Pugin returned on 29 May and was at home until he set forth again on 5 June, immediately for Birmingham and then for many other places besides Staffordshire.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Saturday, 11 May 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/31 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Saturday.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have been anxiously expecting to receive a line from you in reply to my Last—& I have been quite distressed at not getting a line fearing that you may be indisposed or that you are vexed at my not having the drawings ready for the church building society—but you have no idea of the Labour of what they require.[1] I could finish a Large church in my way of setting out in the time this small building would occupy—but sooner than you should have any annoyance or disappointment I will put my drawings in the hand of a draughhtman & get them prepared according to their instructions. I am obliged to go to Paris on monday but only for a short time. I expect to be at Ramsgate on *Monday* and there is a day mail so if you could send me a Line directed to me at the Post office Ramsgate I should get it on Monday afternoon.[2]

I remain with respect
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin expresses his reluctance to meet the requirements of the society in his letter to Bloxam of 8 May 1844.

[2] Pugin's diary confirms that he spent the night of Monday 13 May at Ramsgate, his first stop on his way to France.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Wednesday, 29 May 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/35 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea. Wednesday in Ember week

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have only just returned from abroad & *got your Letter* for it missed me by *one post.*[1] I am much delighted with its contents—for I think we shall be unshackled by the society & get on much better.[2] I shall be quite ready for you at a days notice & will finish off the necessary drawings.

I shall be most happy to undertake M[r]. Fortescues house if you will let me know how I am to comunicate with him.[3]

I am sure M[r]. Myers will give you every accomdation regarding the payment of the money for the church.[4] pray Let me hear from you by return of post if possible & Let me know when you could begin and also when I am likely to hear from M[r]. Fortescue. we are getting on With the details of Gateway. you will be much pleased with it. the scupture & will be very good.

I remain ever with respect
dear M[r]. Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

I have got most glorious sketches from the continent.

[1] Pugin's diary records his route from 'Bruges to Ostend, Dover and London at night' on 29 May.
[2] Pugin's resistance to the demands of the society is declared in his letters to Bloxam of 8 May and 11 May.
[3] Fortescue has not been identified.
[4] The church of St Lawrence at Tubney.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Thursday, 30 May 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/23 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Thursday in Ember week

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I only got home last night. I *heard mass* at *Bruges* yesterday morning & was at *chelsea a litle after* 11 the same *day*!!!! I got your Lordsips kind Letter at Paris but I was driven up to the last moment & as you desired me not to write an answer I deferred repling till I got back. I have returned deligted & I hope improved greatly by this journey. I have seen most glorious things far beyond my expectations. the restoration of the Sainte chapelle at Paris is worthy of the days of S[t] Louis—I never saw Images so exquisitely painted.[1] I worked incessanlly the whole time I was away & got most interesting sketches. I have also purchased a great many casts of the most beautiful character—which will be just the thing for the images in the spire at cheadle & also for the *reredos & chancel.* they are by far the finest scupture I have ever seen. I have also establed a regular correspondance with Paris for the execution of ennamels—for church ornaments which they do better & cheaper than we do.[2] I do not like to be away so Long from Cheadle as I am now full of all I have seen & may improve the carving &[c]. I therefore purpose to be with your Lordsip on *saturday week* ***the 8***. & then to go to Gracedieu Sileby Nottingham &[c] so as to be with you.[3] I met the Amhersts abroad—they had a wretched passage to ostend with a gale at NE and they are very poorly—dreadful Coughs—& M[rs]. Amhersts fears that it is the

Hooping cough for it sounds very like it.[4] they are quite laid up at Bruges. I have had very bad weather the whole time I was away. it litteraly poured with rain all the while I was at Paris. the things left for your Lordsip at M[r]. Blounts are coming over with my books.[5]

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect your faithful & devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The restoration of the Sainte Chapelle in central Paris was begun in 1837 under Felix-Jacques Duban and Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus, who were soon joined by Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79).

[2] Modern scholarship endorses Pugin's judgement. Shirley Bury, for instance, in 'Trophies from the Great Exhibition of 1851', *The V & A Album 2* (London, [1983?]), pp. [208]–13, discusses how the 'French seem to have anticipated the English interest in enamelling' (p. 209), and describes the researches and experiments which gave rise to their superiority and consolidated it.

[3] Pugin's diary and his subsequent correspondence prove that these plans were modified.

[4] Pugin had known members of the Amherst family at least since he designed for them the church of St Augustine at Kenilworth, which was consecrated in June 1842 and about which he was 'in raptures' (p. 139), according to an undated letter that Frank Amherst sent his mother, which is quoted in his *Memoirs of Francis Kerril Amherst, D.D.*, by M. F. Roskell (London, 1903). Pugin's diary shows that he reached Ostend from Courtrai on 25 May 1844 and then turned back to spend some days at Bruges before returning to the port again to cross to England. The doubtful reading in the entry for 25 May in the transcription of the diary in *Wedgwood 1985* may perhaps be 'Mrs A. Landed'; certainly Pugin notes the 'Gale NE' there.

[5] Perhaps the firm of Edward Blount and Company, which, later if not already at this time, was established at 3 Rue de la Paix in Paris. The Blounts were one of the old Catholic families of England.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Monday, 3 June 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/24 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Monday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I find since I wrote that they are actually *stopped* at Ushaw till I come—so There is no alternative & go I must.[1] it will therefore be out of my power to be at Alton on Saturday but I will not fail to be at Phillipps on Tuesday in time to meet your Lordship & then I must come over to cheadle in the course of next week by myself.[2] I am truly sorry for this but it is so urgent a case that I feel sure your Lordsip will admit its necessity. I should feel greatly obliged if you will drop me a few lines & Let me know *the day* your Lordsip has fixed to be at *Nottingham* that I may have all ready & unecessary scaffolding &[c] removed.[3] please direct to me at the

Rev[d] D[r] Youens
S[t] Nicholas
Copperas hill
Liverpool.

I shall be there on Friday morning & Leave the same night. what time is your Lordsip Likely to arrive at Phillipps on Tuesday.

with great respect dear Lord Shrewsbury
I remain your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin left Birmingham on Thursday 6 June and travelled overnight to Liverpool, as he notes in his diary; he crossed to Ushaw on Saturday 8 June.

[2] In his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 30 May Pugin proposes to arrive at Alton on Saturday 8 June; his revised plans brought him to Phillipps's home of Grace Dieu on Tuesday 11 June, at the end of a day which began in York and took him to Derby and Nottingham besides. Cheadle is not mentioned in the report of his journeys in his diary at this time but he presumably called there while he was at Alton on 14 June and 15 June.

[3] It was on Thursday 13 June that, according to his diary, Pugin went 'With L. S. to Nottingham', where the church of St Barnabas, which the earl's gifts had made possible, was nearing completion.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Wednesday, 5 June 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/30 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. June 5th.

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

I am sadly perplexed about getting to oxford in time to see the president.[1] My building at ushaw is at *a stand* for want of me & I am forced to go there & Liverpool imedialy. I shall not be able to return till Tuesday & then I have to meet Lord Shrewsbury at Mr. Phillipps & go with him to Nottingham Birmingham &c.[2] this is an engagement of some months standing—I shall not be able to Leave him till the Monday folling & that will be too Late—to see the President at oxford. I wish you could Lay this before him & till him how I am circumstanced for I should be greatly distressed if he thought I neglected his wishes in the slightest degree. I will tell you exactly what I propose about the gateway. I have now all the French stone in London. the masons are getting out the niches &c in block. the oak for the gates is all Loose framed—the hinges, wrought iron work &c preparing—every mould & all the drawings full size are prepared. I shall be ready to comence errecting the scaffolding round the present gateway on Tuesday the 25th.[3] the same scaffoding will serve for errecting the new gateway. I intend to board over all the work while it is erecting so that it will not be visible till compleated—& the access to the college in the mean time will be through the new small doorway—or a temporary one in the wall. by the 25 the greater part of the stone work will be worked ready for setting so the errection will go on with great *rapidity*.

I herewith send the plan of the church.[4] Myers will be ready to start this at the same time—& get on as fast as you like—by working both together the same

journeys will do which will be an object where you are so close pressed for funds. I hope the scite you have selected is pretty level. Is there any stone already got on the ground? how shall we be able to get the drawback for the duty on the timber & glass? what I should like to do is to be with you about the 17 or 18th. so as to get everything settled for starting the church and also arrange for the comencement of the gateway.[5] pray Let me hear from you as soon as convenient—& try and explain to the worthy President how I am circumstanced at the present time. I shall be at Mr. J Hardmans till Thursday night St Nicholas Copperas Hill Liverpool till—Friday night at St Cuthberts college ushaw near Durham till sunday night at Ambrose Phillipps Esqr. till Wednesday the 12.

I remain dear Mr. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

The church will seat above 130 in the *nave*.[6]

[1] The President of Magdalen College was M. J. Routh.

[2] Pugin was in Birmingham from 15 June to 17 June but his diary does not disclose whether Lord Shrewsbury was also there.

[3] Tuesday 25 June.

[4] This may be the drawing, MS MCO PUGIN B/1 (formerly 743/116), signed in monogram and dated 1844, which shows a ground-plan of the church of St Lawrence at Tubney, sections of the chancel, of the chancel arch, and of the porch, windows in the nave, south window in the chancel, jamb of the east window, vestry door, elevation of the west end, and the cross on the gable; some dimensions are given.

[5] Pugin made no visit to Oxford in June, according to his diary; it was on 10 July that he 'saw President of Magdalen' at Tilehurst, near Reading, and on the following day that he was in Oxford and at Tubney.

[6] In his letter to Bloxam of 27 April 1844 Pugin gives a more guarded estimate of '120 in the nave'. The number of sittings was significant. In response to the application made not by Bloxam but independently by Henry Hoskins, the Berkshire Archidiaconal Church Building Committee stipulated that if the number of sittings fell below 150, the initial grant of £100 conditionally offered would be reduced to £75; MS MCO 743/115, Bloxam's list of funds raised, shows that this smaller amount was paid.

To RICHARD WILSON FITZPATRICK

Birmingham, Wednesday, 5 June 1844?

Text: MS NLI 13,751(13)[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I am now at Birmingham and am anxious to get your herse forward as fast as possible but there are some matters which require a litle explanation.[2]

1. will you inform me if anything has been done relative to *raising the slab* on a base or if you wish me to send a drawing to have the same done. [*Sketch: raised 'slab'*] I want to know this particuly as I must make the herse to stand well clear of the

slab—and also I shall want a border of stone all round the bottom into which the uprights of the herse can be fixed—if nothing has yet been done towards raising the slab if you will be so good as to send me the *exact size of the slab* I will send a drawing for the raising & stone border to correspond with the herse.[3] [*Sketch: border*] I have taken all pains with design & it will be a beautiful thing—I have also arranged it with all possible regard to economy but it is as I said impossible to ascertain the cost within a few pounds. I despair however of getting compleated for less than 50 for it is a great thing—& full of rich work. you may rely on my doing my best but I cannot accomplish imposibilities nor will any workmen bind themsells down to an exact price for a thing which is so new to them. I should feel obliged if you would send the size of the marble slab to

M^r^. John Hardman
Paradise Street
Birmingham

as he is making the herse & will arrange the size of the ribs accordingly. you can also state in the letter if the stone work for raising the slab is finished & if not as soon as I return to Birmingham in a few days will forward you the drawing for the same.

I remain dear sir
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The classification number is not peculiar to this MS.

[2] Pugin was in Birmingham on 5 June and 6 June and returned there on 15 June, which may be the 'few days' later that he goes on to mention; that visit suggests a possible date for this letter, but it may have been written when he was there from 17 July to 18 July and back again on 1 August. About the hearse he first writes to Fitzpatrick on 4 April 1844.

[3] The file of ML Undated 1839–44 contains a letter from T. Cooke sending the size of the monumental slab, which measures seven feet five inches by two feet eleven inches, to Fitzpatrick, who forwarded it, presumably, either to Pugin or to Hardman. Thomas Cooke (d.1874), who went up from Gloucester to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1809 at the age of eighteen, was from 1829 rector of Grafton Underwood, a living in the patronage of 'Ladies A. and G. Fitzpatrick', according to the *Clergy List* for 1846.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Liverpool, Friday, 7 June 1844

Text: MS PC Franklin [85] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Liverpool Friday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am so sorry that you misunderstood my Letter.[1] My reference to Midsumer was merely a ***joke*** of *mine* upon the annual Setlement of your Lordsips private account with me. I did not *even think* of *Nottingham.* I dare say that will all come out right. everything comes out right at Last. even the Newcastle people are now deligted.[2] I

suppose your Lordsip has heard of young *Mivarts* conversion.[3] it was quite an archtectural beggining. he went on tour to see *Nottingham cheadle* &c & ended in making a profession of faith—so much for the true style.

I am very sorry to hear about Mr. Whittaker but these things will happen from time to time.[4] There never was a more infamous calumny than the charge at St Bernards against poor Myers. he will have all his papers.

a Letter will reach me at Wailes *Newcastle* on *Monday*.[5]

I am very sorry indeed not be able to get to Alton Tomorow but everything was at a stand at Ushaw—& I could not avoid going—& having been I shall be quite free to stop with your Lordsip. I shall hope & trust to find you at Phillips on Tuesday.

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Apparently the reference is to a letter that has not survived.

[2] Pugin experienced great difficulty in satisfying the committee overseeing the construction of St Mary's church, Newcastle.

[3] St George Jackson Mivart (1827–1900) was only sixteen when he became a Catholic; Jacob W. Gruber, *A Conscience in Conflict* (New York, 1960), states that he was received at St Chad's on 2 June 1844 and adds that the influence of Pugin's buildings on his conversion was large.

[4] Samuel Whitaker (b.1802) was the priest at Whitwick in Leicestershire, where, according to *T-L*, Pugin designed the Chapel of the Holy Cross, which was consecrated in 1837; this was a foundation supported by Phillipps. ML 1843 contains a letter from Whitaker, written from Grace Dieu on 25 September on Phillipps's behalf, instructing Hardman to mend a chalice which has 'come to pieces in a manner I think which shews there was a good deal of deception in its formation'. The word 'deception' might be deemed more applicable to his own conduct than to Hardman's, for in 1844, in the words of *Pawley*, he 'left his charge overnight and absconded, taking with him some parish funds' (p. 218). Laura Phillipps's diary records that on 10 June 1844 'The Bishop'—it is not clear whether she means Wiseman or Walsh—informed the congregation that 'he had suspended Mr. Whitaker till he shd. prove his innocence & pay his debts'.

[5] Pugin's diary confirms that he was in Newcastle on Monday 10 June.

To WILLIAM DUNN — En route, Monday, 10 June 1844?

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 23[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Great North of England[2] Monday evening

My dear Sir

I had hoped to have seen you at the church at ½ past one to day as I understood you would be there at that time and Mr Myers told me that you wished to consult me respecting a tomb.[3] if this is pressing if you Let me know your ideas on the subject by Letter I will send you a sketch but if you are not in immediate want of the design it better stand over till my next visit in about 6 weeks.[4] something should be immediatly decided on for *inclosing the* ground for at present it is quite inviting to

mischievous people to damage the building. I hope the organ will be eventualy placed over the entrance from Tower. I am sure it will answer far better.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil. An inscription of 'July 1844?' is erroneous, for Pugin's diary proves that he did not visit Newcastle or its vicinity in that month.

[2] The Great North of England was a railway running from Darlington to York; Pugin's diary shows that he spent the night of 10 June in York.

[3] The church is St Mary's in Newcastle. Pugin has further correspondence with Dunn about a tomb in February 1845.

[4] In the event, Pugin did not return to Newcastle until 26 September 1844.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1] Tuesday, 11 June 1844[2]

Text: MS Library, Keele University S3138[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ June 11 1844

I hereby certify that M[r]. Wailes has duly performed so much of the glass of the Eastern window of Allsaints church Leigh as to entitle him to a payment of one hundred pounds on acount.[4]

✠ A Welby Pugin
master of the work

£100. 0. 0

[1] This certificate authorizing payment to Wailes, whom Pugin saw in Newcastle the day before he issued it, is likely to have been directed to a member of the Bagot family, which had been established at Blithfield, Staffordshire, for nearly five hundred years and elsewhere in the county for centuries before that. The patron of the living of All Saints' at the time was William Bagot (1773–1856), second baron, who had an interest in archaeology and was an FSA. His second son, Hervey Charles Bagot (1812–79), was rector of St Leonard's church at Blithfield and a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; a note of his address in Pugin's diary for 1844 on the front end-paper [b] suggests that it may have been with him that Pugin dealt in this connection. Lewis Francis Bagot (1813–70), fifth son of the bishop Richard Bagot, a brother of William, was appointed to the parish in 1845.

[2] According to his diary, Pugin travelled on this day from 'York to Derby, Nottingham and Gracedieu'.

[3] The MS is now to be found among the Sneyd papers. The Sneyd family lived at Keele Hall, and Walter Sneyd (1762–1829) married in 1786 Louisa Bagot (d.1834), eldest daughter of the first baron; their son Ralph (1793–1870), High Sheriff of Staffordshire in 1844, was thus a cousin of William and Richard Bagot.

[4] The church of All Saints at Leigh, about ten miles north of Blithfield, was rebuilt by Thomas Johnson (1794–1865), an architect of Lichfield, at the expense of the Bagot family in the mid-1840s. Pugin designed various details: a drawing of the chancel by him, inscribed 'March 1846' in another hand, is among the MFT papers; and in a letter written in November 1846 he discloses incidentally that he designed tiles for the floor of the chancel. In his account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3, Pugin makes a note of 'Stalls at leigh' (fol. 28) and 'E window Leigh' in a list of his commissions, and elsewhere in the volume under a heading of 'Herbert Minton' and perhaps a date of 14 December in an unspecified year he enters a sum of £8 for 'Leigh chancel' (fol. 133). In the same record there are notes of 'chancel Blithfield' (fol. 103) with a figure of £10 and 'lich gate &[c] at Blithfied' (fol. 27).

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Grace Dieu, Wednesday, 12 June 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/41 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ GraceDieu Manor
Wednesday.

Revd & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I shall be able to have everything perfectly ready to start at the time you mention & we shall have the whole of the ornamental work quite compleated before hand so that The work will be compleated by the original time.[1] I fear however that if the church is not comenced before the end of July it will not be dry enough to plaster before the ensuing spring but perhaps this would not be an objection.[2] pray Let me know about this as Myers is ready to comence it at a few days notice any time. You would be deligted with the new collegiate church at Ushaw. it will be most solemn & devitional & full of internal decoration.

I expect Ward here this evening.[3] I shall be deligted to see him. the life of S^t^ Augustine is admirable—my house at Ramsgate is built close to the place where he Landed.[4] in my library windows I have several canonised Archbishops of Canterbury—when it is compleated you will enjoy a retreat with me very much. let me hear from you soon

& believe me ever dear M^r^ Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin refers to the construction of the gateway at Magdalen College.

[2] The church of St Lawrence at Tubney.

[3] Some account of Pugin's visit to Grace Dieu is furnished by Laura Phillipps's diary. He arrived at three o'clock on Tuesday 11 June and rode to Garendon with Phillipps and Laura. Lord and Lady Shrewsbury arrived at 8 p.m. On the following morning the five of them, accompanied by George Spencer, visited Shepshed and Garendon and went on after lunch to Mount St Bernard's, 'where the Monks sang[?] in procession & chanted the Litany of the B V. round the church & cloisters. Fr Bern. made an address in the chapterroom to Lord & Ly S. & ourselves. Assisted at Vespers in the old Monas. & returned home after 7. Found M^r^. Ward of Baliol arrived. D^r^ Gentili came about 9.' The earl and countess, Ward, Pugin, Spencer, Gentili, Phillipps and his wife formed the party that 'went by train to Nottingham' on Thursday 13 June and 'Met Bp Walsh at S^t^. Barnabas also M^r^. . . . Cheadle'; leaving Nottingham at 4.30 p.m., they 'reached home at 7'. On Friday 14 June 'Pugin & D^r^. G. left at 6 for M^t^. Calvary'; Ward remained until Saturday 15 June, as did Lord and Lady Shrewsbury, who left 'at 1 for Derby on their way to Scotland'.

[4] The life of St Augustine in the series of *Lives of the English Saints* was written by Oakeley and published in 1844 with an illustration by Pugin.

To CHARLES BARRY[1] Nottingham, Thursday, 13 June 1844?[2]

Text: *A. Barry*, p. 53[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Nottingham, Thursday.

MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—On Saturday last I was suddenly seized with an attack of English cholera, which has prostrated me, and I can hardly hold myself up at all.[4] I am getting better now, that is, the actual complaint is stopped, but I never was more pulled down. I got your letter at Nottingham. *I am sure I can never do you real service except in absolute detail; you should fully make up your mind as to every arrangement and then turn the small work over to me.* It is next to impossible for me to design any abstract portion of a great whole in the same spirit as you have conceived the rest, and I know it is only a waste of time in me to attempt it. As to the bratishing above panelling, I could make fifty patterns, and same for pendants, &c., which should mostly consist of figures. The stalls at Amiens would furnish an infinite variety for the position of figures in pendants, holding scrolls, &c., and these can only be done at Louvain by the Flemings, the same men who executed the stalls at Antwerp. I can do you far more service by adopting the best examples and getting them carried out in execution than by making a lot of drawings which could never be worked from. *Remember, I never made a drawing which was of any real use to you yet; and it is a dreadful loss of time* to me, incessantly occupied as I am with Church work, to attempt it; *as I said before, I can do you no good except in actual detail, and in that more by ferreting out the fine things that exist than composing new ones.*[5] I expect to be in town by Tuesday, and will come over to you immediately, that is, if I am strong enough to travel.[6]

Ever yours most sincerely,
A. WELBY PUGIN.

You must go to Antwerp and Louvain this year. If you wished it particularly, I might manage to go with you, as I know the men.

[1] Charles Barry (1795–1860), the architect of the Houses of Parliament. Barry had called on Pugin for assistance in the mid-1830s, and before the end of 1844 had secured his services again for the details of the new Palace of Westminster. Over the remaining years of Pugin's life, scores, probably hundreds, of letters must have been exchanged by the two men but no extant MSS have been traced.

[2] This date is indicated by the source of the text, for the printing of the letter in *A. Barry* is headed 'Endorsed by Sir C. B., 16th June, 1844'. Pugin was indeed in Nottingham on Thursday 13 June, on the evidence of his diary, but many other circumstances militate against the date. Pugin was in the company of Lord Shrewsbury on that day and, while it is not impossible, it is hard to imagine that he would ask the earl to wait while he wrote even a short letter. Also, the letter could be expected to have been delivered in London on the following day, 14 June, rather than not until 16 June, although it is possible that, for whatever reason, such as absence from town, Barry did not open it until the Sunday. There is, moreover, no mention in Pugin's correspondence during the preceding days of any ailment, and the record of his travels furnished by his diary points to his being, rather, in excellent health since 'Saturday last'; his letter to Bloxam, on the other hand, probably written on 20 June, states that he has been 'very unwell'. The most compelling argument against the date in *A. Barry* is, however, none of these considerations but rather another letter, from Barry to Pugin, which is printed in the same work, *A. Barry*, pp. 39–40.

Plate I An undated sketch of the farm buildings at Oxenford, made for Lord Midleton

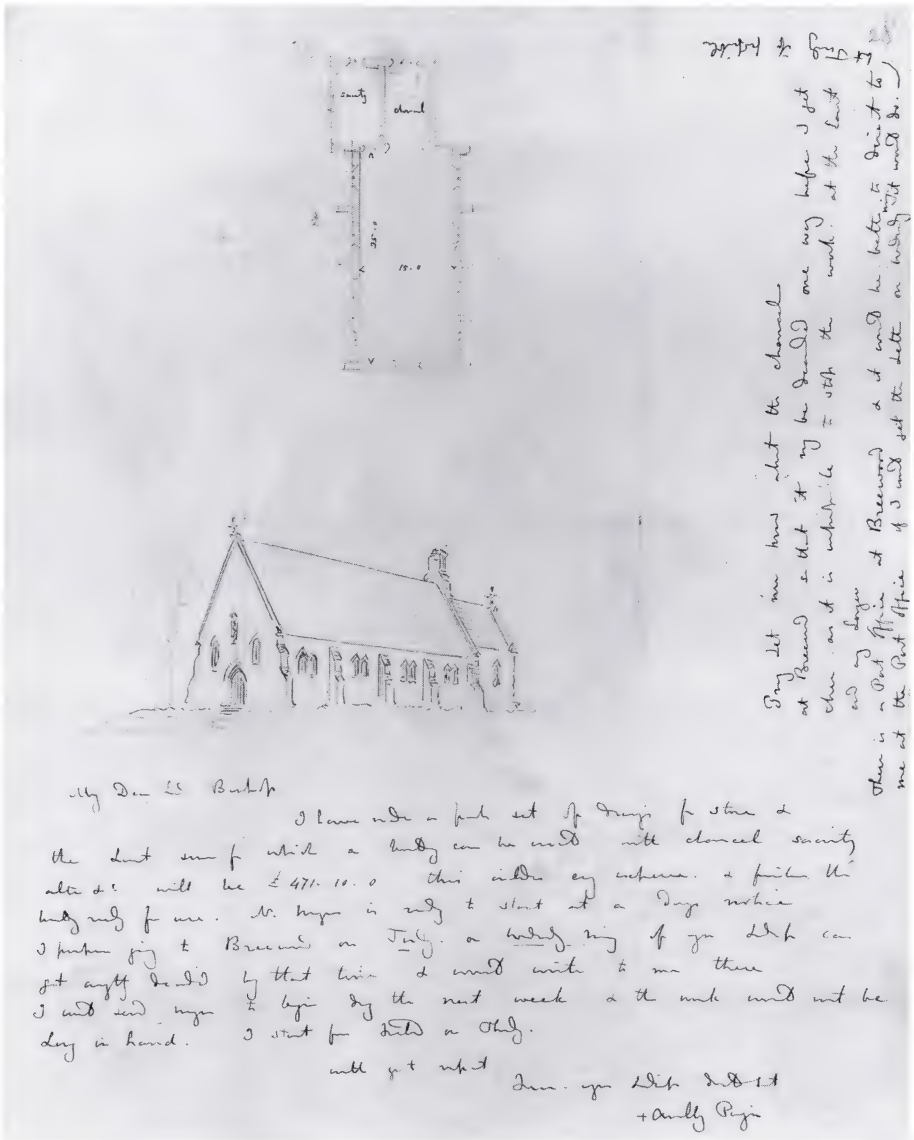

Plate II The new church for Stone, drawn perhaps for Thomas Walsh on 4 June 1843

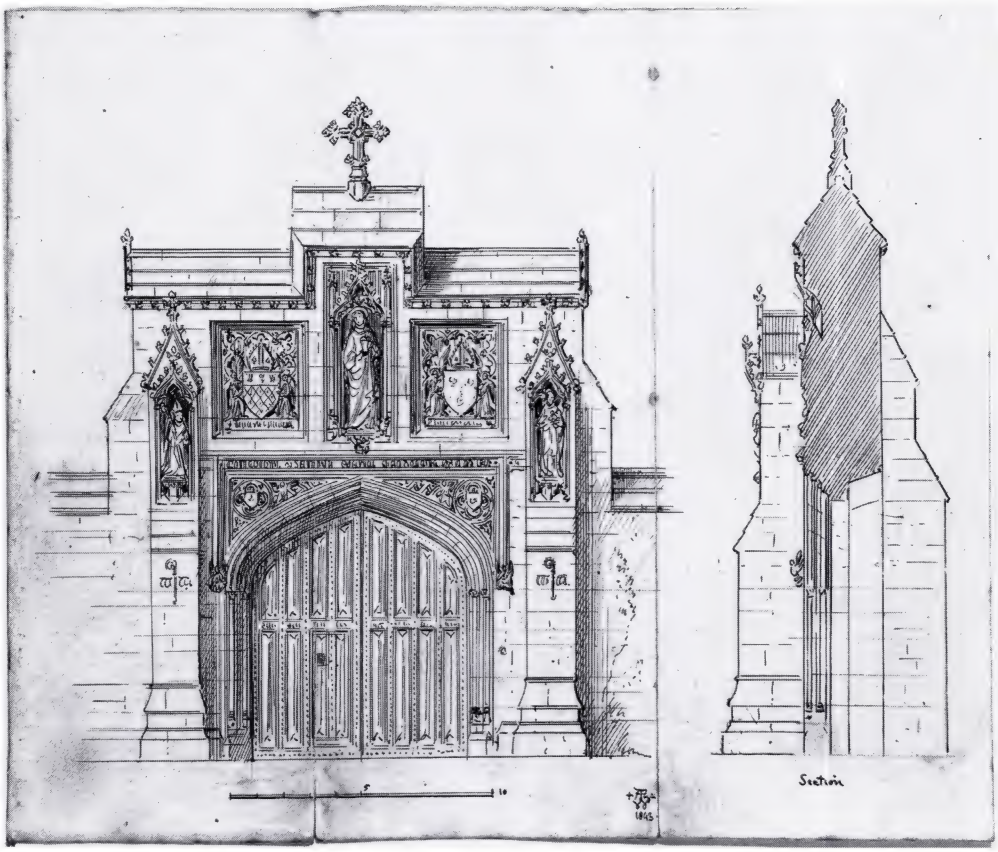

Plate III A drawing of the gateway at Magdalen College, Oxford, sent to J. R. Bloxam

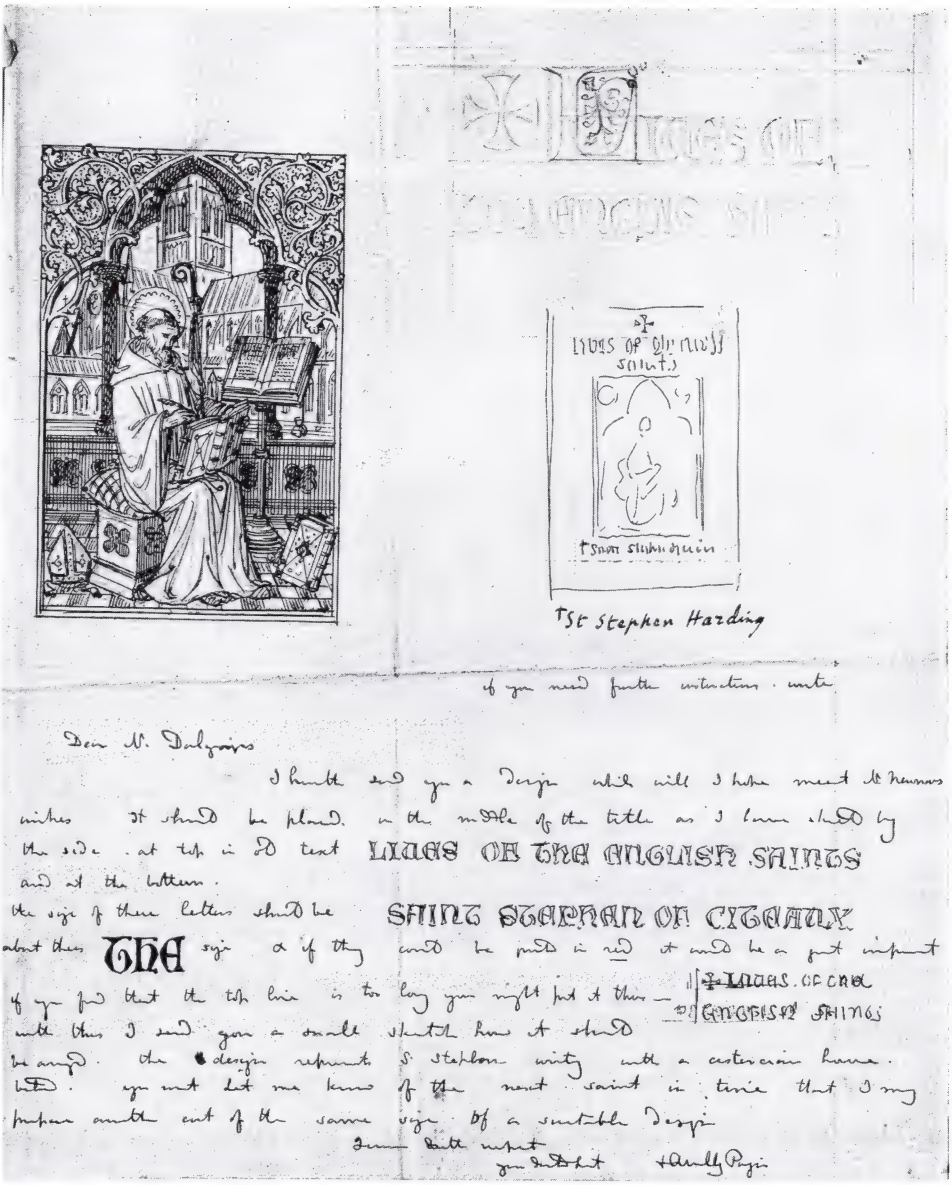

Plate IV Suggestions for the title-page of *Lives of the English Saints*, offered to J. D. Dalgairns perhaps on 22 January 1844

3, *Marine Parade, Brighton, 3 Sept.* 1844.

DEAR PUGIN,—I am in a regular fix respecting the working drawings for the fittings and decorations of the House of Lords, which it is of vital importance to me should now be finished with the utmost possible dispatch. *Although I have now made up my mind as to the principles, and, generally, as to the details of the design for them, including a new design for the throne, which is at last perfectly satisfactory to me, I am unfortunately unable to get the general drawings into such a definite shape, as is requisite for preparing the working details, owing to a lameness in one of my legs, which has laid me on my back, either in bed or on the sofa, for the last ten days, and is, I fear, likely to keep me in the same position for some days, or, perhaps, weeks to come,* at this place, where I have been advised to take up my quarters for the advantage of change, sea air, bathing, &c., &c. Now, as I know of no one who can render me such valuable and efficient assistance, or can so thoroughly relieve me of my present troubles of mind in respect of these said drawings as yourself, I am induced to write to you in the hope that you may be both able and willing to pass two or three days, or even a week, with me for the purpose of making out the drawings in question, and of enabling me to consult you generally, and enter into some permanent arrangement that will be satisfactory to you, as to occasional assistance for the future in the completion of the great work, as well as for the discharge of my obligations to you for what you have already done. I feel quite sure, that, if we were here together quietly for a few days, *we should be able to make out definitively every portion of the design* of the House of Lords' fittings, &c., in general drawings, so that you might be able to supply me with the details subsequently, from time to time, according to your leisure and convenience. I earnestly hope you will give me a line, by return of post, expressive of your consent to fall into the arrangement which I have proposed, and to name a time when I may expect to have the pleasure of seeing you.

I have all the requisite drawings with me, together with a good supply of drawing-paper, tackle, &c. It would really do me good, both in body as well as in mind, to have you with me; therefore, pray do not disappoint me if you can in any way help it. Believe me, dear Pugin, yours very truly,

CHARLES BARRY.

The weather here is delicious and exhilarating, and the proposed change would be sure to do you good.

The italics, which *A. Barry* acknowledges that he has added, are part of the contentious purpose of his booklet. Despite its reference to obligations already incurred, this letter is almost invariably taken as marking the resumption of the collaboration with Barry that was to continue regularly for the rest of Pugin's life, although the break between the early making of drawings in the mid-1830s and this recommencement is not as complete as has often been assumed, as Alexandra Wedgwood argues in 'The throne in the House of Lords and its setting', *Architectural History*, 27 (1984): [59]–[73]. While this letter, by its September date, may not absolutely controvert the date of 13 June for Pugin's letter from Nottingham, it certainly renders it problematic.

[3] *A. Barry* admits that he has added the italics in this letter.

[4] English or, more commonly, British cholera is defined by the *OED* as a disorder attended with bilious diarrhoea, vomiting, stomach aches, and cramps, rarely fatal to adults.

[5] Taken literally, the first clause of this sentence is an extraordinary statement for Pugin to make, considering that he made the drawings with which Barry won the competition for the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament.

[6] Pugin's diary records that he arrived in London from Birmingham on Monday 17 June 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Tuesday, 18 June 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/5[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Tuesday.

Dear Sir

I like the paper very much.[2] Lord Shrewsbury seemed to think it ought to have been black lined but this cannot now be done. your man is going to put too coats of

Lining paper over the walls—which are very smooth. Surely one would be sufficient. it will cause great delay & time is very short—pray see to this. I was very sorry to see a *pink* ground to the bed room ceiling. I thought we had fully arranged for a warm buff colour—the effect is not good. the other ceilings Look very well indeed. I am only in town for a day or two.[3] I am very glad you Like the Glossary.[4] I hope it may do good.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1844* Pugin June 19th' in what is thought to be Crace's hand.
[2] The wallpaper is for Alton Towers.
[3] Pugin was in London from 17 June until he set off for Dover on 20 June.
[4] The issue of the *Publishers' Circular* for 1 June 1844, vol. 7, no. 161, lists Pugin's *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* among the titles published between 13 May and 29 May; it is described as a 'Royal 4to.' (p. 164) volume in 'half-mor.' at a price of £7. 7*s*. In a letter of 28 May 1844 preserved in ML the bookseller Charles Dolman tells Hardman in a postscript that 'Mr Pugin's new work is ready this day. if you are not already supplied I shall be happy to furnish you a copy.'

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Thursday, 20 June 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/59 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea. Thursday morning

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

I have just returned to town & got your kind Letter.[1] I shall not be able to get to you for a few days for I have been latterly so very unwell through overwork that I have been seriously advised to go as far as cologne to relieve my mind & I trust by the blessing of God to go on all the faster for this litte relaxation.[2] I inclose you sketches for the fittings of Tubney which I hope you will like & I propose to make you a couloured sketch for each window which you may shew about.[3] they are so very small that the expense will be but trifling of executing the glass. I think the frontal better be painted on zinc or oil canvass so as to resist the damp.

it would cost	£12
the reredos should be worked in oak also painted & gilt	£10 to £12
the font complete with lead lining &c	£18
oak cover Dove. chain pully & counterweight	£15.
chalice & paten in silver parcel gilt[4]	£15
offertory basin (german silver plated)	£5
in silver parcel gilt	£12.

I shall be most happy to supply you with patterns for the altar linen &c. Myers wants the drawings of the church to prepare his moulds &c. Will you send it to him, his adress is No 9 Laurie Terrace Westminster Road Lambeth. could you not decide on

the position of the building without me? if so Myers would attend on you & stake it out. he is a *rough* diamond but a *real* diamond for he is thghroughly accquainted with every branch of antient construction & detail and a most honorable person in his transactions. we are progressing rapidly with the Gateway & shall have everything worked before we begin. the detail is now coming out nicely. what you propose about the first stone being let into a Larger block is quite right. Myers would get all that done for you. I have not shewn any crosses on the *altar* stone in the drawing lest it might raise discussion but I mean to cut them when all is done.[5] I have seen Ward but not his book which I Am very anxious to see.[6] the moment I return to England I will come down to you. in the mean time & ever with great respect

your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

if funds fail you may make much plainer & cheaper things than those I have designed but I should like to make them as good as possible.

[1] Pugin came up to London from Birmingham on Monday 17 June; the day he writes at the head of this letter is unmistakably 'Thursday'.

[2] Pugin began his journey on the day of this letter and reached Cologne on 22 June; he returned to London just over a fortnight later, on 5 July. Some of his company is revealed by Frank Amherst's *Memoirs*, which record that Amherst 'went abroad in July with Monsignor Talbot, Augustus Welby Pugin and Mr Whitgreave, the latter of whom says, "Pugin was as usual most interesting and amusing during the voyage, full of life and spirits." Pugin left them at Ostend; Monsignor Talbot went on to Brussels while they stayed in Bruges' (p. 157). 'Monsignor Talbot' is probably George Talbot (1816–86), son of Baron Talbot of Malahide, who took orders in the Church of England after his education at Eton and Oxford but joined the Catholic Church at Oscott in 1842; ordained to the priesthood in 1846, he was attached for some years to St George's, Southwark. Whitgreave is likely to be Francis Whitgreave (1819–96). A letter from Riddell which is kept as number 116 in the file of 'Hardman Correspondence' in BAA asks Hardman in June 1844 for news of Pugin because Riddell 'understood he was very ill at Cologne'.

[3] No coloured sketches are known to survive at Magdalen College. One sketch sent at this time may be MS MCO 743/113; Bloxam inscribes it 'Pugin's Design for the open Seats. The old Seats, when I was Curate, at Littlemore were given me for Tubney.'

[4] There are two drawings on MS MCO 743/114, both in ink over pencil, one of a 'chalice & paten £15. 0. 0', the other of an 'offertory basin £12. 0. 0'.

[5] In a letter, MS MCO 743/87, dated 15 January 1844, apparently in error for 1845, Myers writes to Bloxam from Liverpool: 'Mr Pugin told me—at one time there was to be some Carving on the alter. Will you be so Kind as inform me if there is—or not as I should not like to do anything but strickly—as you wish.'

[6] W. G. Ward published his controversial book, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, in June 1844.

To LOUISA ANNE RYLAND — London, Thursday, 20 June 1844

Text: MS Warwickshire CRO CR 2120/2 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea. June. 20. 1844

My Dear Madam

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have been exceedinly indisposed—so much so that it is considered necessary for me to rest for a few days from business

and I am going for a very short time to Cologne. I purpose returning in 10 days or 2 weeks at furthest and I will not fail to make warwick my first point & will write as soon as I return to Let you know the day I may be expected.[1]

I remain ever
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's diary suggests that it was not until 24 September 1844 that he met Louisa Ryland again, when he paused at Warwick on his way from London to Nottingham.

July to December 1844

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM London, Friday, 5 July 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/40[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ July 5

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

I have just recd your Letter about the images.[2] it will suit my arrangements just as well to have the sitting bishop—Waynflete—& the 3 Saints will be in front. perhaps the president has some association of ideas on account of the old image of Waynflete sitting—but I am very anxious to meet his views when it can be done without sacrifice of principle or propriety.[3] there are however hundreds of examples of sitting images of saints but it is not a point worth contending for a moment.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

as you are going to the continent perhaps you will be good enough to order a hundred pounds to be paid into my account at the London joint stock which I can hand over to myers as he will be soon up to the springing.[4]

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] The images are for the gateway at Magdalen College.

[3] A contemporary photograph of the completed doorway shows the figure of Waynflete standing. The president was M. J. Routh.

[4] Pugin's list of payments for the gateway in MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 21, includes a sum of £100 due on 8 August.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, Friday, 5 July 1844?

Text: MS PC Franklin [8] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

wsbury

I have just returned ful to say perfectly well & strong *in* fact *I I have been for some time & quite ready* ***for wor.***[1] I got your Lordsips kind Letter at Cologne but none from the abbé Poncelet.[2] I fear the sudden arrival of the Prince & Princess will prevent the perfect compleation of the rooms which is a great pity.[3] I had hoped all would have been quite ready for their reception—I am very much mortified about it & I fear it will distress your Lordsip. had I only know it before I would have

returned at once to England & done my best. I have had a most interesting journey & got several capital sketches. I will dispatch everything as fast as possible—and get down to Alton as soon as I have set matters straight, I will endeavour to be at the Towers in the course of next week but I will write again before I come.[4] ever dear Lord Shrewsbury

with great respect
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

when abroad my attention was drawn to a Paragraph stating that Prince Doria was obliged to Leave Rome in consequence of a quarrell with the Pope.[5] surely this is without fondation.

[1] The top of the sheet is badly mutilated.
[2] The 'abbé Poncelet' has not been identified.
[3] Prince and Princess Doria, for whom the Doria rooms at Alton Towers were arranged.
[4] It was on 19 July that Pugin reached Alton.
[5] Gregory XVI was pope at the time.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Monday, 8 July 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/86 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea. S[t] Elisabeth. Q.[1]

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

many thanks for your kind Letter which I have just received. I am so circumstanced that I cannot get to you *next* week and therefore I must come on Thursday.[2] I am going to Bristol about D[r] Puseys Window on *Wednesday*.[3] then I will return by the 1[st] train to Reading & see the President & come on to you—or take the President on my way down on Wednesday—& come to you by the 1[st] up train on Thursday.[4] perhaps you will let the president know of my intended visit. you may therefore fully expect me on Thursday as soon as possible but I must return to London by the last train at night as I start in another direction on Friday.[5] I shall be very glad to have my name inserted on the plate.[6] perhaps you will send a line to J Hardman—to tell him how it should be done. I should say

A. Welby de Pugin
cœmentarius.

he is engraving the plate.

I have a deal to tell you when we meet. I quite Long to see you.

ever with respect
your most devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Elizabeth of Portugal, queen.

[2] Pugin's diary confirms that he went to Oxford on Thursday 11 July.

[3] The window which Pugin designed for Pusey was made by Michael O'Connor (1801–67), an Irishman who trained under Willement and worked in Bristol from 1842 to 1845 before moving to London; Pugin makes a note of his address at 4 Berners Street, Oxford Street, on the page facing p. 2 of his diary for 1845. On the front end-paper [d] of his diary for 1844 Pugin enters 'D[r] Pusey 5. 0 0' under the dates 'July 10 11', apparently as a record of the expenses of his journey for which he expected to be reimbursed.

[4] The President of Magdalen College was M. J. Routh; Pugin visited him at Tilehurst near Reading on Wednesday 10 July.

[5] Pugin's diary shows that he did exactly as he says; it was to Ramsgate that he went on Saturday 13 July.

[6] MS MCO 743/38, Bloxam's account of the ceremony, includes the inscription for a plate to be placed below the stone:

✠ Laus Deo.
Anno ab incarnatione Domini
MDCCCXLIV
Ricardi Episcopi auctoritate
Primam hujus Ecclesiæ petram posuit
Joannes R. Bloxam
Bursariorum Senior.

Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram
ædificabo Ecclesiam meam et porta
Inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.

The Latin translates as 'Praise be to God. In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1844 by the authority of Richard, bishop, John R. Bloxam, Senior Bursar, laid the first stone of this church.' Then follows part of the Gospel of St Matthew 16:18: 'thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' The bishop was Richard Bagot.

In a letter written from Magdalen College on a 'Tuesday' which must be 16 July 1844 and now in the ML Undated 1839–44 file, Bloxam reports to Hardman that 'I find from my good friend Mr Pugin that you are having engraved for me the inscription to be placed on the first stone of a new church to be built near oxford. If it is not too late will you have the goodness to have inserted between the words "Bursariorum Senior" and "Tu es Petrus &c" the words "A. Welby de Pugin cæmentaris.'

If you can send me the Plate on friday or early saturday morning I shall feel much obliged, as the first stone is to be laid on monday.'

The intimation came 'too late', however, for MWDB enters to 'Rev[d] J Bloxam' at 13 July 1844 'A Brass Plate with inscription' at a charge of £2. 1*s*., and the addition was not made; in his cumulative invoice submitted at Michaelmas 1844, the engraver Heath charges Hardman £1. 10*s*. 4*d*. for his work on 13 July on the brass plate for Bloxam. 'Cementarius' is a medieval Latin word for a mason; Pugin writes it in distinctive characters in his text.

MS MCO 743/24 is a pencil drawing of a simple cross with dimensions, marked '2 inches thick'; it is inscribed in what may be Bloxam's hand 'Pugin's design' and 'Wooden Cross decorated with flowers placed over against the place where the first stone was laid'.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Monday, 8 July 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/87 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Tuesday evening[1]

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just seen Myers. he tells me that he has arranged to meet you tomorow Tuesday. not knowing this I had appointed a meeting with Lord Midleton & it is the

only day he is at liberty.[2] I have therefore ventured to keep him & he will come down to you on Wednesday. I hope this will not put you to any inconvenience but I did not know how to alter the appointment with Lord M. without stopping the whole work.

ever with respect
in haste
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin has muddled his days: Tuesday is 'tomorrow', as he says in the letter.
[2] Pugin 'Went to Lord Middleton' on Tuesday 9 July, according to his diary.

To FRANCIS MOSTYN?[1] London, Monday, 8 July 1844?

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 22 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Monday[?]

My Dear Lord Bishop

I returned on Saturday and am thankful to say I feel quite strong again.[2] The credence table & brass shall be sent from Birmingham imediatly.[3] M^r^. Myers will bring the small cistern for the Sacrarium with him & I hope to get my grates sent before the time mentioned. I have got my casts from France so the subjects for the reredos will be greatly improved. M^r^. Myers has nothing to do with numbering the seats.[4] I do not know who did them at Derby But M^r^. Souter was employed at Birmingham.[5] I should ernestly recomend an old Roman alphabet being used for the numerals—they would be perfectly Legible & yet have a character in unison with the church. I inclose a specimen. I will endeavour if possible to be at Newcastle for the opening but I shall certainly be down before.[6]

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin's salutation does not make clear whether he is writing to Mostyn, bishop of the northern district, or to Riddell, his coadjutor, but in his letter to Dunn of 9 January 1844 he distinguishes them as the bishop and Riddell.
[2] Pugin's diary suggests that he returned to London on Friday 5 July.
[3] 'A Brass Credence Table' at a cost of £7. 5*s*. is entered to Pugin for 'Newcastle' in MWDB at 8 August 1844, and the Metal sales ledger charges him £7. 14*s*. for it. The brass may be that for Worswick, entered in MWDB to 'Newcastle', simply, at 8 July 1844 and costing, with slab, £32; Heath's cumulative invoice made up at midsummer, preserved in the bundle for 1844, includes his charge of £17. 16*s*. 10*d*. for work on the brass at 11 May; the Metal sales ledger makes out a charge of £32 for it at 8 July 1844 to 'Gibson', only, and notes his payment of the account at 13 December 1844. BMAG L181.84 is a drawing for a brass in memory of Worswick.
[4] Pugin recurs to the subject of the numbers in the letter he may have written to Dunn on 25 July.

[5] George Souter's firm, Souter and Son, is described in its letterhead, on an invoice to Hardman preserved in the bundle for January to March 1845, as 'Japanners, & Manufacturers of Paper Trays, Papier Machée Cruet, Liquor & Pickle Frames, Hand Screens, Pole Screens, Work Tables, Snuff-Boxes, Tapers, Incense Burners, &c. &c. Plain & Ornamental Paper Buttons'. The address of the business is 9 and 11 Great Russell Street, St George's, Birmingham, and the letterhead is decorated with little pictures of its wares. The *Tablet*, 6 (31 May 1845): 352, carries an advertisement: 'Decorations in the Gothic style.—G. Souter and Son, St. George's, Birmingham, having been engaged under the direction of A. W. Pugin, Esq., about seven years, beg to announce they undertake to execute orders in any part of the kingdom. Churches, Chapels, Oratories, Drawing-rooms, &c., painted, &c., from the above architect's designs with the utmost possible despatch.' This announcement appears again the following week, in the issue for 7 June, but not thereafter; then in November Souter resumes his publicity but with significantly modified wording: there is no mention of 'Gothic' and no mention of Pugin.

[6] As things turned out, Pugin did not attend the opening of St Mary's, which took place on 21 August 1844, nor did he visit Newcastle before it.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Monday, 8 July 1844?[1]

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/25 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London. Monday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I will make a way down to the stoke hole inside but it must be from the main staircase. what I mean by the room near the porch was the *tool house for the Sexton.* nothing more.

respecting the tiles for cheadle they will all be Laid by the end of this year to be paid for next spring—Id est 1845.

The glass is proceeding as fast as possible. it is indispensable to get it *all in* by the *end of this* year & before the bad weather of the Latter part of autumn comes on. I will send the exact cost of the whole in a few days.

I am sure your Lordsip will find everything as you wish in the hospital. I have followed *out exactly what was arranged.*

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I fear the passage to the other stoke hole will interfere with the old drain but I will particuly see to it.

[1] The dating is uncertain; the suggestion offered here relies on that made in *Wedgwood 1985*.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — En route, Wednesday, 10 July 1844

Text: MS PC Franklin [98][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Great Western Railway Wednesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have just returned from Godalming & am on my way to Bristol.[2] oxford tomorow, & M^r^. Drumonds on saturday. I shall then be pretty free. I purpose getting to Alton as early as possible next week coming round by Nottingham where I am much wanted. wailes writes me word that your Lordship has been at Newcastle. I hope you saw the church.[3]

with great respect
I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin's diary corroborates this itinerary and the visit to Oxford intimated in the next sentence but records that he went to Albury on Tuesday 16 July. Alton he reached on Friday 19 July, after spending the night of Thursday 18 July in Nottingham.

[3] The church at Newcastle is St Mary's.

To WILLIAM DUNN — Ramsgate, Friday, 12 July 1844

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 25 *Address*: William Dunn Esq^r^ / Bath house / Newcastle on Tyne *Postmark*: Harbour Sq; JY 12 1844 in Ramsgate; 13 JY 13 1844; JY 14 1844 in Newcastle on Tyne

Dear Sir

It will never do to have an iron Railing where you propose.[1] it will destroy the whole Character of the work. I could not in concience make a design for the purpose. there should be a coped wall & a gate but the gateway should not be used for the admission of Carriages as all persons should *walk* through the inclosure surrounding sacred buildings. the dashing up of gravel slaming down of steps & cries of all right would be great distractions to worshippers within th church. I inclose you a sketch of the right sort of thing & shall be ready with the working drawings at a days notice.

I remain yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

I should much like to visit the cemetery with you before I draw out the Monument as the design must be adapted to the locality.[2]

[1] Pugin insists on the importance of enclosing the ground around St Mary's church in the letter probably written to Dunn on 10 June 1844.
[2] A tomb is first mentioned in the letter which Pugin seems to have written to Dunn on 10 June 1844.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Saturday, 13 July 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/43 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Saturday

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I have given directions for the immediate fixing of the small door in the wall & I expect this will answer *every purpose* for the present.[1] I shall be most anxious to have a line from you to know if all is going on right. I have got 4 exquisite models for the 4 images.

please direct to me at Alton Towers.[2]

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's subject is the new gateway at Magdalen College.
[2] Except for the night of 23 July, Pugin made an uninterrupted stay at Alton Towers from 19 July until 1 August, according to the evidence of his diary.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — En route, Wednesday, 24 July 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/3i[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Grand junction Railway July 24[2]

Dear Sir

I have recd the inclosed from M^r^. Wailes & have sent him an order for the amt.[3] will you be so good as to pay the same to my account in the Western Branch of the London Joint stock bank & I should be much obled to you if you will at the same time order £100 to be paid on acct of the brasses which are nearly finished and on which I have been obliged to advance a good deal and £50 for myself on acount of comission on the buildings in progress.[4] we can then regulate acounts at xmass and all I shall want in the mean time will be the balance of the brasses to pay the engraver & marbler at Birmingham, the money for the stained windows of chantry about Sept^r^. & the amount of the niche & high tomb for M^r^. Myers.[5]

I have put the vane for the kitchen Louvre in hand. I expect the mason will come down next week to fix the niche &c.

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

if your write please direct to me at Alton. L. S talks of coming over to you in the autumn to see the progress of your works.[6]

[1] The letter is written in pencil. The MS is endorsed in another hand, perhaps Drummond's, 'Pugin £203. 4 pd. July 1844', which is the sum of the two accounts referred to in this letter and the two payments Pugin requires.

[2] Pugin is returning to Alton after an overnight stay in Liverpool, which he probably visited to inspect progress on St Mary's church in Edmund Street.

[3] MS Alnwick C/17/3ii is Wailes's letter to Pugin, dated 20 July 1844 and enclosing two accounts. One, MS Alnwick C/17/3iii, made out to Pugin, is for 'Eight rich armorial windows for H Drummond E^sq^r as per Estimate £5 each £40. 0. 0'; the other, MS Alnwick C/17/3iv, again made out to Pugin, is for '8 iron wrought frames for Stained Glass Windows for Hr Drummond E' at a cost of thirty-three shillings each, making a sum of £13. 4*s*. These windows must be for Drummond's house. An amount of £35. 16*s*. is entered against 'Mr. Drummonds windows' in a list between pp. 24 and 25 of Pugin's diary for 1844. Against 2 August 1844 he notes 'Wailes 53'.

[4] The total cost of the brasses for the chantry chapel at Albury when they are entered in MWDB at 4 October 1844 is £150. Hardman's Metal sales ledger credits Drummond with a payment of £100 at 31 July 1844.

[5] Although Pugin may have expected the glass for the chantry to be ready by September 1844, it was not delivered until nearly a year after that.

[6] Pugin records in his diary that Lord Shrewsbury was at Albury when he went there on 16 September 1844.

To WILLIAM DUNN? — Alton Towers, Thursday, 25 July 1844

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 20 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

July 25

Dear Sir

I herewith send you the drawing for the entrance gateway.[1] I hope it will be done as it will make a capital job. I have provided a small wicket door for people to come in by on ferial days & other times when the great gates should not be opened. it will add very much to the appearance of the church by carring out the line of building.

with respect to the numbers of the seats—when the numbers are high they can be inserted in a cartouch of this form—which figure may be indeed used throughout contracted or enlarged according to the number.[2] [*Sketch: 'XXXVIII' in cartouche*] [*Sketch: 'XXI' in cartouche*] [*Sketch: 'XX' in enlarged cartouche*]

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin stresses the need to enclose the ground around St Mary's church in Newcastle in the letter he may have written to Dunn on 10 June 1844, and forcibly rejects Dunn's notion of a railing in his letter of 12 July 1844.

[2] The question of the numbers is first discussed in Pugin's letter to Mostyn, the bishop of the district, probably written on 8 July 1844.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Alton Towers, Monday, 29 July 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/17 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Ju[l][?]. 29.[1]

My Dear Sir

1 I am very much obliged by your prompt attention to my request.[2] I have no doubt the money will be all safe.

2. I think the jack better be fixed on the outside with rollers to guide it back as you say, it does not seem to Me a difficult matter.

3. The water closets can be done as you have marked in your Letter—but it seems to me that it would still be advisable to keep the upper room in the small tower for another closet—unless you particularly want it for a bath room. I will draw out a plan for the 2 closets on the new arrangement when I next come.

4. I do not think the mere facing of the house worth the expense & trouble. I am sure you might effectively improved it both as regards *accomodation* & effect by a good break at the end. I know that is the right thing.

5. pray do not be angry with me for making such short stays—it would give me the greatest pleasure to stop and enjoy your beautiful locality but I torn to peices by business & obliged to fly about. I only save my train to Liverpool by 5 minutes when I last left.[3]

6 I will send you a skech for a collegiate church.[4]

I remain dear Sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The month Pugin writes looks most like an abbreviation of January but Pugin was not at Alton on 29 January in any year from 1844 onwards.

[2] Pugin requests payment in his letter of 24 July 1844.

[3] The entry in Pugin's diary for 17 July 1844 reads 'Albury to Birmingham' but Liverpool was the northernmost place that he visited on the journey which began on that day.

[4] Nothing more is known of this matter.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Alton Towers, Wednesday, 31 July 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/56 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: JY 31 in Cheadle; AU 1 1844 in Oxford

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am delighed to hear So good an acount of the proceedings at Tubney.[1] I have no doubt that the church when compleated will give much satisfaction.

you can have the cross ragulé for the center sheild. [*Sketch: cross ragulé*] I perfeclly understand it.

I inclose you a programme for your journey which I am deligted to hear that you intend making for I am sure you will see much that is most interesting.[2]

I fear I shall not see you till you return as I am bliged to go to the North on Monday & then return h to make preparations for the Reception of the Duke of S.[3]

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I am going to *London*—& remain till Sunday night.[4]

[1] The foundation-stone was laid on 22 July 1844.
[2] The 'programme' is extant, MS MCO 528/151.

Passports.

Belgian passport from the ambasadors office Portland place. if going to cologne after you have got your passport take it to M[r]. Hebelers prussian consul I think 123 Fenchurch Street in the city. he will stamp it for 5[s]. & that will carry you through.

Ship Hotel at Dover.

The ostend boats leave—Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays & Saturdays.

at ostend the German Hotel. Hotel des Bains, both very good or Appletons ship Hotel an English house on the Quay. good. I mention these 3 because at this season ostend is often very full.

Bruges. Hotel du Commerce—close to S[t] James church. I inclose a Letter for M[r]. Steinmetz at Bruges. the Landlord of the *Hotel knows his address*. he will shew you everything. fine picture of the adoration of the Lamb. see the beguinage—all the churches.

Ghent. Hotel du Pays bas.

Leige—Hotel du Pavillion Anglais. be sure to see the reliquaries at the Cathedral (especially—Head of S[t] Lambert). on Application to the sacristan they will be shewn to you. remark the sepulchral stones in the cloisters of the cathedral. the church of S[t] Jacques is very interesting—fine reliquary in Sacristy. See *every church* in Leige & the Bishops Palace. curious.

Aix La chapelle—Hotel D Angleterre. the Reliquaries at the cathedral beyond description, the finest in the world. the golden ambo or pulpit. the great corona in the centre of the church 12[th] Cent. Throne[?] of charlemagne &[c].

at Cologne—Hotel du Rhin—*RhinHoff* in german. Sacristy of the cathedral contains some curious Reliquaries & a Manificent tabernacle for the B. Sacrament. you should take a comissioner & a vigilant or fly & visit *every* church. the only thing *not worth* seeing is what is most talked about—the picture by Rubens. See the Golden chamber (Goldné Kamer) in the church of S[t] ursula. the taste very bad but some curious things. there is a Railway to Bonn 5 or 6 times a day from Cologne & you go in $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. a curious bysantine church at Bonn worth seeing. when at Cologne—I would advise you without fail to make an excursion up the Rhine in the steam boats. go up to Mayence. you go so cheap & comfortably & Lovely scenery &[c]. on the Banks.

on your Return—take Louvain if you have not been there. the church is very fine with the antient Rood—font &[c]. 2 wonderful pictures by van eck—in the south side of choir chapels.

if you go to Antwerp—& the new stalls are well worth the journey—Hotel du Parc place verte by the the Cathedral.

The Belgian minister in London was Sylvain Van de Weyer, of 50 Portland Place, and the office of the Belgian legation was at 9a Weymouth Street. The Prussian consul-general, from the mid-1830s until after Pugin's death, was Bernhard Hebeler, of 15 York Place and 106 Fenchurch Street. Pugin came to know him personally, although how they met, or when, is not known; Hebeler lived some of the time in Thanet; Kelly's *Post Office Directory of the Six Home Counties* for 1845 records him as the occupant of Upton Cottage, Broadstairs.

The name of Steinmetz, with his address given simply as 'Bruges', is noted on the front end-paper [a] of Pugin's diary for 1844. John Steinmetz (1795–1883), according to *Wedgwood 1985*, was an Englishman living in Bruges who left his famous art collection to that town.

Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), the great Flemish painter. Pugin probably means Jan Van Eyck (1385–1440), rather than Hubert Van Eyck, his brother, a Flemish painter.

The 'programme' is much endorsed with annotations by Bloxam but it is not clear when his notes were made. A letter from him preserved in ML 1844 and written on 3 October informs Hardman that he has 'lately been much edified and delighted by a visit to Belgium & Cologne'; and a letter to Bloxam from M. J. Routh, written, apparently, on 2 September 1844 and preserved as MS MCO 743/110, refers to Bloxam's recent journey to Cologne.

[3] The paper is torn by the seal and 'obliged', 'here', and the proper name at the end of the sentence are spoiled. The mutilated initial looks most like an 'S' but it was the Duke of Cambridge who was coming to stay at Alton Towers, as other correspondence reveals.

[4] Pugin went up to London on Friday 2 August, set off from there on Monday 5 August for points as far north as Ushaw, and returned to Alton on 7 August.

To RICHARD WILSON FITZPATRICK London, Friday, 2 August 1844

Text: MS NLI 13,750 (14)[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London August 2

Dear Sir

the herse is at Length finished (Deo Gratias).[2] I can assure you—simple as it Looks it has taken more looking after than 3 churches. it is of course ready for fixing any time.

I might perhaps be able to go for a day about the middle of the month but you must be aware that my doing so would an entail an extra expense on you of about £5 which might be avoided—as if you will write to M^r^. John Hardman Paradise street Birmgham & Let him know a few days beforehand the exact day you will be at the church the men will go over with the herse & fix it.[3] it will take about a week I should think to fix. I will come if necessary but of course you must know how occupied I am & pressed on all sides—& on the *20* Lord Shrewsbury expects the Duke of Cambridge & a very Large party at Alton.[4] I must be there at that time and I ought to go a few days before hand. between this & then I have to travel about as fast as possible.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in what looks an early twentieth-century hand: 'Galway Aug 17. 1844 R W. FitzPatrick Esq. Spiddal Galway Ireland.'

[2] Pugin first writes to Fitzpatrick about the hearse on 4 April 1844.

[3] Pugin did not go to Grafton to oversee the fixing of the hearse.

[4] The Duke of Cambridge, created in 1801, was Prince Adolphus Frederick (1774–1850), seventh son of George III and an uncle of Queen Victoria. Entries in Pugin's diary for 1844 note 'Duke of Cambridge ill' on 19 August and 'Duke of C at Cheadle' on 20 August.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Friday, 2 August 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] Jn[r]. / Paradise street / Birmingham *Postmark*: 2 AU 2 1844; AU 3 1844 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I herewith send you the patterns for your glass which Wailes people will perfectly understand.[2]

I want the 4 circles as follows.

2 opposite in honnour of S[t] John the Baptist & S[t] John evangelist.

2 D[o] in honour of S[t] Mary & S[t] Anne.

ever your devoted friend ✠ A Welby Pugin

my bed room floor is only 9. 6. high. Look to this in making the bedstead.[3] I do not think I have got too high with the *tops*.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1841–44 Box'. The letter is written in pencil. In the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO this letter has been given the number 81.

[2] Hardman is making improvements to his house at 12 Hunters Lane, Handsworth. Evidently he at first had reservations about Pugin's design for the glass, which is inspired by Christian names in Hardman's family, his wife being Anne and his first two daughters being Mary and Anne. The file of 'Hardman Correspondence' in BAA contains a letter, number 163, from John Wailes, a brother of William Wailes, dated 26 August 1844 from Newcastle. He writes:

I had M[r]. Myers here last week. he left me some designs for your house windows & explained your objections to having them treated in the manner proposed by M[r] Pugin. Should you have seen M[r] Pugins windows at Ramsgate I can of course offer no plea in favor of it on the score of lightness as they were of as light a character as we could well do them—in that case we could insert them (the bosses) in sheets of plate glass in which holes could be cut as you propose—this could be done very neatly—If however you have not seen those done for M[r] Pugins house I can assure you they are very bright and by no means sombre or dark and looked exceedingly well.

Of this however you would be be best able to judge should you have an opportunity of seeing them— As they are as light as we can make them for that style of glass you will be able to decide whether or not Plate would be preferable.

The glass was made, to whatever design: John Wailes informs Hardman from the 'Stained Glass Works' in Newcastle on 16 September, in a letter kept in ML 1844, that the three lights will be finished and sent off either the next day or the day after that; and in another letter, dated 23 September, also in ML 1844, he is clearly vexed by Hardman's report of 21 September that they have not yet arrived, for they left Newcastle on 19 September.

[3] This may be the 'Brass Bedstead complete to drawing' entered to Pugin for Ramsgate in MWDB at 4 December 1844 at a cost of £70. Heath's cumulative invoice to Christmas 1844 includes a charge of £3. 10*s*.

6*d.* at 26 November for engraving 'Cylinder &c for Bed M^r. P'. This is the first of many references to the furnishing of The Grange.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, early August 1844?[1]

Text: ST, p. 341 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

2 of Wailes [*sic*] best men are in Normandy making studies for old glass. They will return very shortly and then we shall get on. The borders, canopies, etc. are done.

[1] It is impossible to date this fragment with any certainty; high summer seems a likely time. A letter from Wailes to Pugin, preserved at Alnwick, MS C/17/3ii, states that Wailes is going abroad to 'copy Ancient glass'; dated 20 July 1844, it supplies the imperfect ground for the date advanced here; a vague, earlier date is given in ST.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Sunday, 4 August 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/6 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

July 4th 1844[1]

Dear Sir

Since I was with you—I have been thinking that the pattern I left with you for the Paper was too Large in its features & I have designed another which I send you & which is far better. it will be an excellent pattern & by keeping the border & centers the same & varying the colour of the folige pattern for the different rooms great variety will be produced by the same design. [*Sketch: pattern including inscription 'en avant' and 'AWP' in monogram*][2] I *am quite decided on it* so you may get on with the blocks as fast as you can.

I also send you a pattern for the centre of the ceiling pannels which I quite forgot to tell you about.

I also send a pattern of powdering for the ceilings. I rather think the sexfoils are full close as I have drawn them. you may keep them an inch wider apart.

I wish to impress on your mind that there is no time to lose about these blocks—for I must take the patterns down when I go next which will be *the end of this month* & when I should Like You to be with me.[3]

I have left out a pattern of old stuff of the *real time* which Seems to me the very thing for the stuff. chocolate brown or dull rich red for the ground & yellow silk would have a a very rich effect—you may rely on it that such a stuff would be the very thing that is wanted & I think I could dispose of a good deal for altar curtains & church hangings. take care of my old piece as I shall want it again. repeated 3 times it would just do.

it has occured to me that the fringe round the chairs should be of this pattern which would have a good character. [*Sketch: fringe*] I have ordered the glass frame to be left for your man when he comes. the glass will want resilvering. if you write direct to me at Alton.[4] I will attend to the chimney piece.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

be sure & get on for time flies & when I return by the end of this month we must have all ready—& please have the pattern chair for Drawing room ready.

[1] The month in the date seems a mistake, for, according to his diary, Pugin was travelling from 'Ostende to Dover and Ramsgate' on 4 July 1844. This letter almost certainly belongs with another note, MS RIBA PUG. 1/7, which carries an endorsement of 'Augst. 5th 1844'.

[2] The sketch identifies the wallpaper, which is for The Grange; a drawing for it is catalogued in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 232. Pugin's inscription on the design sent to Crace gives instructions about colour for the foliage in the pattern: 'white on Red for Dining Room white on Blue for Drawing Room light green on dark green for Mrs. Pugin's Room.'

[3] Pugin next went down to Ramsgate on Saturday 31 August, and it seems from endorsements on his letter to Crace of 29 August 1844 that Crace accompanied him.

[4] Pugin's diary shows that he left London on Monday 5 August and reached Alton on Wednesday 7 August.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Sunday, 4 August 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/7[1] *Address*: M^{r}. J. Crace Jn^{r} / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square
Postmark: none

The old stuff is left out for the man when he calls for the Glass frame.[2]

[1] The MS is endorsed 'Augst. 5th 1844' and annotated with a list in what is believed to be Crace's hand:

1 Sofa
2 Easy Chairs
Pattern Chair—
Pattern of Stuff
Paper for Walls
2 Papers for Ceilings—

[2] The 'old stuff' and the 'Glass frame' are referred to in the other letter to Crace of the same probable date. Pugin's message is written above the address on the address panel. It is probable that the two MSS belong together and form one communication.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — London, Monday, 5 August 1844?[1]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/19 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Monday

Dear Sir

the Niche & high tomb start today for albury with a mason to fix them.

I do not intend fixing the Brass slab on the tomb for the present till all the glass is in & the chantry secured from Damp. there will angels in the niches of the tomb & the shields will have coloured charges—when finished. Anthony Brown must take particular care that the tomb is fixed in its right position on account of the tiles.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have also sent down the cross for the gable.

[1] The expectation Pugin expresses in his letter to Drummond of 24 July 1844 that the niche will be fixed 'next week', together with the record of Pugin's whereabouts provided by his diary, suggests a possible date for this letter.

To THE BUILDING COMMITTEE OF ST GEORGE'S CHURCH

London, Wednesday, 7 August 1844

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London August 7 1844

I hereby certify that George Myers has duly performed so much of the work of S[t] Georges church Lambeth as to entitle him to a further payment of five hundred pounds on account of Plastering flooring & Glazing.[1]

£500. 0. 0

✠ A Welby Pugin
Master of the work.

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the sum of twentyfive pounds being the comission on the above.

✠ A Welby Pugin

£25. 0. 0

[1] The only receipt from Myers for payment for St George's in 1844 preserved in SAA St G is dated 28 June.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM

Alton Towers, about Sunday, 11 August 1844?[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/44 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

The bearer of this is Prince Rospigliosi who with his son count Rudolph has been staing with the Earl of Shrewsbury. he is one of the oldest of the Roman Princes and his son appears to me a very devout young man for these days at least. as they have much influence at Rome Lord Shrewsbury is very anxious they should conceive a very favourable feeling towards the university of oxford, as the count speaks excellent English I hope you may be able to point out the most important objects to their attention. I think they will be surprised to see so much solemnity about the collegiate chapels & this may be productive of much good. I know you will do your best to put them in the right way.

ever with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] 'Distinguished visiters', *Oxford University, City, and County Herald*, 39 (17 August 1844): 3, includes Prince Rospigliosi among those who have been to the university in the past week, and mentions that Count 'Ludolf', ambassador from the court of Sicily to Rome, and Dr Carpi, a professor at Rome, accompanied him. Pugin was at Alton from 7 August to 14 August; this letter could have been written at any time during that week, or even on his earlier visit to Alton from 19 July to 1 August, as the prince had been in England since June.

Giulio Cesare, fourth Prince Rospigliosi (1781–1859); his sons were Clemente and Francesco.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Alton Towers, Sunday, 11 August 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/8[1] *Address*: M[r]. John Crace Jn[r]. / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Alton; AU 11 1844 in Cheadle; 12 AU 12 1844

✠ Alton Sunday.

Dear Sir

I have already made 2 sketches for your fire place & destroyed them.[2] I find it is quite impossible for me to do anything with *a glass frame.* it is hopeless—quite. unless people will give up modern ideas & *argmnts* the *antient details* cannot work well—the fire places were always Grand features & carried up high, but these low arches & high glasses will not work.

I am deligted to hear that you are getting on with my things. I hope you will be able to run to down to Ramsgate with me early next month with the patterns.

If I was in your place I should not hesitate to write to Lord Shrewsbury on the subject you mention & I have no dout it will meet with his Lordsips immediate attention.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The endorsement of 'Aug[t] 16[th]', a Friday, is erroneous in view of Pugin's day and the postmarks.
[2] Pugin promises in the longer of the letters to Crace probably written on 4 August 1844 that he will 'attend to the chimney piece'.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Thursday, 22 August 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/28[1] *Address*: Right Honble / Viscount Midleton / Peper Harow / Godalming / Surrey. *Postmark*: Chelsea; 22 AU 22 1844; AU 23 1844 in Godalming

✠ Chelsea Thursday

My Lord

it has pleased Almighty God to deprive me of my dear wife who departed this morning after a few days illness.[2] I am sure under these distressing circumstances your Lordsip will excuse my writing on business for a few days. I have 6 children & one only a few months old.[3] God help me for I am in sad possition.

with great respect
your devoted[?] devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper and enclosed in a matching envelope with a black border.
[2] Louisa Pugin died on 22 August 1844; the cause of death given on her death certificate is 'Rheumatic Fever' lasting '1 Week'. Pugin draws a black square round the printed date in his diary and enters: 'This morning at ½ to 3 a.m. departed my good and dear faithful wife Louisa whose dear soul may God in his mercy assoil.' Before that, he enters 'My dearest Louisa taken ill' on 14 August, the day when he travelled from Alton to Birmingham. After the funeral of John Hardman senior on 16 August, he returned to Alton but went up to London almost immediately, on 17 August, and stayed there for two days before going back to Alton on 19 August. On 21 August he 'Went to London by express' because 'dearest L in extremity'. Wiseman, writing to Hardman from Alton Towers on 22 August 1844 in a letter, number 186, in the file of 'Hardman Correspondence' in BAA, reports that 'Pugin left suddenly yesterday morn[g]. not expecting to find M[rs] P. alive'.
3 The six children are Anne, aged twelve, and the five who were Louisa's: Edward, born in March 1834, Agnes, born in October 1836, Cuthbert, born in June 1840, Katharine, born in November 1841, and Mary, born in September 1843.

To DANIEL ROCK — London, Friday, 23 August 1844

Text: MS SAA T-R 179[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea. Friday

Revd & Dear D[r]. Rock

I besheech your prayers for the soul of my dear wife who departed this transitory life yesterday morning after only a few days illness but having recd all the Last

sacraments with the most lively faith. this dreadful affliction has quite crushed me. I have 6 children & the youngest only a few months old. as you was the instrument under God of reconciling her to the true faith I feel assured you will remember her in offering up the holy sacrifice.[2] by you she was grafted to the church of christ. oh pray think of her soul.

I remain dear D[r] Rock
with great respect
your devoted friend
AWelby Pugin[3]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Rock received Louisa Pugin into the Catholic Church at Alton Towers in May 1839.
[3] Pugin writes his habitual cross before his signature, then smudges it.

To LUIGI GENTILI — London, Saturday, 24 August 1844?

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 479[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ 42 cheyne Walk Chelsea.

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

my poor dear wife is to be buried at S[t] Chads—& when the day is fixed it would be the greatest charity if you would come.[2] I Long to see you—my dear Father for I have a weight on my heart. I cannot help viewing this sad affliction as a judgment of almighty God in punishment of my sins. I Long therefore to Lay my heart open to you & make a general Confession—do send me a line to say if you could mange to come. it will be after the opening of Nottingham probably.[3] it will be the 31.

ever dear Father gentili
your devoted sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Louisa Pugin's funeral took place in St Chad's on Friday 30 August; contemporary accounts do not disclose whether or not Gentili was present. Her body had been brought to Birmingham on 24 August and laid in the chapel of the bishop's house. She was buried in the crypt of the cathedral after an elaborate ceremony at which John Moore was the celebrant. The obsequies are described in 'Birmingham.—Funeral of Mrs. Pugin at St. Chad's Cathedral', *Tablet*, 5 (14 September 1844): 580: 'In the morning, at half-past nine o'clock, the funeral retinue moved from the cathedral to the bishop's house, and thence, with the corpse, back to the cathedral'; the procession arranged itself in 'nearly the same order' as had been followed at the funeral of John Hardman senior. Pugin had attended that funeral on the morning of 16 August, when, according to a letter which George Mann wrote to 'John', Jean Bethune of Courtrai, on the same day and which is preserved among the FdeBP, 'the Clergy & others went in procession to his house at Handsworth to seek the body—there were more than 200 persons in the procession & D[r]. Wiseman & the Clergy of Oscott met the procession at the door of the Cathedral—& his Lordship celebrated the High Mass, there were thousands of spectators & the greatest order and decorum was observed. Requiescat in pace. The weather is wet & very cold . . . '

On the occasion of Louisa Pugin's funeral, according to the report in the *Tablet*, 'On reaching the cathedral, the body, which had been carried on the shoulders of eight brothers of the confraternity appointed for such offices, and covered with a rich pall, was placed under a hearse or canopy, elevated to the height of fourteen feet, and beautifully ornamented with rows or clusters of candles, which crested and pinnacled the entire frame-work. On the back and front and along the sides of the canopy were arranged the escutcheon and other devices of the deceased; the torches also, carried by six boys, and the candles which were burned around the coffin in great numbers, being emblazoned with the same. High Mass was sung, and the usual ceremonies were performed, and the body was again carried in procession to a chantry chapel in the crypt. After the obsequies had been thus celebraten [*sic*], a dole of bread was distributed, at Mr. Pugin's request, to two hundred poor people, and a shilling each to thirty-one poor widows; thirty-one pounds having been likewise given as an offering to the Church, in memory of the years which Mrs. Pugin had lived.' Among the mourners noticed are Lord Shrewsbury and C. De la Barre Bodenham, besides six bishops. These last are named in an item, 'Birmingham', *Tablet*, 5 (21 September 1844): 597, as Brown, Briggs, Baggs, Sharples, Riddell, and Wiseman; Weedall, Frank Amherst, and Bernard Smith are also present; so are Hardman and Myers and a Mr Burton who is probably T. J. Burton. There is also a Mr 'Brockles', with initials 'J.' in one report, 'F. F.' in the other, who is from Lancashire. Dress is observed: 'The clerical mourners wore, according to ancient usage, birettas and priest's cloaks; while the laity were habited in the solemn mourning robe and hood of the middle ages.'

Bishop Brown may be either G. H. Brown, vicar apostolic of Lancashire, or, perhaps with more likelihood, T. J. Brown, vicar apostolic of Wales. Charles Michael Baggs (1806–45), an Irishman and a convert, was educated at St Edmund's College, Ware, ordained in 1834, and appointed vicar apostolic of the western district in 1844. James Sharples (1796 or 1797–1850) was coadjutor vicar apostolic of Lancashire.

'Brockles' may be Francis Fitzherbert Brockholes, of Claughton, Lancashire, who, dying in 1851 at the age of 48, was buried in the crypt of St Chad's, or he may be Thomas Fitzherbert Brockholes (1800–73).

T. M. Leith in his MS 'Chronicle' preserved in BAA lists among the properties of St Chad's 'A large Chapelle Ardente for funerals consisting of four strong pillars fourteen feet high supporting a triangular roof of black cloth—Prepared for the funeral of M^rs^ Pugin and presented by M^r^ Pugin to the church at the same time' (vol. 2, fol. 220); he refers also to 'A large cloth cover to the Chapelle Ardente bound with white deep silk fringe—Gift of A. W. Pugin' (fol. 235), on which he places a value of ten pounds. When solemn requiem mass was sung for Pugin at the time of his death, this 'Pugin catafalque' (fol. 30), as Leith calls it, was used again. St Chad's also has 'Six large ditto [i.e., candle shields] for hearse lights at funeral's black grouns with red diagonal line The gift of M^r^ Pugin at his wifes funeral' (fol. 209). MWDB enters to Pugin at 10 September 1844 a 'Coffin Plate & Handles' at a cost of £4. 8*s.* and '16 Shields for Candles & Pans' at a cost of £7. 18*s.* Heath's invoice of thirteen shillings for the 'Coffin plate Mrs Pugin' is dated 20 September 1844 and preserved in the bundle of invoices for that year.

The Metal sales ledger debits Pugin with £1. 2*s.*, being 'Cash paid to Choir, for Dirge for M^rs^. Pugin', at 26 August 1845, and with £6 'To Cash paid for Dirge for M^rs^. Pugin' at 26 August 1846.

[3] The punctuation is Pugin's; in sense, 'probably' belongs rather with the sentence that follows. Insofar as the choice of day was his, Pugin might have preferred the date of 31, since that was Louisa's age.

The cathedral of St Barnabas was consecrated with splendour and ceremony on 27 August 1844, in the presence of four thousand people, according to 'Consecration of the Catholic Cathedral, Nottingham', *Orthodox Journal*, 19 (31 August 1844): 143–4. It was opened the following day, when the reporter who filed 'Nottingham. Consecration and opening of St. Barnabas' church', *Tablet*, 5 (7 September 1844): 564, was deeply impressed by the gold vestments designed by Pugin and by the simultaneous sight of fourteen mitres glittering with jewels. A special train brought visitors from Birmingham, according to 'Consecration of St. Barnabas Roman Catholic church, Nottingham', *Illustrated London News*, 5 (31 August 1844): 132. Lord and Lady Shrewsbury were there, accompanied, so George Mann told J. B. Bethune in a letter of 29 August preserved among FdeBP, by Prince and Princess Doria Pamphili. Pugin was not present.

To LUIGI GENTILI London, Monday, 26 August 1844?

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 658[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

your Letter has consoled & comforted me more than I can express—for I have been overwhelmed not only with grief but with with the sense of my unworthy conduct which I feel has drawn down the arm of God upon me for having neglected so Long to profit as I ought to have done from the many graces & blessings I have received.[2] I am now preparing Myself for a most humble & seemly confession and all I hope is that being restored to a state of grace I may have strength to persevere to the end—as my poor dear wifes funeral will take place on Friday I am anxious to make my confession to you on *Thursday afternoon at the convent*—so that my soul may be freed from its present oppression before the holy sacrifice is offered on Friday.[3] pray apply the inclosed offering as you judge best for the soul of my dear wife & believe ever most dear Father Gentili

your devoted Servant
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin's phrase in his letter to Gentili written about 24 August 1844, where he regards Louisa's death 'as a judgment of almighty God in punishment for my sins', is no more specific than what he says here of his sense of 'unworthy conduct'; he may in both cases have only a conviction of general backsliding in mind. It is possible, however, especially in view of the fact that it is to Gentili that he chooses thus to open his heart, that he is thinking of the affection which he came to find himself feeling for Mary Amherst before Louisa Pugin's death; Gentili already was or soon became Mary's spiritual director. The letters from Mary Amherst to Gentili which afford evidence for this surmise are preserved among the Gentili papers.

[3] The convent at Handsworth.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, Monday, 26 August 1844?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [80][2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I found it absolutly necessary to send all my dear Children but Edward out of town & They left this morning for Ramsgate under the care of the Governess & a friend.[3] they are all very unwell & the only course I could pursue was to give them imediate change of air & scene. poor litte edward is inconsolable & he will not quit me for a moment. my dear wifes funeral is to take place at S[t] Chads cathedral on *Friday* next & will be conducted with great solemnity. after this sad duty is over I must make imediate argments for getting rid of my house at Chelsea & moving my things for I cant bear to return to or remain in it.[4] the moment I get these argmets made I will return to your Lordsip & try & do my best.[5] there are several most extra-ordinary circumstances relating to the death of my dear wife which are calculated to

afford me great consolation & the united prayers of so many holy people who are now praying for her repose cannot fail of their effect. In this place I cannot compose my mind to anything like business but I will do all I can after I get away.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faithful
Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's children were still in town on Friday 23 August; he knows on Tuesday 27 August that they have arrived safely, and it is assumed that Anne reported this fact immediately.
[2] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[3] The governess is Miss Greaves; no more is known about her than can be gleaned from Pugin's correspondence. The friend is Miss Keats; she too is an obscure figure: under the heading 'Chelsea.—Father Mathew's visit to St. Mary's chapel, Chelsea', *Tablet*, 4 (26 August 1843): 533, it is reported that Miss Keats played the organ. Pugin makes a note in his diary near 23 October 1844 that 'Miss Keats left'.
[4] Pugin's diary records that he 'Left Chelsea' on 6 September 1844.
[5] Pugin returned to Alton on 29 September 1844.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1]

London, Monday, 26 August 1844

Text: MS Bodley Eng. misc. d. 91, fol. 241[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea. Augs[t] 26.

Dear Sir
I have found the inclosed among my papers & beg to return it to you.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is bound in a volume of miscellaneous correspondence addressed to people who seem to have connections with Oxford but it is impossible to identify the recipient.
[2] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To ANNE PUGIN

London, Tuesday, 27 August 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 240][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea Tuesday

My Dear Anne
I was very glad to hear you got down safe with your brother & sisters.[2] I am thank God as well as I can expect. I hope you will take every care of yourself for my sake &

pray mind what Miss Keats says & tell agnes to do the same for obedience to our teachers is a duty.

I hope to come to you on Saturday night. I will try my best but do not expect me till you see me. your dear brother sends his love to you all & your dear father send you many kisses.[3] I hope you are all comfortable. tell Miss Keats that I wish you to have puddings as often as you Like and if you want broth or beef tea or boiled chicken you can have it.

ever your affectionate Father
✠ A Welby Pugin

give my kindest respects to M^r^. & M^rs^. Thornton who have been such good friends to us.[4]

you must send me a Letter to Birmingham.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Presumably Anne has written to tell her father that all his children, except Edward who stayed in London, have reached Ramsgate safely.
[3] The brother is Edward.
[4] John Thornton was a mill-owner at Sturry near Canterbury; *Powell* states that the Thorntons were Pugin's 'earliest Ramsgate friends' (p. 191).

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Wednesday, 28 August 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 246][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Chelsea Wednesday

My Dear Anne

I was very much pleased with your Letter & its contents. you are a very good girl & a great comfort to your father. I & Edward are going to Birmingham this afternoon & I expect we shall be down with you on *Saturday* but you must not fully expect us.[2] you may be Looking out however on the pier. I sent the dresses for litte Cuthbert &^c^. rember me most kindly to M^r^ & M^rs^. Thornton. I am pretty well—kiss all for me & keep some for yourself. ever your affectionate father

✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin's diary records that he 'went to B with Ed.' on 28 August. He 'Went to Ramsgate' on Saturday 31 August.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Birmingham, Thursday, 29 August 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/10[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham. Thursday

Dear Sir

I am exceedinly obliged by your prompt attention in sending the escutcheon which is everything I could wish. I purpose Going to Ramsgate D. V on Saturday Morning. you will find the boat at *London Bridge warf.*[2] it goes at ¼ past 9. if you miss this by any chance you better come by the margate boat at 10. you cannot miss my house on the Westcliff, but I hope you will come with me.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. Endorsements include 'J. G. C. first visit to Ramsgate' and many measurements and estimates of the quantity of wallpaper required at The Grange for the drawing-room, dining-room, east, west and south bedrooms, nursery, dressing-room where a 'simple Paper' is wanted, and 'Passage & Closets' where a 'quiet Paper' is needed.

[2] The *Post Office Directory* for 1845 lists two companies with vessels plying between Ramsgate and London Bridge wharf: the General Steam Navigation Company operated its steam packets, *Fame* and *Mercury*, and the New Commercial Company ran *Duchess of Kent*, all sailing from the capital daily at 9.30 a.m.

To ANNE PUGIN — Birmingham, Thursday, 29 August 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 251] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham. Thursday.

My Dear Anne

I fully hope & expect to come down to you on Saturday by the steam boat so you can be looking out for me but pray take care the children do not fall over the pier. kiss them all for me.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

To LORD SHREWSBURY — London, Friday, 30 August 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/26[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ chelsea Friday evening

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have just returned to London and I cannot refrain from writing to your Lordsip to express my *great Gratitude* for your infinite kindness in coming to Birmingham.[2] such unlooked for & most unexpected tribute of respect to my Late dear wife *has*

affected me more than I can express—and I am unable to tell you how *very deeply I feel it.* My Dear Lord Shrewsbury I shall never forget it while I have life but all I can do in return is to serve your Lordsip with increased love & zeal. I only regret I was not apprised of your Lordsips intentions yesterday that I might have made suitable arrgmnts but I knew nothing till I got your Lordsips kind Letter this morning—& this Letter I will most carefully preserve—as a testimony of your Lordsips infinite kindness towards me.[3]

I remain ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with the greatest gratitue & respect
your faithful & devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] After 'My Dearest Louisa buried at St. Chads [*sic*]' Pugin enters 'to London in afternoon' in his diary at 30 August.
[3] *Ferrey*, p. 175, quotes the letter.

MY DEAR PUGIN,
I am coming to St. Chads [*sic*] to pay my tribute of affection and respect to you by attending the solemn service, and in which we all feel so deep an interest. Douglas comes with me, and young Bodenham returns.
I hope you will allow me to see you after the sad ceremony.

Yours, &c.,
SHREWSBURY.

Douglas has not been securely identified. He may be William Alexander Anthony Archibald (b.1811), Marquis of Douglas, who in 1843 married Princess Mary Amelia Elizabeth Caroline, daughter of the Grand Duke of Baden; the Grand Duchess of Baden is apparently a visitor at Alton Towers on 18 May 1845, according to Pugin's diary.
Charles De la Barre Bodenham (1813–83), of Rotherwas Park, Herefordshire; he married in 1850 Irena Maria, daughter of Count Dzierzy Kraj-Morawska of Operow.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Wednesday, 4 September 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/9[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir
I quite forgot to ask you Last night if you had received the size of the Large bed from M[r]. Hardman and also to give you the size of my own | which I now send you.[2] it is [*Sketch in lieu of words: plan of bed with dimensions '5.6', '5.11', '5.0', '6.6', '7.1', '15½' and '15½', and inscribed 'small posts behind 2½ square' and 'Large posts in front 5½ square'*].[3] I want the original drawing of the 1[st]. pattern of paper I sent you.[4] the Large one & I shall probably call for it this afternoon.

yours most truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin writes to Hardman about the bed on 2 August 1844.
[3] Pugin first writes 'it is 5 feet × 6 feet 6 within the posts', then cancels all but the first two of those words and replaces them with a sketch.
[4] The paper is referred to in the letter to Crace of 4 August 1844.

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Wednesday, 4 September 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 254][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

I was very glad to get your Letter. I am packing up everything as fast as possible.[2] I do not quite know if I shall be able to get down on Saturday but I hope to do so.[3]

ever your affectionate Father
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] After spending the weekend at Ramsgate, Pugin returned to London on Monday 2 September. He managed the packing speedily enough to be able to enter 'sent things to Warf [*sic*]' in his diary at Friday 6 September.
[3] Pugin 'Went to Ramsgate' on Saturday 7 September, according to his diary.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Thursday, 5 September 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/42[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Thursday.

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

many thanks for your truly kind Letter. I am now in the very midst of moving my library and feel almost knocked up. I do not think it safe to leave so many valuable books in the hands of mere packers. I have therefore ventured to defer my journey to oxford till next week when I will give you due notice of my arrival.[2] I cannot tell you how sadly I am perplexed in my present unhappy situation. in addition to all business matters I have now the almost overpowering care of my whole familly.

I remain dear sir
ever your devoted servant with respect
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin next visited Oxford on 19 September 1844.

To LORD MIDLETON — Ramsgate, Saturday, 7 September 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/32[1] *Address*: Right Honble / viscount Midleton / Peper Harrow / near Godalming / Surrey *Postmark*: SP 8 1844 in Ramsgate; 9 SP 9 1844; SP 9 1844 in Godalming

✠ Ramsgate Sep^{r}. 7 1844

My Lord

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordsips letter. These delays are most vexatious & certainly quite unecessary. I do not like the *amended* plan at all—it is like a bad suburban house & not at all the Character of a small farm.[2] there has been more writing about this small job than over a great church. I would really advise your Lorship to order it to proceed at once. I purpose coming to Peper Harow on the 17 or 18 & Lord Shrewsbury will be in the Neighbourhood & is most anxious to see the works in progress at the church &^{c}.[3] he will probably come over about the same time if your Lordsip will permit it. he will be staying at Albury & will drive over. I have entirely left Chelsea & trust by the blessing of God to get better for I feel quite exausted in mind & Body.

I will take care to get everything arranged that wants settling when I come down & remain with respect

your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

if your Lordsip has ocasion to write in the interval of coming down please to direct post office Ramsgate.[4]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper with a matching envelope.

[2] Presumably the subject here is the work on Lord Midleton's Irish estates, perhaps the farmhouse at Ballysimon referred to in the letter to the viscount of 20 March 1844.

[3] Pugin made visits to Peper Harow on 17 September and 18 September 1844 while he was staying at Albury, where Lord Shrewsbury was a guest.

[4] It seems that, because The Grange was not yet ready for occupation, Pugin had to take lodgings for his family for a time.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Sunday, 8 September 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/46[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Nativity of the B. V.

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

having now removed entirely from chelsea I trust the heath of my dear children will improved & that I shall be able to attain a greater tranquillity of mind. I am very anxious to see you & inspect the progress of the gateway. I expect to reach you

about the 18th.[2] I hope you have informed the Revd President of the sad reason which has prevented me coming down before.[3] Myers will want some Money for the church—but I dare say he can wait till I come down.[4] I am still very unwell & feel much distressed & harassed. pray Let me hear from you. a Letter Directed Post office

Ramsgate will reach me.

ever with respect dear Mr. Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin was in Oxford on 19 September.
[3] The President of Magdalen College was M. J. Routh.
[4] The church of St Lawrence at Tubney.

To LORD MIDLETON — Brighton, Sunday, 15 September 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/29[1] *Address*: Right Honble / Lord Midleton / Tattons hotel / Berkeley Square / London *Postmark*: SP 13 1844 in Brighton; 16 SP 16 1844[2]

✠ Brighton Sunday[3]

My Lord

as Lord Shrewsbury will only stop one day at Albury I cannot get him to put off his visit to Peper Harrow but I will come over on *Wednesday* morning *alone* & meet your Lordship & Mr. Myers will be there at the same time.[4] if your Lordsip can manage to come down therefore for that day we can do everything. perhaps your Lordsip will be good enough to send a line to Peper Harow which I can find on Tuesday to say if this arrangement will suit you.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper with a mourning envelope.
[2] The postmark of 13 September is presumably due to a post office servant's oversight.
[3] According to his diary, Pugin arrived in Brighton on Thursday 12 September 1844 and stayed there until he went direct to Albury on Monday 16 September. The reason for his visit was the request Barry made in his letter of 3 September for Pugin's help with the designs for the fittings of the House of Lords. There is an unexplained contrariety between Pugin's diary, which seems to be accurate, and the extract from Barry's diary for 1844 printed in *A. Barry* which includes the entries 'Sept. 19 (Thursday) Mr. Pugin came to me, and assisted with drawings for finishings of House of Lords' (p. 40), and 'Sept. 23 (Monday) Mr. Pugin left me'. Barry was staying in Brighton for reasons of health.
[4] Lord Shrewsbury, accompanied by Pugin, must have paid his visit to Peper Harow on Tuesday 17 September, and Pugin, when he returned on Wednesday 18 September, gone alone.

To ANNE PUGIN — Brighton, Monday, 16 September 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 252] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Brighton Monday

My Dear Anne

I find I shall be obliged to go to oxford before I return.[1] in fact I do not think I shall get back till Saturday Morning. all Letters that come before Tuesday night put in an envelope & direct to me post office oxford.

tell Miss Greaves I do wish any of the books to be unpacked till I come back but to make olvirer tack *the baize on the bookcases* & the *leather on the shelves.*[2] kisses to all the dear children. I hope you are all good.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

be sure to have the baize & Leather on the book shevls by the time I come back.

[1] Pugin went to Oxford on Thursday 19 September and returned to Ramsgate on Saturday 21 September.

[2] Clearly Pugin omits 'not' from the instruction to be passed to Miss Greaves. Oliver is mentioned in other letters as helping in the way of a handyman and general factotum at The Grange.

To LORD MIDLETON — Peper Harow, Wednesday, 18 September 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/21 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I hereby Certify that M^{r}. Aylwin has superintended the works at the Farm buildings oxenford and Mousehill cottage to my entire Satisfaction.[1]

✠ AWelby Pugin
master of the work

Sep^{r}. 18th. 1844

[1] A receipt from Pugin for £25. 15s., 'being the final balance of commission on Farm buildings & also for Mousehill cottage but not including Carpenters work', is part of MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1①; it is dated 9 July 1844. Pugin makes a note on the page facing p. 3 of his diary for 1844 that the amount of the 'commission on Mousehill Carpenters work' is £5.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Saturday, 21 September 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/34 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Saturday

Dear Sir

I was very sorry to miss you in London but I was too pressed for time to stop.

the Ceiling pattern will do exceedinly well except the *inner* Rose should have a yellow edge as well as the outer one. [*Sketch: rose*] if you can manage this *easily* do it. *if not let it go as it is.* the brown paper will not do—it is wrong in principle & does not look well. I should like it all Red that is the *whole pattern* a deep red on a lighter red ground. then the whole would form a ground for Sheids &c upon it that I might put up afterwards. I am sure that would be the thing. I hope you will be all ready to start papering by the 1st week in October as I return here at that time on purpose. if you write next week direct to me at Alton.[1]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have written to Mr. Hardman about the size of Mattress.[2]

[1] Pugin was at Alton Towers from 29 September to 1 October.
[2] This letter to Hardman seems not to have survived.

To LORD MIDLETON — En route, Tuesday, 24 September 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/30[1] *Address*: Right Honble / Viscount Midleton / Peper Harrow / near Godalming / Surrey; [redirected in another hand to] Tattons Hotel / Berkeley Sqr / London *Postmark*: SE 24 1844 in Warwick; 25 SP 25 1844; SP 25 1844 in Godalming; 26 SP 26 1844

my adress will be Ramsgate.

My Lord

I think it will be advisable at my next visit to Lay before you an accurate statement of accounts of the works that are under my superintendence at Peper Harow as I fear greatly that the expense of the norman work will exceed your Lordsips expectations—it seems to take an enormous time & the cost of the pillars with all these litte sinkings is in my opinion greater than the effect.[2] I assure you it alarmed me to know the wages that have been paid & the litte that has been done on all this extra work. I do not mean to say that more could or ought to have been done, but I know it will cost a good deal, & from what your Lordsip mentioned to me about money matters I really think it will be well for you to see clearly, how the case stands with regard to what is now doing so that your Lordsip can decide wether you will proceed to other works in the spring or not. with all my care & experience & without a farthing profit to pay I have had above £1500 to pay more for my house than I intended to expend

& nothing would grieve or distress more than that your Lordsip should be led into a greater outlay than you expected in the works I have the honour of superintending for you.

I remain with respect your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil on mourning paper, with a black-edged envelope on which the address Pugin writes is also in pencil.
[2] Pugin refers to the church of St Nicholas at Peper Harow.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ushaw, Friday, 27 September 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/33[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Cuthberts College.
Sepr 27.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I herewith send you an entirely new plan for the schools containing all the required accomdation.[2] as you will perceive by the plans I have been obliged to turn the design owing to the narrowness of the ground, the whole is set back within a wall & the view is from the angle in high street. I think it is a far better thing than the other & will not cost more money. I wish I could have sent you better drawings but I have been *travelling incessantly* scince I Left you & was obliged to sit up half the night to do this. I will attend to your wishes respecting Tubney. the 2 carvers will come in a few days to the Galetway & I expect to be with you again shortly.

I remain ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] In the event it was only in 1849 that the first stone was laid of the school, built to plans drawn by John Chessell Buckler (1793–1894), who had won second place in the competition for the Houses of Parliament in 1835. The governing body decided on 20 May 1844 to advertise for plans; four drawings made by Pugin for this scheme are preserved at Magdalen College School, each identified in Bloxam's inscription as '2[nd] Set of Designs—1844', Pugin having drawn a first set in 1843. One of the set of four, addressed on the verso to Bloxam and postmarked 28 September 1844 in Durham and 30 September 1844 in Oxford, is the pencil view 'from the angle in high street' which Pugin soon mentions in this letter; another, in ink, is an elevation; the other two are the 'ground plan', and the 'Plan of 1[st] floor' and 'upper story of the masters house'; this last is also addressed on the verso to Bloxam and postmarked 28 September 1844 in Durham and 29 September 1844 in Oxford. Drawings from this set are reproduced in Timothy Brittain-Catlin, 'It all melts away: AWN Pugin in Oxford', in the Pugin Society's *True Principles*, 2, no. 4 (2002): 32–4. Buckler's Choristers' Hall is now the college library.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Friday, 27 September 1844[1]

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 696[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Sep 27

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

I am delighted at the prospect you hold out of obtaining one of your order which I so highly venerate for a tutor to my boys—I would not give less than £50 a year & provide everything for him to my best ability for his comfort.[3] pray Let me hear further from you as soon as you can. I suppose he would not want more than one private room a sort of bed & sitting room as my house is but small.

ever with greatest respect
dear Father Gentili
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter was probably written at Ushaw where Pugin received his post forwarded from Ramsgate.
[2] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[3] Gentili belonged to the Rosminian 'order'. The boys are Edward, aged ten and a half, and Cuthbert, who had turned four in June.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Saturday, 28 September 1844[1]

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/21[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Sep 28

Dear Sir

I return to Ramsgate DV on Saturday the 5 of october.[3] I hope you will be able to send down the paper Hanger as I have only a short time to stop & should like to see all arranged while I am there, the sooner you can Let me have some of the things after that the better, & I shall be ready to square up for them. let me hear fromy you.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

Direct to Ramsgate & I shall get the letter forwarded.

[1] Pugin's diary shows that he travelled from Ushaw to Derby on this day.
[2] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[3] It was on Sunday 6 October that Pugin returned to Ramsgate, according to his diary.

To ANNE PUGIN Ushaw, Saturday, 28 September 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 244] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

S[t] Cuthberts Ushaw. 28

My Dear Anne

I got all the letters safe at Ushaw—beg of Miss Greaves to make as many fires as possible in the rooms especially of an evening as I am going to bring down the *paper Hangers* when I come. this is very particular. I suppose you will get out of the Lodgings *next week* altogether. I hope you are all well & very good & attend to Miss Keats. kisses for all.

your affectionate Father
✠ AWelby Pugin

I expect to be with you this day week.[1]

[1] It was on Sunday 6 October that Pugin reached Ramsgate again.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Alton Towers, Sunday, 29 September 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/17 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Sunday.

Dear Sir

I have just got to alton—& found your Letter. if you think Lining paper necessary have it as I rely on your judment in these matters especially for the best rooms. you better Leave the panel between the Albert Durers *oak* for the present.[1] I can decorate it at Ramsgate myself.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

The paper hanger better begin with the tower room, *ceilings* &[c] which are dry & the bed rooms leaving the lower rooms as long as possible.

[1] Pugin owned a number of engravings by Dürer, whom he had long admired. In Sotheby's catalogue of the sale of Pugin's engravings in April 1853, the 'Works of Albert Durer' were numerous and important enough to warrant a section of their own. Colnaghi paid eight guineas for Adam and Eve with the serpent of 1504, a '*very fine impression, rare, oak frame*', and five pounds for lot 73, a group of three works by Dürer, two of them with the Virgin as subject, and a number of unattributed others '*contained in one oak frame*'. Hardman bought a Madonna for three guineas, Melancholy for five pounds, and a shield of arms for four pounds; 'The Knight of Death' fetched £7. 15*s*.; all of these are in oak frames, but it is not possible to determine to which of them, if any, Pugin refers in this letter.

To WILLIAM POWELL?[1] Alton Towers, Tuesday, 1 October 1844

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: M[r]. Powell / John Hardmans Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham
Postmark: OC 1844 in Cheadle; OC 2 1844 in Birmingham

M[r]. Powell

I purpose coming to Birmingham on *Wednesday afternoon* & I will go to M[r]. Heaths the engraver & to your brother and other places where I may be wanted.[3] I shall sleep at Handsworth so you ask them if they can let me have a bed, I inclose you 2 drawings for Newcastle which I can explain to you when I come.[4]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] William Powell (1820–95), third son of Hardman's half-sister Lucy, was Hardman's assistant in his firm, looking after the brasswork. The *Post Office Directory* for Birmingham for 1845 lists William Powell junior as a 'cast brass founder' with premises at 37 Parade, which had been Hardman's address. Pugin does not write to Hardman because, as emerges from his letter to his daughter Anne of perhaps 3 October, Hardman was at Ramsgate.

[2] The letter, which is inscribed '1841–44 Box', has been given the number 79 in the microfilm of the BCA deposit held in HLRO.

[3] Pugin arrived in Birmingham on Wednesday 2 October.
The 'brother' is James Powell (1825–65), fourth son of Lucy and William Powell senior, who was also employed by Hardman.

[4] Hardman's house was at Handsworth.

To ANNE PUGIN En route, Thursday, 3 October 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 390][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

I fear with all my expedition I shall not get home till Sunday afternoon as I do not know how to get to London from Norfolk in time for Saturday.[2] if I am hard pressed I shall hear an early mass on Sunday in London & come off by the boat. I have been travelling incessantly & feel quite worn out & very poorly. I would give anything to get to Ramsgate.

I do not know what sizes of blankets to get and M[r] Crace is going to send down the blankets for the 2 Large beds so I cant get the others till I come & know what sizes are wanted.

I hope M[r]. Hardman will not go away till I come for I shall be much distressed not to see him & I could not get through my journey any quicker than I have done. kisses for all. I shall be very glad if you can go out of the lodgings but do not go Unless you can get on comfortably.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

tell Miss Keats that I have a prospect of an admirable priest for a chaplain.[3]

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin, as feared, did not reach Ramsgate until Sunday 6 October. On the day suggested for this letter he was crossing the country from Birmingham to King's Lynn. As he goes on to say, he had been 'travelling incessantly' since he left Ramsgate on 23 September: to London, Warwick, Nottingham, Hull, Beverley, Newcastle, Ushaw, Derby, Alton, Kirkham, Preston, and Liverpool before he arrived in Birmingham on 2 October.

[3] Perhaps it was Gentili, to whom Pugin applied before 27 September for a tutor, who suggested the chaplain who came to The Grange in December 1844. Luigi or Louis Acquarone (*c.*1795–1850?) was an Italian who was at Prior Park in 1843 or 1844, as Gentili had earlier been; he became professor of Italian at Oscott in 1846 and of theology in 1847; he acted as chaplain to Maryvale when Newman's community went there in 1846. *Powell* describes the sojourn at Ramsgate of the 'learned Italian' (p. 176) who was 'an enthusiastic Classical Antiquarian, knowing only a few words of English', and whom Pugin 'tried to convert . . . , in rapid french, at meal times'. It is not possible to determine from his signature whether his surname should be spelled Acquarone or, perhaps, Acquaroni.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Monday, 7 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/15[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Monday.

Dear Sir

we are *hard up for* Paper. did we arrange a common paper for the nursery. I find it will be necessary to paper the passages & back staircase with the same red paper as the hall. I have forgotten which paper we intended for the *bed* room *& dressing room.* I want to finish the ceilings of the Library & drawing room before everything—so let us have the centers.

yours truly
in haste
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1844* Pugin *Ramsgate*'.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ramsgate, Monday, 7 October 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/59[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate Monday.[2]

My Dear Sir

I send you a plan for the offices on the other side of the Road. I do not know exactly the width of the sheds but that must be regulated by circumstances. I would advise you strongly to cut further back into the ground. the height of the wall must also be regulated by the slope of ground behind as the roof must be *tile pitch* &

should not go far above the rake of Ground. [*Sketch: indication of roof-line and slope of ground*]

2 respecting the patterns of stained windows for hall I have the following remarks to make. There are 6 shields which I Leave you to decide what arms they shall bear but you must alter the bendy Labels—so that Each light may *have a motto suitable to the sheild*—but of course in the same character of Letters. You will also require a motto for the lights of porch from offices. [*Sketch: plan showing position of windows in porch*] I think your daughters will find it enough to paint one of these windows—& let the rest be done by Ward & Nixon.[3]

3 I am anxious to know if the brasses & tiles have arrived safe.[4] your Glass is proceeding. the chantry will be finished next sumer.

I remain dear sir with respect your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] This is the earliest evidence in the correspondence that Pugin has moved into his new house, The Grange.
[3] Thomas Ward (1808–70) and James Henry Nixon (1802–57) formed a partnership in the early 1830s and became one of the leading firms in the making of stained glass.
[4] First discussed in Pugin's letter to Drummond of about 30 November 1843, the brasses are entered in MWDB at 4 October 1844.

To LORD MIDLETON — Ramsgate, Monday, 7 October 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/10[1] *Address*: The Right Honble / viscount Midleton / Peper Harrow / Godalming / Surrey; [redirected in another hand to] Tattons Hotel / Berkeley Sq[r] / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; OC 7 1844 in Ramsgate; OC 8 1844 in Godalming; 8 OC 8 1844; 9 OC 9 1844[2]

✠ Ramsgate Monday

My Lord

I have had a letter from M[r]. Pierce.[3] he says he is now only waiting till M[r] Foley receives instructions from your Lordship how he is to pay the money. M[r]. Pierce wants it weekly.

I greatly fear that it will be impossible for me to get on with your Lordsips Irish business after the present buildings are concluded. I have written more Letters about this unfortunate farm house, than on any great church I have errected. I am sure your Lordsip will perceive that it is impossible for me to carry it on, I wrote as distinctly as possible on several points to Pierce a short time ago & I received a Long Letter Last night with all the ground to go over again, as if I *had never said anything.* I am most anxious to meet your Lordsips wishes. I am indeed, but if we gon on in this way I shall be worried to death & all about nothing. I resigned a Large building

I was to do in Ireland Last week for I cannot get on with them.[4] I hope your Lordship will not be vexed with me for all I do for you in England is a delight & an honour, but these Irish farm buildings are intolerable.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

The only satisfactory part of Pierces Letter is that there is a fall in the river of 5 or 6 feet so we might manage the fountain.[5]

I was very unwell when I returned to Ramsgate or I should have written sooner to your Lordship.

I found also a Letter from Bowler about the chimney at Mousehill. I do not know what to do unless we lower the hight of the fire place in the room. we might try the effect of this by a board. I am quite puzzled for I thought the windguards infallible. the top of flues should however be made to fit the windguards as Bowler proposes.

[1] The letter begins on mourning paper and has a mourning envelope.

[2] Addington Place was a branch post office in Ramsgate, run by George Hope; the main post office was in High Street, further away from Pugin's house.

[3] Part of Pierce's letter about the construction of Ballysimon farmhouse is preserved with this letter of Pugin's and has the same classification number. He writes:

I told M^{r}. Foley, I had rec^{d}. your directions to proceed with the erection of Ballysimon farm house & that, I would be back in about a fortnight to commence the work. He told me that he would give me every assistance he could in the way of procuring Materials, He recommends me to bring a foreman from Wexford, I intend doing so.

M^{r}. Foley will advance Money weekly or by installments to carry on the work as may suit my convenience, If Lord Midleton directs him to do so, therefore you will please to write L. Midleton on that subject, I would prefer geting as much weekly as would pay for Materials & Labour. I should like to know how the money will be advanced before, I go to Midleton, By taking a foreman with me, I will be sure to get the work well done.

Pierce's letter is also concerned with other work in Ireland. He inquires about the shops in Midleton: 'you will please to let me know am I to take the shops by Contract, I should like to do so, If a fair price can be got.' He also discusses the cathedral at Killarney:

Last night, I got your directions & the drawings for Killarney, I wrote the same time giving directions to proceed with the west gable, I will send the working drawings for the gable windows, Quatrefoil Linkings &^{c}. in a day or two.

I have not set out the roof yet, I dont think we can have the timber in Killarney before the latterend of October, It has been ordered from Memal, I will Make a large drawing of the roof & send it to you for approaval.

I herewith send you a drawing of the tower shewing the opes looking into the passage, as these opes are only penciled on the plan, please to let me know have I shewn them right on the enclosed drawing.

[4] This rejected commission has not been identified.

[5] Pierce's plan of 'Main S^{t}.', 'New S^{t}.' and the fall of the river is also preserved with this letter, of which it is classified as part. The interest in the level of the riverbed is due to the intention to build a public fountain for the people of Midleton; Pugin told Thomas Wyse about it in the conversation which Wyse records in his letter of December 1843.

To WILLIAM POWELL? Ramsgate, Monday, 7 October 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: M^r. Powell / M^r. John Hardmans / Paradise Street / Birmingham
Postmark: Addington Place; 7 OC 1844 in Ramsgate; 8 OC 8 1844; OC 8 1844 in Birmingham

Ramsgate. Monday.

M^r. Powell

1^st. both M^r. Crace & M^r. Hull are waiting for *nails* for my chairs.[2] Let them have them with as litle delay as possible.

2^o. D^r Riddells Iron tabernacle is not to be done.[3] I have got a letter from him.

3^o. you must make me imediately the escutcheons for Locks according to the inclosed drawing.[4]

4. I want a strong hook to screw into a beam & a plate according to the drawing I send. all these you must send with the tea caddy as soon as you can.[5]

5 I hope you have sent off M^r Drumonds brasses.[6]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I want my *bell pulls* & cord very bad.[7]

[1] The letter, which has been given the number 92 in the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO, is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin is known to have been associated with Edward Hull since 1834. MWDB records that three gross nails were sent to Hull, costing £1. 10*s*., and five gross to Crace, at £2.10*s*., on 12 October 1844. BCA also contains evidence that John Webb of 8 Old Bond Street, London, was making goods for Pugin at this time, for he writes in a letter of 23 October, preserved in ML 1844, that he is 'desired by M^r Pugin to request' Hardman to send four gross more nails, on Pugin's account.

[3] ML contains a letter from Riddell dated 6 November 1844 inquiring whether the wooden tabernacle ordered for him by Pugin is yet finished; he also wants a lamp similar to the one Hardman sent to Sunderland and he wants to know the cost of two branch candlesticks; he received a letter from Pugin 'yesterday'. At 12 November 1844 MWDB enters to Riddell 'A Small Tabernacle & 2 Altar Steps to drawing' at a price of £9. 10*s*.; the same order includes a sanctuary lamp for £5.

[4] MWDB enters to Pugin at 27 October 1844 '12 White Escutcheons & Pins[?] Strong & Hook & Plate' at a cost of fifteen shillings.

[5] MWDB contains an entry to Pugin at 10 September 1844 for a 'Tea Table & 3 Caddies' at a charge of £42; no other caddy is recorded. The order includes also shields for fireplaces, '10 Sets of Cornice Poles & rings' at 30*s*. each, 'A Priedieu & Triptick' costing £9. 10*s*., and 'A Corona & Chain' at a price of £36.

[6] The brasses are entered in MWDB at 4 October 1844.

[7] '8 Bell Pulls to drawing' are entered to Pugin in MWDB at 4 November 1844; they cost £2. 14*s*.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, Wednesday, 9 October 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/66[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Wednesday

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I purpose being with you on *Tuesday Morning*.[2] The liles &^c^ about the doors take so much time that I have directed M^r^. Myers to prepare 2 rough gates till the oak ones are finised which will be in a few days.

I inclose you a skech of the way in which I propose to treat the porch in the angle & althgh not satisfactory I think it is about the best thing I can do.[3] I trust this will enable the president to decide if I may proceed on that plan. I continue very unwell I am sorry to say with continual headache. This prevents me getting on so fast as I could wish.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin's diary shows him arriving in Oxford on Tuesday 15 October.
[3] The shelter for the porter discussed in Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 10 March 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Wednesday, 9 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/18[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Ramsgate Wednesday.

Dear Sir

there are 22 panels between the joists of the Dining room ceiling & I want to know if the celing paper you have if the ornaments were printed *white* on a vermillion would do.[2] if not I should wish you to get a block done & print a sufficient Quantity as they will do better in paper than Stencilling as the plaster is very bad. I send you $\frac{1}{4}$ bit full size. [*Sketch: strip of paper with 'A' in quatrefoil and dimensions of '1 foot' wide and '8 feet 1$\frac{3}{4}$' long*] you better keep the width *within a foot* as the joists may vary & I should not like the pattern cut but a little more or less blue ground would not matter.

I think you will understand me.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 232, catalogues a drawing for a ceiling panel at The Grange.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Thursday, 10 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/14[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Thursday

My Dear Sir

we are hard up for a peice of dry wainscot to finish my table top. only 9″ or 10 inches wide & 4 feet 9 Long. I rely on your kindness to Let me have a bit. will you be so good as to get it sent off by saturdays Vessell Directed M^r^. Oliver—M^r^ Pugins Westcliff Ramsgate. everything is drying beautifuly.

I remain yours most truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Thursday, 10 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/16 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I expect to be London in Monday evening & should be glad if you could be in the way between 6 & 7 o clock.[1]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I should Like to see some of my frames &^c^.

The Birmingham people say you never sent for the nails *before Last week*.[2] I blew them up for not sending them.[3]

[1] Pugin went up to London on Monday 14 October.
[2] Crace's letter ordering seven hundred brass nails for Pugin survives in ML; it is dated 5 October 1844.
[3] Pugin 'blew them up' in his letter to William Powell of 7 October.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Thursday, 10 October 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^t^ Augustins Oct 10

since you Left I have been very poorly indeed.[2]

My Dear Hardman

I have been compelled to alter my Line of Route & go to oxford first so I shall not reach you till Friday night & stop 2 days.[3] I inclose you the order for Lynn from M^r^ Dalton.[4]

Revd D^r^ Weedall has decided on having a £30 chalice.[5]

D[r] Riddell wants his tabernacle made in wood (Mahogany instead of iron.[6] The same drawing I gave Powell will do but rember it must hold the ciborium you are making.[7] he wants also to have the bottom to slide & fasten with a pin so as to leave a space Like a box below to hold the pyx. [*Sketch: tabernacle marked 'back', 'slide', 'pyx' and 'Section'*] the ciborium will be removed at night but the B. Sacrament will remain. I think you will understand this. he wants it as soon as you can. the small Iron one Powell has had begun will come in very useful. pray have my candlesticks gilt ready for me.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. The MS is marked '1841–44 Box' but not in the usual hand. In the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO this letter has been given the number 89.

[2] The only reference to this visit Hardman paid to Ramsgate is the oblique one in Pugin's letter to Anne Pugin perhaps written on 3 October. Consolation was no doubt a motive but the two men may be supposed to have talked also about the appointments of The Grange and work for the Houses of Parliament, among specific commissions, and perhaps Hardman floated the idea that J. H. Powell become Pugin's pupil.

[3] According to his diary Pugin arrived in Birmingham from Exeter on Friday 18 October and left on Monday 21 October for London.

[4] The 'order' may be a brief letter from Dalton preserved in ML 1844, dated simply '1844' and addressed to 'My dear Sir', which opens with the question: 'Would you please to tell me—what things you are making for me?' Perhaps this missive was sent to Pugin, for when Dalton writes to Hardman on 'All Souls', 2 November, this letter also being filed in ML 1844, his salutation is 'Dear M[r]. Hardman'. Both letters state his need for candlesticks and a ciborium but the second one is more explicit: 'I shall want 6 Candlesticks, Lamp for B. Sacrament . . . thurible & boat . . . Brass cross for Tabernacle' and a '*small*' ciborium. It pains him to have to be so 'parsimonious', but he went ahead, nevertheless: a letter written from King's Lynn on 'S[t]. Gregory', 27 November, and held in ML 1844, instructs Hardman to 'put the things in hand as soon as convenient, because probably we shall enter the Church *before* the opening, in consequence of the old Chapel being so dilapidated'. Myers has told him 'that the stained-glass, altar, & font will soon be ready, so that soon after Christmas we may have Prayed in the New Church.

One of your *common* Thuribles will do. You may also make me a Ciborium: but dont go beyond £5 or 6—if you please. Would that I could afford a £50 one—for such a sacred object.'

Already on 9 February 1844 MWDB records Dalton's purchase of a holy-water vat and sprinkler, a holy-water stoup, a small cross, and a pair of candlesticks at a total cost of £4. 6*s*. 6*d*. The present order, for a sum of £42. 12*s*., is entered in MWDB at 17 April 1845: four brass standards for the rood costing £3. 4*s*., four brass candlesticks with cresting for eight guineas, an iron tabernacle with base and two gilt oak steps diapered for the altar at a price of £20, a brass thurible and boat costing £2. 10*s*., and a copper gilt ciborium for £8. 10*s*. In a letter in the file of ML April 1845, under a date of 'S[t]. Fidelis', 24 April, Dalton informs Hardman that the goods arrived by steamer on the previous day: 'All is very beautiful, & the Ciborium especially'; he wonders if Hardman could make him a chalice like it for £5.

Both Pugin and Hardman made gifts to the penurious mission. Dalton reports to Hardman in his letter of 'S[t] Gregory' that 'M[r]. Pugin has made me a present—of Splendid Apparels for Alb, in Cloth of Gold', and a letter Dalton wrote on the feast of St Cuthbert, 20 March 1845, also in ML, indicates that Hardman gave a processional cross.

[5] Pugin had known Henry Weedall since he was President of Oscott. In a letter written from Fieldgate, the home of the Amherst family in Kenilworth, on 15 February 1844 and preserved in ML, Weedall remarks that he spent the previous evening with Pugin; possibly the refurbishment of the chancel of St Peter's church, Leamington, to which Weedall moved in 1844, was mentioned.

In the file of 'Hardman Correspondence' in BAA is an undated letter from Weedall, number 175, informing Hardman that Lord Dormer would like to consult Pugin about furnishings for Grove Park; Lord Dormer was Joseph Thaddeus (1790–1871), eleventh Baron Dormer, who in May 1839 married Eliza Anne Tichborne, a sister of Julia Hibbert, and he lived at Grove Park near Warwick. 'I wish I could get

Pugin to call', Weedall continues; he wants Pugin's 'suggestions for improving' his chapel in Leamington 'in which much money has been thrown away because he was so late in coming into the work.' On 14 May 1844 Weedall asks Hardman, in a letter held in ML, to proceed with his 'Remonstrance . . . on Pugin's last plan'. On 3 October 1844, in a letter filed in ML Undated 1839–44, Weedall writes from 'S^{t} Peter's' to report that he 'wrote to M^{r}. Pugin for a Design for a vessel in the Sacristy to stand over the Piscina for washing the fingers before & after Mass. It must be of Metal & he says he will give you every instruction about it—Be pleased to remind him when you write, or to write on purpose.' On the '4th. day within the O^{ct} of S^{t}. Edward', 16 October 1844, and writing from Leamington in a letter preserved in ML, Weedall hopes Hardman has received 'Pugin's instructions as to a Metal Vessel to stand over the Piscina in my Sacristy, *very correct drawings* of which, & *admirably executed*, I had the honour of transmitting to you some twelve or fourteen days ago'. At 22 November 1844 MWDB charges Weedall £1. 18*s*. for 'A Large Zinc Water Vessel with Brass Tap', and £2 for 'Brass Ornamental Hinges Asps Padlocks &c to 2 poor Boxes & engraved Plates'. Weedall also informs Hardman on 16 October that he is going to '*treat*' himself to a chalice, which is to cost £30 and for which Pugin's drawings should already have reached Birmingham; he begs 'earnestly' that he may have it before Christmas. At 22 February 1845 MWDB enters to Weedall 'A Large Silver Parcel Gilt richly Engraved & Set with Enamels Chalice & Paten' costing, with their case, £37. 15*s*., but 'W^{m} Leigh Esq' is written above Weedall's name; the entry immediately following, at the same date, is to William Leigh for 'A Large Silver Parcel Gilt Monstrance set with Enamels & Stones & richly engraved', and with a case, at a price of £69. 5*s*., which is, like the chalice, a gift to the church at Leamington, as Weedall's letter to Hardman of 23 February 1845 states. The chalice is described and illustrated in *BG&S*, C5. Leigh (1802–73), educated at Eton and Brasenose College, Oxford, was received into the Catholic Church at Leamington in March 1844; he later engaged Pugin at Woodchester. On the feast of St John the Evangelist, 27 December, and from Hampton on the Hill, in a letter filed in ML Undated 1839–44, Weedall asks Hardman not to 'proceed with the Credence Tables until Pugin has been down here—I am in hopes that Lord Dormer will send for him'. In his diary for 1844 Pugin includes 'Font for Dr. Weedall' followed by a sum of £10 in a list between pp. 24 and 25.

Some time in January 1845 Weedall instructs Hardman to send 'your Pugin Triangular Candlestick' because he 'cannot resist the pleasure of having it'. He is delighted with what has been done already, as he assures Hardman in another letter, undated but filed in ML January 1845: 'You cannot conceive how wonderfully the Sanctuary is improved how devotional it appears & how much it excites the admiration of all who see it—and when I get up the four grand Paintings in the Chancel & the stained glass above we shall *envy no one*.' On the feast of the chair of St Peter of Antioch, 22 February, in a letter preserved in ML Undated 1839–44, which must have been written in 1845, Weedall acknowledges that the candlesticks Hardman has sent are 'beautiful' but the 'dishes' are too small for the 'sockets' and they 'shake & hang out of the Perpendicular frightfully'; there is some fault with the 'tubes' too. By the following day, however, he is more cheerful, for on the feast of St Peter Damian, 23 February, in a letter filed in ML February 1845, he tells Hardman how impressed he is with his 'beautiful Work—It astonishes & delights everybody—People see the merits of the middle ages reviving, & associate together the names of Pugin & Hardman'; he is convinced that 'We shall make Leamington Church a Lion at last'. In an undated letter preserved in ML March 1845, Weedall urges Hardman: 'Do thank Pugin for his beautiful articles.' At 14 March 1845 Weedall is charged £4. 15*s*. 6*d*. for 'An Oak Faldstool with arms covered with crimson fig^{d} Plush'; at 29 April 1845 MWDB enters '6 Brass Large Candlesticks with Lions' to him at a price of eighteen guineas; there is a sacring bell for £1. 5*s*. charged to him at 10 May 1845. He communicates with Hardman again on 14 May 1845, in a letter surviving in ML, because 'Pugin wished me to send a Plan of my centre panel of altar in order that he may direct how it may be enriched, in accordance with the other Designs'. MWDB charges Weedall at Leamington one guinea on 20 May 1845 for 'Drawing for Altar from A. W. Pugin. Esq^{r}.' and the Metal sales ledger credits Pugin with that sum for the drawing in the same month. Weedall's letter of the 'Feast of S^{t}. Elizabeth', 19 November 1845, requires Hardman to 'write to Pugin immediately' for a design for the corona Weedall wants to have by Christmas; MWDB enters it to him, 'A Corona with 6 Lights & Inscription, Gilt Chains &c.', for £17. 10*s*. at 11 December 1845, together with 'A Ballance Ball with 2 Chains & 2 Pulleys &c' for £3. 2*s*. All was not well with the lighting, however, for on 29 December Weedall reports that the branches sent do not fit the sockets and the sockets are 'not horizontal', so when the candles are inserted 'they *collapse* & form a *cone* of lights'. More items are despatched to Weedall in 1846.

[6] Pugin writes to William Powell on 7 October 1844 to stop Riddell's metal tabernacle.

[7] Riddell complains in a letter written on 9 November 1844 and held in ML that Hardman does 'not say anything about the Ciborium which was to have been finished ages ago'; MWDB charges him £13. 10*s*. for it at 12 November 1844.

To HENRY DRUMMOND Ramsgate, Friday, 11 October 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/52[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate
Friday

Dear Sir

I never wrote anything distinctively about the interior decoration of churches but have often alluded to the subject in my publications.

the decoration of walls was of 3 sorts.

1. Powdering or detached patterns of devices initials &[c] on a coloured ground.
2 Diapering or a continuous pattern of foliage &[c] running over the walls.
3. imagery or delineations of sacred persons & subjects in fresco or oil.

this was the most usual & is far the best. some of the decoration was very rude especialy of the Norman era to which the [*Sketch in lieu of words: two pairs of diagonal parallel lines intersecting at right angles*] at albury may be ascribed.

you do not tell me if the brasses & tiles have arrived safe.[2]

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] The brasses are entered in MWDB at 4 October 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 13 October 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you the drawing for the Railing for the House of Lords gallery one compartment of which is to be got up immedialy as a Specimen.[2] I think you ought to caution Powell about being more exact in his execution of mouldings &[c].[3] in the bedstead both those & the nuts did not resemble the drawings at all.

2 I hope you will urge him on with my brass bedstead.[4] Lord Shrewsbury may come here any time & he will certainly stop for a night at my house before he takes a house for himself & I would not but be ready for the world. do urge him on with that & the pole screens.[5] I think he ought to confine himself to *good* work & not make all the trash he does.

3. be sure & have my candlesticks ready.[6]

4. I send you the size of a plug for my wash basin.[7] do you not think it better be plated or made of some metal that will not verdigris like brass?

I subjoin a List of things for you to remember me about when I come.

over

M^r. Richmonds brass.[8]
Miss Rylands D^o.
hall Lamp.[9]
Candlicks for chapel[10]
sconces.
Chalice for myself[11]
Chalice for D^r Weedall[12]

M^rs. Powell about
Dalmaticks for Ushaw

I hope you are getting on with my chapel things.[13] I shall soon want them. I still continue very unwell.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

a Letter Post office Exeter will find me on Thursday or evening *Wednesday* evening.[14]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. In the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO this letter has been assigned the number 97.

[2] There were to be many changes to the railing for the gallery of the House of Lords before it was entered in MWDB at 22 December 1846: 'A Brass Ornamented Railing for House of Peers, Westminster, consisting of 58 Compartments with Twisted pillars, Rosets, Leaves, &c, &c'; part of it was sent in five boxes on 2 December, more in one box on 5 December, more again in three boxes on 7 December, a further portion in four boxes on 11 December, and the despatch was completed in a final box on 12 December, 'making 14 Boxes in all'; the cost was £1,720.

Various documents surviving in the Hardman archive concern the railing, although it is not always clear to which stage in the process of experimentation and trial they relate. Heath submits an invoice for engraving '2 Shields V. R. &c &c.' at a cost of six shillings and sixpence on 11 December 1844. Chivers makes a 'Pattern Knob for Railing' on 7 February 1845. Thomas Davis, who describes himself as a 'Die & Seal Engraver' and whom the *Post Office Directory* for Birmingham for 1845 defines as a 'die sinker', of 96 Lionel Street, renders invoices too. He charges £1. 5*s.* for making '1 Die 2^in Tudor rose' on 25 March 1845 and eighteen shillings for three 'Rose' dies on 31 March, one of which is a '$1\frac{1}{2}$" Tudor Rose die'; Hardman pencils 'Railing' on the invoice. On 16 April 1845 Davis charges twelve shillings for a 'Quatrefoil ornament die', and on 3 May £1. 7*s.* for a '3^in Tudor Rose die', and again Hardman notes 'Railing'. A letter from Barry written on 2 May 1845 and numbered 11 in the file of 'Hardman Correspondence' in BAA reports to Hardman that Barry has given orders to send the railing back to Birmingham as Hardman asked.

[3] William Powell.

[4] It is not clear whether the bed mentioned in Pugin's letter to Hardman of 2 August 1844 is the one Pugin intended for himself or this brass one for guests.

[5] Pugin is charged £22 for '4 Pole Screens—to drawing' at 18 November 1844 in MWDB.

[6] MWDB enters to Pugin at 24 September 1844 '6 Table CSticks' costing £5. 17*s.*, '6 Chamber D^o" costing £3. 12*s.*, and 'A Pair of CSticks Gilt with Orns' for £14. 10*s.* Possibly, however, Pugin means the four candlesticks, costing £10. 8*s.*, which are entered to his name but with a note 'to S^t Chad's' in MWDB at 7 October 1844.

[7] A 'Plug for Basin' costing five shillings is entered to Pugin in MWDB at 27 October 1844.

[8] William Richmond's letter of 12 December 1844 about the brass in memory of his uncle is preserved among ML; it expresses also the hope that Pugin has not forgotten about the stone for his grave. A drawing for this stone is preserved among the MFT papers. Anxious letters of 29 April 1845 and 25 May 1845 from William Richmond urge Hardman to have the brass fixed before 17 June of that year, about the time of the first anniversary of Robert Richmond's death. Hardman complied, for MWDB enters to William Richmond at 14 June 1845 a monumental brass commemorating Robert Richmond; it is set in a black marble slab and the price is £59. 10*s.*, with a further charge of £2. 3*s.* for carriage and fixing. The bundle of invoices for July to September 1845 contains that of William Cook, dated 17 May, charging £1. 18*s.* for his expenses in going to Brewood 'to fix Monument'. A letter from Richmond dated 26 July 1845 and kept in ML covers payment of £40 towards the cost of the brass.

[9] 'A Hall Lamp to drawing N°. 890' is entered to Pugin in MWDB at 12 March 1845; the price is £9. 10*s*. An invoice dated 15 February is present in the January to March 1845 bundle in BCA, charging nine shillings for saw-piercing brass ornaments; it comes from Thomas Parker, an 'engraver & saw piercer' of 54 Branston Street, according to the *Post Office Directory* for Birmingham for 1845, and Hardman inscribes 'Hall Lamp' on it. He makes the same note on another invoice in the same bundle, that of William Cox, 'cooper & packing box maker', of Court 4 Edmund Street, Birmingham, charging three shillings and threepence for a case on 12 March 1845.

[10] Four candlesticks costing £3. 4*s*. are part of an order for ecclesiastical items charged to Pugin in MWDB at 13 December 1844. At 20 December 1844 a pair of elevation candlesticks 'with Small Corona Tops' is entered to him at a cost of £24.

[11] MWDB records 'A Parcel Gilt Silver Chalice & paten' for Pugin at 17 December 1844 at a price of £13. 10*s*.

[12] Pugin tells Hardman about this order on 10 October 1844.

[13] Several other 'chapel things' were made for Pugin in Birmingham at this time.

A Brass Thurible & Boat	2	10	-
A Vat & Sprinkler	1	12	-
A Small Gilt Pro Cross	6	10	-
A Brass Altar Cross	2	5	-

These are entered in MWDB at 13 December 1844. More articles follow, at 17 December 1844: 'A Silver Sacring Bell' at a price of £15 and 'A Set of Silver Cruets—one cruet Gilt & Silver Lavabo Basin' costing £18. 10*s*. It is not possible to be sure whether or not 'A Small Silver Parcel Gilt Lamp counterweight pulley Cord & glass' costing £16. 5*s*., 'A Book Stand' for £4, and '2 Extinguishers with oak sticks' at a price of sixteen shillings are destined for the chapel, although the last two items probably are; the 'Large Brass Dressing Glass' which costs £3. 10*s*. and which completes that order presumably is not. An earlier entry, at 18 November 1844, charges £12 for 'Painting Figure B V' and £1 for '1 Branch for figure of B V' but this may be the image which stood in the hall of The Grange.

[14] Pugin's diary confirms that he was in Exeter from Wednesday 16 October until Friday 18 October.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Monday, 14 October 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/24 *Address*: M^r^ John Crace Jn^r^ / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square *Postmark*: Blackmore S^t^.; OC 15 1844

✠ London Monday night

My Dear Sir

I cant get up to you to night but I will explain all I want by this Letter. I have now finally setled that *the hall* shall be hung with the red paper you Last sent as a pattern & the nursery back staircase passages &^c^ with the green. I had arranged with your man at first to use the red paper for the back staircase but on second thoughts I have decided *on the Green* so your man will want 2 more pieces than he expected.

I hope you will send off as much as possible by the sailing packet next saturday & the remainder the Saturday following. pray do this for I want to arrange everything when I return & sette to work for while everything is in confusion I cant get on—I am very anxious about the stuff for the curtains.[1] Let me hear about this & send me a Line about it to Birmingham M^r^. John Hardmans Paradise Street that I may get on

friday.[2] *now pray get on for me.* I really want to get square. Send the paper for Dining room ceiling as soon as you can.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 232, describes a drawing of details of the pattern for the curtains of the dining-room, library and 'Parlour' at The Grange.
[2] Pugin arrived in Birmingham on Friday 18 October.

To JOHN HARDMAN En route, Wednesday, 16 October 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I saw M^r^. Scott Murray yesterday & he arranged with me to have a wooden altar with antependiums.[2] you must frame the top & get a consecrated stone.

tabernacle intended for D^r^. Riddell will do very well—he will want a small chalice & patten Like those we have made. you manage very badly not to have a chalice or 2 in stock. I know we shall never do any good *without a stock.*

The weather since I started

[1] The MS, inscribed '1841–44 Box', is torn so that two now unconnected fragments remain. The letter is written on mourning paper and in pencil. In the microfilm of this deposit held in HLRO this letter has been given the number 84.
[2] Pugin records 'London to Mr. S. Murrays [*sic*] and Oxford' in his diary at Tuesday 15 October; he had stayed the night at Scott Murray's house, Danesfield, near Marlow in Buckinghamshire, on 19 September 1844.

Charles Robert Scott Murray (1818–82) went from Eton to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was a fervent Tractarian; he was MP for Buckinghamshire from 1841 to 1845. He was received into the Catholic Church in Rome early in 1844, and in September 1846 married Amelia Charlotte Fraser (d.1912), eldest daughter of Lord Lovat, by whom Pugin was engaged in 1842. A man of large fortune, Scott Murray commissioned a design from Pugin for the church of St Peter at Marlow, of which the foundation-stone was laid on 2 July 1845; drawings for this commission are preserved in the MFT collection, that for the reredos being signed and dated 1845. The present orders are, however, for an interim chapel in the town of Marlow.

In a letter preserved in ML, Scott Murray tells Hardman on 15 October 1844 from Danesfield that 'M^r^. Pugin has been with me this Morning and promises to speak to you concerning an Altar & Antependium'; he sounds slightly peeved because 'M^r^. Pugin as usual is in such a hurry that I hardly saw him, he was here for breakfast, but away to Oxford before 12 and is to be in Bath this evening'. Pugin's diary makes no mention of Bath but perhaps his route from Oxford to Tiverton took him that way. Only on the feast of St Ursula, 21 October 1844, however, does Scott Murray inform Hardman that he believes he has secured a house in the town that will serve his purpose. He had sent an earlier letter, on 8 October, ordering many ecclesiastical items and stating that he expected to open the chapel on All Saints' day, 2 November, notwithstanding the fact that 'at present I believe I am to be the *Congregation*'. MWDB enters a large though not particularly expensive order to him at 29 October 1844: a brass altar cross, a pair of candlesticks, a chalice and paten costing £10, a sacring bell, a set of cruets, a vat and sprinkler, 'An Altar Stone' costing eleven shillings, at a total price of £22. 10*s.* 6*d.* More items follow on 12 November: a small pyx, a holy-water stoup, 'A Deal Stained Altar Gilt Mouldings with 2 Steps & 3 Antependiums Frames' at a price of £15, an iron tabernacle and base for which no charge is entered, and a book stand, making a

sum of £20. 11*s.* 6*d.* A set of holy-oil stocks for £2. 8*s.* and a missal of quarto size bound in red morocco with gilt ornaments at a price of £10. 10*s.* complete the order on 22 November. Scott Murray writes from Danesfield on 3 December 1844 to assure Hardman that he 'cannot sufficiently admire the Missal: it certainly is most beautiful'. The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin at 16 November 1844 with £1 for drawings for this commission. Scott Murray purchases more metalwork in 1845.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Exeter, Thursday, 17 October 1844

Text: MS PC Franklin [89][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Exeter. Thursday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

inclosed is a note which your Lordsip can shew respecting the architecture of the Railway bridges. if you do not make this point a sinequa non, the greatest horrors will be perpetrated under the very walls of the old castle & the whole placed ruined.[2] I entreat of your Lordsip not to give up this point on any consideration. you might insist on a great deal more & nothing can be more reasonable than you should be secured againts vile errections & designs on your Lordships estate. no Engineer ever was a decent architect & if they attempted Gothic it would be frigtful. I saw in the times yesterday S.W Boothby had married M[rs]. Nisbett the actress!!![3] what can he be thinking of. he must be Mad. it must be an unhappy affair—I am now in Exeter on my way to Totness.[4] I have felt rather better these few last days. does your Lordship know what stamp will be required for the note of hand? for I have no idea.

I remain with great respect dear Lord Shrewsbury
your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] According to Rex Christiansen and R. W. Miller, *The North Staffordshire Railway* (Newton Abbot, 1971), a line to link Macclesfield and Tamworth was proposed in 1844; its route ran through the Churnet valley.

[3] The report, 'Marriage of Mrs. Nisbett', *The Times* (16 October 1844): p. 4, exhibits more of an eye for circulation than for accuracy when it states that 'the Hon. Baronet . . . is in his 70th year' while the 'fair bride is in her 30th', and that 'Sir William . . . a remarkably fine-looking man . . . appears much younger than he really is'. Sir William Boothby (1782–1846) was sixty-two when he remarried on 15 October. The ninth baronet, he had been a guest of Lord Shrewsbury at Alton Towers when Pugin stayed there in August 1840 at the time of Queen Adelaide's visit. After he died, Louisa Cranstoun Nisbett (1812?–58), née Mordaunt, resumed her successful career as an actress, as she had done when widowed previously, in 1831. She first appeared on the stage in London at Drury Lane in October 1829, a time when Pugin's interest in the theatre was at its keenest.

[4] The reason for the journey to Totnes was the commission from Henry Champernowne of Dartington Hall, to whom Pugin first writes probably on 29 October 1844.

To ANNE PUGIN — En route, Friday, 18 October 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 302][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Friday

The painters must work as long as they can by Candlelight & *get on*. They must paint the iron shutters as soon as they arrive.

My Dear Anne

I have been to Totness and am now on my way to Birmingham where I expect to arrive this evening. I have had a very bad journey, rained in torrents all the time & I have been in constant pain with my back & limbs. it is very cold at night.

if the man can *really* make a good job of the tap in the kitchen range I have no objection to its being done but I rather doubt it. Miss Greaves shoud question him closely before he begins & see it is well done. the painters must work candlelight. let me know if the *Blankets* are arrived.[2] if they are not I must see after them. you must send my Letters to M[r] Hulls 109 wardour street oxford street) on *Tuesday* so that I may get them on Wednesday Morning.[3] after Tuesday you must keep them unless you hear further from me. I hope you are all good children & that I shall not hear any complaints. kisses for all that are good.) ever your affectionate Father

✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil on mourning paper. It carries an endorsement which may read: 'May Hardman Hair—Augus 2 / 47.' May is possibly Mary Hardman, the oldest daughter of John and Anne Hardman, whose age is recorded as five in the census of 1841.

[2] Pugin explains to Anne about the blankets in his letter perhaps written on 3 October.

[3] Pugin went up to London from Birmingham on Monday 21 October and stayed there until Thursday 24 October.

To ANNE PUGIN — Birmingham, Sunday, 20 October 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 310][1] *Address*: Miss Anne Pugin / S[t] Augustines / Westcliff / Ramsgate *Postmark*: OC 20 1844 in Birmingham; 21 OC 21 1844; OC 1844 in Ramsgate

✠ Birmingham Sunday evening

My Dear Anne

all Letters up to Tuesday night you may send to M[r] Hulls 109 Wardour Street oxford Street. I hope to be home by Thursday. if Miss Greaves wants Money M[r]. Thornton will give her some till I come. kisses to all.

your affectionate father

✠ AWelby Pugin

after Tuesday night keep all letters. I have got a very bad cold indeed. give the enclosed to Miss Keats.[2]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] In an entry which is probably intended for 23 October, Pugin notes 'Miss Keats left' in his diary; perhaps the enclosed missive was connected with her departure.

To LORD MIDLETON — Peper Harow, Wednesday, 23 October 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 145/39/1⑤ *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Oct. 23 1844.[1]

I hereby certify that George Myers is entitled to a payment of five hundred pounds on the general account.

✠ AWelby Pugin

£500. 0. 0

I hereby empower George Myers to receive the Sum of twenty five pounds being the comission on the above.

✠ A Welby Pugin

£25. 0. 0

[1] Pugin's diary shows that he went to Peper Harow on this date.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Thursday, 24 October 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/13[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

there are a couple of flat paper parcals for me at M[r]. Hulls 109 Wardour. will you send for them & Let them come down with the other things.

Dear Sir

I have directed a couple of *wooden platters* to be left at your place for me to be Sent down with the other things. do not forget them—be sure for the future to send everything by the sailing vessells for the steamers have not even the means of Landing any heavy goods and I tremble for my chests of drawers. if they have not smashed them it will be almost a miracle for they injure goods on purpose to discourage people sending them. the crew hate to see them & serve them out.

yours truly
✠ A W Pugin
over

I send you a drawing of a small frame I want making to contain a Letter.[2] I think you will perfectly understand it. make a nice job of it. the black velvet is to shew all inside the frame & the Letter will be fixed in the center.

I also send a list of all you have to do for me.[3]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Perhaps it is the 'kind Letter' which Lord Shrewsbury wrote at the time of Louisa Pugin's death which Pugin is having mounted and framed in this way. *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 175, describes a drawing for a small frame which Crace is to make, and dates it about 1844; the design incorporates reference to Louisa Pugin and Lord Shrewsbury, and the lining of the back of the frame is to be black velvet; perhaps the frame was not for Alton Towers, as *Wedgwood 1985* suggests, but for the letter from Lord Shrewsbury.

[3] Apparently the list in MS RIBA PUG. 1/23, of the same date; perhaps that MS and this letter should be regarded as a single entity.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Thursday, 24 October 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/23[1] *Address*: M[r]. John Crace Jn[r] / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: OC 24 1844 in Ramsgate; 25 OC 25 1844

1 Papers.
2 3 sets of oak drawers.
3. 3 mattrasses
4 3 D[o]
5 blankets
6 pillows some sent
7 Root of Jesse gilding
8 Small triptych—framing & gilding
9 My fathers portrait[2]
10 Map of Bruges[3]
11 My coat of arms framed
12 Albert Durers pictures
13 6 Drawing room chairs
14 2 Easy do arms
15 1 D[o]
16 Sofa
17 2 oak bidets
18 Easy bed room chair) to cover
19. chintz or calico covers for furniture
20 Small frames Drawing now sent[4]
21 { 2 wooden platters from oxford street / 2 parcels from Hulls } to come down with the other things
22 packing cartage to warf &[c].

Let me have the cost of all these as soon as you can.

I have just got to Ramsgate. the Paper hanger is *fast* for want of paper. the drawing room only *half done* & I want it. I have not one place to get into now. you have no idea of the extra expense these things coming by the steam boat has put me to. they were glad of the chance & have regularly stuck it into me for freight.

pray send the paper.

[1] The MS is endorsed:

43.	17.	6
151.	12.	6
176	17.	10
372.	7.	10.

and '*1844*, Oct. 24 ***Pugin***'. Some of these sums are explained in Pugin's letter to Crace of 26 November 1844, MS RIBA PUG. 1/38.

[2] A portrait of A. C. Pugin by an unknown artist is now in the possession of his descendants; it is reproduced in *GP*, p. 2.

[3] Sotheby's sale of Pugin's works of art after his death included as lot 70 a 'Large View of the City of Bruges, 1562, on ten sheets, by Mark Gerard, *ebony and gilt frame*'.

[4] Perhaps this drawing is one of those catalogued in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 234.

To STUART KNILL?[1] Ramsgate, Thursday, 24 October 1844

Text: MS SAA K Pugin 4[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate Oct 24

My Dear M[r] Knill

Stone tabernacles do not answer.[3] they *hold damp* and are very bad. the most useful sort of tabernacle is an iron one lined with velvet & painted & gilt outside. this is very *safe* & quite in character. with the cross crucifix & all complete I suppose it would cost about £20 the size it would be wanted. pray beg of M[rs]. Knill *not* to be anxious about the cope.[4] it is quite enough for me to be anxious—all is right. she saw some *silk* Stuff & thought it was for her, but the cope is silk & *Gold.*

I am never wrong.

ever your devoted friend
✠A Welby Pugin

[1] It is not possible to tell from Pugin's salutation whether he writes to Stuart Knill or perhaps to his father, John Knill.

[2] The letter is written on mourning paper and endorsed 'Pugin Oct 1844 Jersey Tabernacle'. A rectangle has been cut from the sheet at the lower left corner.

[3] Members of the Knill family make various purchases from Hardman, but none of them is earmarked for Jersey, and there is no sign in MWDB of a tabernacle made for any Knill. The precise nature of the Knills' connection with Jersey is not clear. ML Undated 1839–44 contains a letter from Emily Prestwich, or perhaps Prestwick, who writes from 20 Addington Place, Camberwell, which is the address of the Knill family; information in AAW states that she comes from Quatre Bras, St Helier; perhaps she

supplies some link with the Channel island. A new church, St Peter's, was built in Vauxhall Street, St Helier, by 1843, through the efforts of the priest, John Cunningham (1807–48), according to the *Catholic Directory* for that year; the directory carries an appeal for funds in the issues for 1845 and 1846, as the church is still not paid for. It is possible that the thurible costing £5 entered to Stuart Knill in MWDB at 10 April 1845 and the two-guinea altar cross entered to him at 26 June in the same year, like the two brass candlesticks at a price of four guineas charged to his mother at 10 May 1845 and the altar cross charged to her at 19 July, were gifts for the struggling church in Jersey.

Pugin notes 'Altar for Jersey' and a sum of £2 in a list between pp. 24 and 25 of his diary for 1844; on the page facing p. 3 is a note 'altar M^r^ Knill 20. 0. 0' in a list of sums of money which Pugin apparently expected to receive. A design for an altar, inscribed with Cunningham's name and address, is described in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 73.

[4] Elizabeth Cox Knill, née Stuart, was the second wife of John Knill and mother of Stuart Knill.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Thursday, 24 October 1844?

Text: MS PC Franklin [58][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^t^ Augustines Ramsgate 24

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am quite distressed about the oak.[2] the *planks* I ordered were *foreign* for *the rood* on the screen—& I will have it returned & make them stand all expenses, I am quite furious about it. The stone images for the spire have been sent off some days. they ought to arrive very shortly. they *are a fine job.* I think *very good.* I will send the Letters about S^t^ Bernards to Myers tomorow. The job in Devonshire will I Expect be a Large one—but we shall see.[3] I have had a very wet & arduous going & have returned with a bad cold. I am going for a few days to Flanders & will write from Bruges.[4] The Amhersts are returned there & I am going to see them. I have written to Denny about the carver.

I have just time to save the post & remain dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect[5]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Presumably for St Giles's church at Cheadle.

[3] At Dartington Hall.

[4] Pugin's diary is blank from Wednesday 24 October until Wednesday 31 October, but it seems from subsequent correspondence, especially his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 7 November, that he did not leave home.

[5] The sheet has been cut across the bottom, perhaps in order to remove the signature.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Friday, 25 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/36[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Ramsgate. Friday

Dear Sir

Send all by Sailing Smack on Saturday & let me have the accounts now as soon as you can—for I want to square up again.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, about Saturday, 26 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/22/1[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: specimen of inscription showing cross and 'Bea', with depth of '2½' and marked 'red band', 'Red band', 'Red Initials', 'black letters', and 'dead white ground rather warm'*]

Dear Sir

I send you 4 inscriptions I want done on Paper strips that I may paste them up on my bookcases.[2] I send you a plan of the lengths on which they must go so you must divide the words according to the spaces. let me have these *as soon as possible* & then my library will be compleate. they are very simple & your Letter painters will soon do them. I should like your paper hanger to put them up before he goes.

[1] The MS is endorsed, probably by Crace, '*1844* Pugin with a Sketch'.

[2] MS RIBA PUG. 1/22/2, endorsed probably by Crace '1844 Pugin with plan of Room and *Motto's*', is Pugin's list of the inscriptions, followed by a sketch plan of the room with the dimensions of each set of shelves and an indication of where each inscription is to be placed. He appears to have begun to write the measurements over the texts but then abandoned that method and drawn the plan of the whole room instead: the dimensions '1.6' and '5.6' are written over the first text, and '5.5' and '2.11' over the second. Various pencilled crosses and underlinings in the list are the work of another hand.

Pugin's list reads:

1 ✠ Beatus homo qui invenit Sapientiam et qui affluit ✠ prudentia
2 ✠ Melior est aquisitio ejus negotiatione argenti ✠ et auri primi et puriSimi fructus ejus.
3 ✠ Sapientes abscondunt Scientiam ✠ os autem stulti confusioni proximum est.
4 ✠ Da Sapienti occasionem ✠ et addetur ei Sapientia ✠ doce justum et festinabit accipere.
[*Sketch: plan of room divided into four numbered corners, with measurements of strips for each section of wall: '1.7' and '5.6' in corner '1'; '5.6' and '2.11' in corner '2'; '2.11' and '6.2' in corner '3'; and '6.2' and '1.7' in corner '4'*]

The Latin is not always perfect. All the texts are quotations from the book of Proverbs, translated in the Authorized Version as: 1. Happy is the man that findeth wisdom, and the man that getteth understanding (3:13); 2. For the merchandise of it is better than the merchandise of silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold (3:14); 3. Wise men lay up knowledge: but the mouth of the foolish is near destruction (10:14); 4. Give instruction to a wise man, and he will be yet wiser: teach a just man, and he will increase in learning (9:9).

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Sunday, 27 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/20[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Sunday Evening

Dear Sir

I send a line to Let you know that all the steamers have done Running for the Season to Ramsgate—The City of Canterbury goes to Margate on Tuesday Thursday & Saturdays. the things might come by that. I want them badly. also send *me the acount* without fail.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS Ramsgate, Sunday, 27 October 1844

Text: MS AAW A81/2[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate oct 27
1844

[*Sketch: church with south-east corner and south transept each marked 'B', cloister marked 'A', priest's house, cemetery, and wall with gateway*][2]

My Dear Lord Bishop

Some time ago I called on your Lordship and mentioned my great hopes & desire of having a church at Ramsgate and mentioned a piece of ground at back of my residence which I had reserved for the purpose. since that time as your Lordsip is propably aware the difficulties I then explained no Longer exist, and I live of the scite I then intended. I have purchased the adjoining plot of Land, about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of which I shall set apart for the intended building, the ground I have paid for & have the deeds in my posession so there is no uncertainty about it.[3] I gave £5 a foot run and cannot be too thankful for getting it even at that price for now there is not a foot more to be had.[4]

what I therefore purpose to accomplish by the blessing of God is as follows.

To erect a Parochial church similar to the annexed skech and a revival of the old Catholic kentish churches stone & flint—& to place it in a plot of about 200 or more feet long so as to afford room for a Priests house & a cemetery.[5] the house to connecte with the church by a cloister A. on the south side at B I purpose a chantry chapel serving at the same time for that of our blessed Ladye which may be the burying place of my familly & to which I purpose removing the body of my Late

dear wife as soon as compleated.[6] The church will hold about 300 persons—and my intention is to compleat it with plate vestments & furniture of every description & then to transfer it in a legal manner to the Vicar apostolic of the London district & even should I die before my design is complete I have for the Land &[c] being made over to your Lordsip.[7]

as the whole of this can only be done by my own professional exertions it will of course take me some time but still I have every hope that by Gods blessing I shall pull through in a very few years. as far as human means are concerned I shall *rely entirely on myself.* I shall ask for no assistance whatever—& all I beg of your Lordsip is your benediction—I hope also to be able to accomplish the endowment by an insurance on my life for while I live I will take the whole charge and expense of the church & clergman on myself. I cannot bear to lose the society of my son Edward & have dertermined on placing him under the care of a devout & learned ecclesiastic in my own house & am in the course of arrangement with a priest whom I feel certain your Lordsip will approve.[8] I have therefore to beg that your Lordsip will allow him to celebrate mass for my *own familly* in the small chapel attached to the house which is placed in the canonical manner & without any chamber over it. when I get a litte more arranged I shall trust to have the honour of receiving your Lordsip at S[t] Augustines & shewing you the Land & proposed arrgmts & if your Lordsip would bless the small chapel at the same time in honour of S[t] Augustine I should be truly grateful.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitfful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter begins on mourning paper. The MS is endorsed 'Ramsgate M[r] Pugin's Annd 6 Nov / 44'.

[2] The sketch is reproduced as the frontispiece to this volume.

[3] In September 1844 Pugin bought three roods and thirty-one perches of land contiguous with the plot on which The Grange was built and to the east of it; the vendor was, as before, Townley, probably Henry Townley. He notes 'Paid £495 for land at Ramsgate' on the page facing p. 23 of his diary for 1844, apparently linking the transaction to the printed date of 12 October. In the account book in which he records the costs of building St Augustine's church, MS V & A L.50–1982/3, the first entry is for the 'Land', which Pugin there puts down at £520; perhaps legal fees are included in this larger amount.

[4] The price of the land is calculated not according to its area but according to the length of its frontage to the road. In the event, Pugin purchased more land still, in 1849.

[5] Pugin built the church of St Augustine on a site to the east of his house; it is over a year later, at 12 November 1845, that he notes 'Set out the ground for Church at Ramsgate' in his diary. Some of the story of its construction is told in the correspondence. The knapped flints of the walls recall the medieval parish churches of Kent. Land between the church and the cliff top remains a cemetery. The presbytery, begun later, is now St Edward's nunnery. No cloister connects the house to the church but Pugin made the gateway in the wall between the two sites which is indicated in his drawing. Before the re-establishment of the hierarchy in 1850, the London district, of which Griffiths was bishop, stretched to the south coast and so included Ramsgate.

[6] There are two chapels on the south side of the church of St Augustine as it was erected: the Lady chapel and the Pugin chantry or chapel of St Laurence and St Stephen, who are depicted in the two-light east window. Pugin himself and many members of his family are buried in the vault beneath but Louisa Pugin's body was not moved to Ramsgate.

[7] Pugin transferred the ownership of the church late in 1846.

[8] Acquarone.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Monday, 28 October 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/25[1] *Address*: M[r]. John Crace J[nr] / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; OC 28 1844 in Ramsgate; 29 OC 29 1844

Dear Sir

if I could *rely* on the Drawing room furniture &[c]. coming on Saturday I might manage but if it does not Leave on that day I shall be *done brown.* do not on any acount wait for the Calico Covers for I have an excellent workwoman here who can make anything & you might send me the stuff in the piece. it will be all the better if you can send me the frames on wednesday for I am obliged to keep a joiner here on purpose to hang them.

The small frame I sent you is marked *inches* not feet.

the simple lion on the shield.

It seems to me that the stuff making for the drawing room curtains would match the paper & furniture better *green* & yellow.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To HENRY CHAMPERNOWNE[1] Ramsgate, Tuesday, 29 October 1844?[2]

Text: MS Devon RO Z15/37/15/2 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Tuesday.

My Dear Sir

my own *impression* respecting the cost of that portion of the building which you wish to restore, is that you will not accomplish it under 4 or 5 thousand pounds—it is very difficult to state a precise amount in a work where old & new buildings are so mixed up & where it is very difficult to ascertain the extent of the dilapidations before the work is actually in progress.[3] perhaps I may overrate the expense but I am always fearful of misleading & like to be on the right side.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Henry Champernowne (1815–51) inherited Dartington Hall, near Totnes, Devon, on the death of his father in 1819. Champernowne may have become acquainted with Pugin while he was at Oxford, where he took his BA in 1842 and was a member of the architectural society, but there are other ways in which the two men could have been brought in touch. After the death of Champernowne's father, the family estates were managed during Henry's minority by R. H. Froude, rector of Dartington, whose son R. H. Froude was a close associate of Newman; and Isaac Williams, a prominent Tractarian and a friend of

R. H. Froude junior and his brother J. A. Froude, married Henry Champernowne's sister Caroline in 1842. Champernowne's name and address are noted on the back end-paper [i] of Pugin's diary for 1844.

[2] This date is suggested because it was the first Tuesday that Pugin was at home after his visit to Totnes on 17 October 1844, when he apparently discussed the restoration of Dartington Hall with its owner, but a later date is possible.

[3] Perhaps because of their cost, the extensive alterations contemplated were not carried out, but a little work to Pugin's design seems to have been executed.

Three drawings by Pugin for the scheme, all signed in monogram, survive in the Devon RO, in a volume with the classification Z15/38/1/7. Drawing number 16, dated 1845, is a bird's-eye view of the house, in pen over pencil, combining the existing fabric and the proposed alterations. Number 17, undated, is a pen over pencil elevation of the gateway front, which includes a private dining-room, a drawing-room and a study on the first floor, with a glimpse of the great hall beyond. Number 18, dated 1845 and executed in grey wash and pen over pencil, shows a 'Ground plan' and the 'first floor' of 'Dartington house'. Grouped around a central 'Kitchen Court' are a 'Larder', 'Larder', 'shoe room', 'Coals', 'kitchen entrance' and 'passage', 'scullery', 'kitchen', 'Butlers Pantry', 'Servants hall 35 × 20', 'housekeepers room', 'still room', 'stewards room', 'entrance hall' and 'staircase', 'principal entrance', 'Screen', 'great hall', 'passage of communication', 'Porch to garden', and 'Garden door'.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 29 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/27[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Tuesday evening

Dear Sir

you can send everything on board the vessell at botolp warf before 6 oclock in the evening tomorow Wednesday. now if you could possibly let me have the pictures it would be of great service for I am paying my own joiner to stop for the purpose of hanging them. do the best you can for me. I have some friends of consequence coming to me on Tuesday evening next so do not neglect me for goodness sake.

We are sadly off for the dining room ceiling paper. if we had that & my coat of arms that room would be compleat.[2]

ever yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin enters 'Dining Room finished' in his diary at Sunday 3 November.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Thursday, 31 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/19[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I am delited to hear of the departure of the things. my only motive for writing this is to mention that I have omitted in the list I sent you the *glass frame* you were to do

blue & gold and as you do not speak of it I fear it may be forgotten.[2] I want it for the blue room & I hope you will be able to send it with the other things.[3]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

Scince I wrote this the Paper for the Ceiling has arrived but to my dismay I find *6 pannels* or *a peice* & *a half* short. pray put this in hand instantly or I shall not be able to use my room after all. it is a most unfortunate job.

[1] The MS is endorsed '1844'.
[2] The list was sent on 24 October.
[3] The blue room was a room for guests.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Thursday, 31 October 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/37[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Thursday.

My Dear Sir

there must be some mistake about the frame. I sent you the drawing for it on the 25th. of *october*.[2] *2 days Later* you wrote and asked me if it was inches or feet marked for the dimensions so you had it all right at that time.[3] if you cannot find it it must stand over for I cant draw it again. I have hardly a moment for anything—& I hate doing things twice. I never Lose a drawing out of the hundreds that pass through my hands because I have books in which I keep every mans works separate, litte portfolios & slip every bit of paper belonging to a job into them till all is done. you say nothing about the other chair for the drawing room nor the glass frame blue & gold. everything has arrived safe & Looks exceedinly will except the arms for the map of Bruges. the inscriptions are not arrived to my great sorrow.[4]

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] The drawing is referred to in Pugin's letter probably written on 24 October and received on 25 October.
[3] Pugin answers Crace's question in his letter of 28 October.
[4] The inscriptions for the bookcases, sent up to London about 26 October.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — October 1844?[1]

Text: ST, p. 303, n. 1 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

I assure you I eat rather too little than too much. I have no chance of overloading my stomach for I have barely time to catch a mouthful between the trains.

[1] Pugin complains in other letters about this time of being unwell. ST dates the fragment precisely, to a day when, according to his diary, Pugin was travelling from Exeter to Birmingham, and when he has just assured Lord Shrewsbury, in a letter of the preceding day, that he has 'felt rather better these last few days'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, October 1844?[1]

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/35 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am rather placed in a difficult position by your Lordsips Letter of yesterday as imedialy on the receipt of the former Letter I went & got a written agreement—for the house—with permission to send in a housekeeper any time to air the place &c. this agreement I inclose. also a List of the prices for hiring plate Linen &c. on which your Lordsip could mark such things as you might require. I went to the person again yesterday & think I can get off if your Lordsip thinks it necessary. I am very sorry but I did for the best as I am liable to now to be called to London every post—& this is the only house that would suit your Lordsip in the place. it is No 1 *Royal Crescent.*

I inclose a Letter arrived here from Mr. Phillipps.

I do not think Mr. Champernownes business will come to any good. I have no faith in *the man.* he has no heart to Lay out his money.

I cannot afford to buy the monasticon. I must now forego all books. my chapel alone costs me £150 a year—& my expenses are more than double everyway. besides my whole soul is devoted to building this church here. I have got the scite & am collecting materials. I have a deliful plan of a *flint* Sea side church—& everything gives way to that. I hope to hear better accounts from your Lordship. it will be a grievous disapointment if anything occurs to prevent your Lordsip coming here. pray Let me hear soon. I see the Churnet valley railway fast in the market.[2] this Looks well. I hope it will be carried through & then we may get some Model stations.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your faithful & devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] ST assigns the letter to 1845; *Wedgwood 1985* questions a date of 1846, and in a letter of March 1846 Pugin states that he is delighted to learn of Lord Shrewsbury's intention of 'stopping at Ramsgate'. The tone of the reference to his engagement at Westminster, however, suggests that it is still quite recent; and the Champernowne commission, the purchase of land at Ramsgate on which he plans but has not yet begun to build a church, and the 'Churnet valley railway' are all topics of other letters about this time of October 1844; there is, moreover, no mention of Mary Amherst here, and in 1846 she filled his mind; the dating nevertheless remains insecure.

[2] The MS is torn after 'railway'.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Friday, 1 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/29[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

will you Let me know when I may expect the remainder of my things. I am in constant expectation of Lord Shrewsbury coming here & should be in dreadful distress without them. I make out the following

1 Drawing room arm chair
2 Easy chair
3 blue & gold glass frame
4 2 Bidets
5 arms for the map of Bruges.
6 blinds
7 stuff for covers to the drawing room furniture.

let me have my acount as soon as possible. I like everything squared on the nail head.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Saturday, 2 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/30[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

if you have not made the Large blind for me do not for I will have a large curtain instead. the Drawing room paper is perfection for harmony of colour. now all I entreat of you is to send me off my things for I have only the chance of getting them to rights while I am here and I expect some persons to come to me very shortly & am most anxious to have everything to rights for them to see.[2] I am sure if you make a Litte exertion you can do it.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

I would not press you if there was not necessity—but—it is of *consequence to me.* I may say GREAT *Consequence* & perhaps to you—in the long run—for if this sort of thing takes we may do wonders.

The oak drawers are capital.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. The MS carries an endorsement: '*ex*ertions—Papers sent off all but Dining Ceiling.'

[2] One person of great consequence came to The Grange 'very shortly': Barry arrived on Thursday 7 November, as Pugin notes in his diary, and left on Sunday 10 November.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, Sunday, 3 November 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/69[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Westcliff Ramsgate
23 Sunday after Pentecost

Revd & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

many thanks for your kind Letter. I hope you are not distressing yourself on my account as I can assure you I never expect anything & am only thankful & astonished when any good turns up.[2] I have every reason to hope that the images for the gateway will be very good. the shields are finished & I should think in a month all will be compleat.[3] have you seen the window at S[t] Marys yourself.[4] it ought to be a good job but I should Like to know how you like it as I have great faith in your judgment. some time ago you mentioned to me that someone of your acquaintance wanted a Parsonage house built.[5] was there anything in it or has it blown over?

ever with great respect dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] The design which Pugin submitted for a new school at Magdalen College was not accepted. According to a transcript of the Acta in the MCO archive, the college resolved on 7 November 1844 that 'Mr. Derrick's [*sic*] plan of the *Choristers School* &c. be adopted at the Estimate of £5314'; as matters turned out, however, the designs of John Macduff Derick (*c.*1806–61) were not executed.

[3] It is at 12 December, a day when he made a quick trip to Oxford, that Pugin enters 'Gateway finished' in his diary. This date represents a slight adjustment of the transcription in *Wedgwood 1985*, from which Pugin's entry of 'at Liverpool' on Sunday 8 December has been omitted.

[4] The window designed by Pugin, made by Wailes, and installed at the east end of the south aisle of the university church of St Mary in the High Street in Oxford commemorates Thomas Williams Bartley, who was eighteen when he went up to Exeter College, Oxford, in February 1841; he died suddenly in his college rooms in May 1843. T. W. Bartley was the only son of George Bartley (1782?–1858), an actor and manager at Covent Garden theatre, whom Pugin had known since his early enthusiasm for the stage; the name and address, 'M[r] Bartley 11 woburn Square', are jotted in pencil on the front end-paper [b] of Pugin's diary for 1844. *Ferrey*, pp. 188–9, gives an account of the designing of this window, and it is shown in the upper illustration on p. 199 of *GP*.

[5] Perhaps the untraced Mr Fortescue of the letter to Bloxam of 29 May 1844 or the unnamed person who wanted a parsonage in the letter to Bloxam of 4 October 1843; the latter may perhaps be F. J. Rooke or he may perhaps be Roger Bird.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Sunday, 3 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/31[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Sunday.

Dear Sir

I was expecting to get a line from you this morning to Let me know what you had done about the remaining panels of Dining room ceiling, I am sure I wrote 22 panels as plain as possible & here I am with the ceiling unfinished & the paper hanger has done & I must keep him till these 6 panels come.[2] pray Let me know by post.

let me also know when you can send me the inscriptions. they were very plain. I am so anxious to have them up on Wednesday before the people arrive as they will add greatly to the effect of the room. you must send these by *coach.*

pray let me hear from you.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

as soon as you can Let me have my bill for everything. I never *enjoy anything till it is paid for* so You will keep me from enjoying anything you have sent till I get it.

owing to the Easterly wind not a single thing has yet arrived.[3] I am most unfortunate.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin's memory serves: the reference is to his letter to Crace perhaps written on 9 October 1844.
[3] Pugin notes 'Heavy Gale ESE' in his diary at 1 November 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Monday, 4 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/26[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

you must *positively* send me covering stuff for the drawing room furniture. it is too bad to see them ruined & you know the stuff has now been ordered for months. I assure You it grieves me quite to see it.

Dear Sir

I must entreat of you to send me the stuff for covering the chairs. if you cannot get that pattern Let me have some others or the chairs will be all spoilt for in heavy gales of wind we cannot help soot blowing down the chimney & it will ruin the plush.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

take great care of My Paper Blocks for I shall have all the SW walls to do over again in the Spring. the Last 3 days gale have done for it. it is coming off fast.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To HENRY DRUMMOND Ramsgate, Tuesday, 5 November 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/57[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate. Tuesday in the octave of all souls.

Dear Sir

I must come down to you the next time I go to London for we cannot arragne anything well by correspondence—& I must explain all my views personally.[2] I shall have to go up before Long & will make a point of coming to you. you must stop up your side windows with Calico for the present in the church as there is a stoppage in the execution of the glass till I go to the artist.[3] I was not quite satisfied with some parts & you will be repaid for waiting a litte for I think I can now promise you some fine windows. if you will send M[r]. J Hardman Paradise Street Birmingham £65 or pay it to My account at the London Joint Stock bank it will settle for the Brasses which were £165.[4] there will be a trifle for cases & packing but this I can setle with you afterwards. I have no idea of the cost of your offices or the value of your own materials you have used but perhaps you can let me know when I come down—and then I can ascertain the comission due to me. in the mean time if you will give me £50 & £25 for expenses—I shall be obliged & you can pay this with the other amount into the Western Branch of the London Joint stock Bank Pall Mall 65 & 75 making £140. you may rely on seeing me soon

& I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] The next visit to Albury recorded in Pugin's diaries was paid from 4 March to 5 March 1845.
[3] Pugin's next journey to Newcastle, where he could see Wailes, was not made until 11 April 1845.
[4] The price in MWDB is a comprehensive sum of £150.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Wednesday, 6 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/33[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

one of the Blinds which I most want will not act on acount of the spring being weak. I have been obliged to send it up to you to get repaired—these sort of things agravate me dreadfuly for I am a man who never grumbles to pay for good work but trade has fallen to such a low ebb that Blind makers &[c] cannot avoild scamping. they

will not make strong work—I assure you the spring would not draw the blind up at all. the vessell has arrived but not my blue glass frame. I am very anxious now to have the acounts for all things that we may get squared.

I am very unwell indeed & dread the idea of dying in debt. It distresses me. I will call as soon as I come up if I am well enough to travel next week but Let me have the accounts first.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1844*'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Ramsgate, Thursday, 7 November 1844

Text: MS V & A L.525-1965/27[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins—Thursday in the octave of all saints

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I will not fail to come to Alton before your Lordsip Leaves. I am very anxious indeed about Cheadle. I am sure your Lordsip will be much pleased with the 4 great images.

I have been too busy to go across the water or else[?] from this point.[2] I can always judge my weather. I am delighted to hear so good an account of the progress of Religion at Alton. it only wants zeal & activity to propagate the faith anywhere. I am rather better again & too hard work to have time to be ill.

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your devoted & faitful Sert[3]

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper and endorsed, in what is thought to be Lord Shrewsbury's hand: '*A WHIRLING TABLE* ***Designs for Glass*** Same for Tapestry Raphael & Zuccaro.'

[2] In his letter of 24 October Pugin informs Lord Shrewsbury of his intention to spend a few days in Flanders. The layout of the MS certainly suggests that Pugin intended the second sentence of this paragraph to begin at 'I can always judge', as it does in the transcript in *Wedgwood 1985* also, but a reading of 'across the water or [anywhere] else. From this point I can always judge' would make good sense.

[3] The letter is unsigned.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, about Friday, 8 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/28[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

there must be some mistake. the covers are only come for the 6 *small chairs*. I have none for the Sofa & Large Chairs. the frame is just the thing. is the blue frame with the other things?

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil and endorsed '*1844*'.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, about Saturday, 9 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/32[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

now that the paper hanger has done I think it but right to tell you that he has given me every satisfaction. in short I never saw a better conducted steadier & more able workman. when another job of mine turns up I hope you will let me have him again.

as soon as you possibly can send me the Bidets glass frame other arm chair easy chair &c. you need not wait to cover this latter as I should prefer it covered with some green damask I have here if you have not done it.

I hope your wife is now better & that you are no longer uneasy about her.

let me have the accounts as soon as you possibly can.

yours truly
✠ AWPugin

must beg of you to get the blinds I wrote about the other done for me as soon as possible for the sun will destroy the colour of the furniture curtains &c.

what probability is there of the other curtain stuff?

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, Sunday, 10 November 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/68[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins 24 Sunday after Pentecost

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am exceedinly gratified by the Presidents handsome gratuity which is more than I deserve for the part I have taken in the business.[2] I trust you will inform him that I accept it with far greater satisfaction than 10 times the amount under other circumstances as it is a proof of his kind consideration towards me.

I expect to be with you before long.[3]

D[r] Puseys windows are advancing rapidly.[4] I have written to him by this post. I assure you I do my best for everybody but sometimes I am sadly pressed for time.

ever with respect dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] A transcript of the Acta in the MCO archives states that at its meeting on 7 November 1844, when Derick's plan was chosen, the college voted that 'a premium of 20 Guas. be given to Mr. Pugin—Allom & Scott for sending in three second best plans next to the one selected for the *Choristers School*'. The other disappointed architects are G. G. Scott and Thomas Allom (1804–72).

[3] Pugin was in Oxford on 12 December 1844.

[4] It is at 14 November 1844 that Pugin enters 'Finished designs for Dr. Pusey's windows' in his diary.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ramsgate, Sunday, 10 November 1844

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/22[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate 24 Sunday after Pent

Dear Sir

if you refer to Wallers brasses you will see several couloured & originally there is litle doubt that they were all so althgh from time & wear the colouring matter has been removed.[2] you should not consider these things in the abstract but consider them with reference to the whole design of the chapel. stained glass encaustic tiles coloured walls & ceiling. I do not know anything about the Scarlet lady but I have great regard for another Lady *Dame Nature* for whom I dare say you will have some respect & there is plenty of *colour about* her both in the animal & vegetable creation. why the very sky is full of the richest tints—& if I imitate the form of flowers & Leaves why not the enrichment of colour?

I never succeed in pleasing you & I assure it distresses me very much for it would have been far more to my profit not to enamel the brasses but I have done so to make them as perfect as possible. you are the most extraordinary man for so great a herald & antiquary. you dont like apparels on albes or colour on brasses!!! what could lead you to suppose I was getting your glass from abroad. it is being made by Wailes as originally intended & will be now just what I wanted. you must have patience in these matters. if you remember I told you the chapel would be 2 years in hand when

you talked of the expense. it will be quite finished next sumer in every way & it will be the most correct & best thing in England if you *could only think so*. I will give you due notice of my visit to Albury & remain with thanks for your attention to my request dear sir with respect

your devoted Servant
✠ A Welby Pugin[3]

I direct this to Albury as you have not given me your address at Brighton.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin refers Drummond to *A Series of monumental Brasses* by J. G. and L. A. B. Waller in his letter of perhaps 4 December 1843.
[3] Pugin next visited Albury from 4 March to 5 March 1845. The 'request', for payment, is made in Pugin's letter to Drummond of 5 November.

To STUART KNILL? Ramsgate, Wednesday, 13 November 1844?

Text: MS SAA K Pugin 1[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate. Nv[r] [?] 13.

My Dear M[r] Knill

I can make a stone tabernacle & a very handsome looking one too with a metal door but it will cost as much as the other, in short it is impossible to make a good tabernacle under £20.[2]

The image of the Blessed virgin would be a very costly affair. I presented the one at S[t] Chads & the image alone cost me £32.

I remain yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper and endorsed in what looks a contemporary hand: 'Pugin Nov[r]. 1844 Jersey Tabernacle'.
[2] Knill shows himself persistent, for Pugin sent a very discouraging answer about stone tabernacles on 24 October 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Saturday, 16 November 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/35[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I did not say all the Blinds were bad only 2 at present do not work but 2 out of so small a number shew what litte regard these blind makers pay to their work. I have sent one up already. it is the infinite trouble and expense that annoys me but above

all the former. I have to send down to the vessell. then unpack the things get a carpenter to fix the blinds then they wont act. they have to be repacked. sent to London. then all the same things over again. it wears me out & all that because some beast of a spring maker makes such weak springs they wont act. I assure you sometimes I feel so unwell & weak that I am quite dejected. however all is in the hand of God & if he please he can give me many years. I shall be very glad to receive the acount & still more so to be square. everything you have done is very good. if you want any Locks & will Let me know I will do them.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ramsgate, Sunday, 17 November 1844?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/5[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins. feast of S[t] Hugh

My Dear Sir

I would suggest if possible to have a hot air flue from a stove *under* A & gratings in the passages at B & so take the flue up the main stack at C.[2] [*Sketch: plan showing position of stove at 'A', gratings at 'B', 'B', 'B', and 'B', stack at 'C', and stove at 'X'*] this would do the thing effectively. I do not like the flue close to the Larder as marked in your sketch. if you had merey[?] a standing stove could you not put it at X but the plan I propose would be more effectual.

I took the greatest pains with the plan of the tiles & laid them down exactly with *numbers* to each sort.[3] surely Browne must forget for I spoke to him particulary when at albury. if he cannot really work from the plans he must wait till I come but I know I Laid them down in the drawing most correctly.

you always give me a parting shot from one of your stern chasers & you are such a slippery antagonist I can do nothing with you for when I give you principles & authorities you condemn the whole of fine Period. how can I maintain a possition on apparels with a man who does not come down ***later*** *than S[t] Paul*!! why you even attack S[t] Augustin my own Patron & the founder of the Hierarchy of England. I wont say any more. its no use—vous etes un homme inconcevable, but I will do my best to get the *right thing* for you even at the risk of being scolded when I have done.

ever dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS bears an endorsement which seems to read 'Jan[r]. 1845'.
[2] The subject appears to be the kitchen accommodation at Albury.
[3] The tiles in the chantry chapel at Albury.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS — Ramsgate, Sunday, 17 November 1844

Text: MS AAW A81/3 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate—feast of S[t] Hugh—B Linc

My Dear Lord Bishop

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your lordsips kind Letter which has given me infinite satisfaction.[1] I shall consider it a great honnour to receive you at My house as soon as my litte chapel is completed of which I will give your Lordsip due notice and at the same time that it is blessed I must beg of you to Consecrate a Chalice of pure gold that I have had made.[2] I have no doubt that the Learned ecclestic with whom I am in negotiation will be able to present the most satisfactory testimonials.[3] it will be the greatest consolation to me to have a priest constanly in the house—as it will enable my children to be thoghly well instructed in theory & practice of their religion & it will be most deligtful to have a daily celerbration of the sacred mysteries & I do hope & trust by the blessing of God to carry out a good work at Ramsgate. I have already taken such measures that the land is secured to your Lordspi & your sucessors in case I might die before I can fully carry out my purpose. I am quite satisfied that many catholic families will reside here—when there is a church & we shall often muster a great congregation, at this moment there are upwards of 300 catholic sailors here for the most part *fishermen* who are all religious—& would certainly attend mass. it would be a magnificent sight. I would have a side chapel dedicated in honour of our Lady of good hope—as on the french & flemish Coast—& in heavy gales of wind we might get offerings through vows of seamen in distress for the spire would be seen from the Goodwin sands. I will devote all my ennergies to the accompliment of this work & I solemnly promise when compleat to transfer the same entirely to the district giving up all claim excepting the right of family burial in the chantry—& the commeration of our souls at the Hebdomadal Mass.

I remain with great respect
your devoted Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

Right Revd. D[r] Griffiths

[1] A reply, presumably, to Pugin's letter to Griffiths of 27 October 1844.
[2] It is on Sunday 22 December 1844 that Pugin notes 'Chapel blessed' in his diary but he does not record whether or not Griffiths was present.
[3] Acquarone.

To DAVID CHARLES READ[1] Ramsgate, Sunday, 17 November 1844?[2]

Text: MS Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge Henderson bequest I. 64.[3] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines
Ramsgte Sunday J[?]

My Dear Read

M[rs] Read has written to me stating you were in town & wanted to see me.[4] I can assure you the wish is mutual but I I cannot Leave home at present being incessantly occupied. I need not say how glad I should be to see you here. I live in a folio Edition of the Grange much augmented & improved.

ever yours most Sincerely[?]
dear Read
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin first writes to Read in January 1841.
[2] It is impossible to date this letter precisely.
[3] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[4] Read's wife was Charlotte.

To WILLIAM DUNN? Ramsgate, Tuesday, 19 November 1844?[1]

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 57[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Westcliff Ramsgate

I have left London Entirely thank God.

My Dear Sir

1 I had not forgotten the tomb but the dimensions are very awkward for the design & I have made 2 or 3 attempts without a satisfactory result.[3] I wish you would Let me start something on a better principle with pillars & a canopy and the tomb underneath. I could make a fine thing of this. [*Sketch: tomb with canopy*]

2 The Comission is quite correct.

3[d]. I do not expect to be ushaw before the spring.[4] I am in a very poor way. the medical men consider that anxiety & intense work have affected my kidneys & that I require great care. the agony I endure at times is intense.

4[th]. if you rember I mentioned £50 originally as the sum to be allowed for travelling expenses. I compounded at that & I cannot possibly furnished you with all the items of travelling expenditure. I believe if they were aded up they would

exceeded that amount. I know in the Long run my travelling expenditure far exceeds the receipts. I remain dear sir

yours truly ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] This date forms part of the endorsements in unrecognized hands which are otherwise concerned with unspecified measurements.
[2] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[3] The tomb is first mentioned in the letter probably written to Dunn on 10 June 1844.
[4] The next visit to Ushaw recorded in Pugin's diaries was paid from 12 April to 14 April 1845.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Friday, 22 November 1844?

Text: MS PC Franklin [25][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Friday

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have every reason to believe that all the aile windows for cheadle will be there by the Early part of next month. they are all I have ascertained very forward. I think £100 would finish them very quick so if your Lordsip can send him that amount it would do a deal of good.[2] I am very anxious to get the glazing done before Xmass all but the East window which we cannot get till spring. I have had a very encouring & kind Letter from D[r] Griffiths who will come & bless my litle chapel himself.[3] I have arranged to make over the Land for the new church to him so if I do not survive to carry out my intention that is safe & it will stand canonically[?]. my litle chapel looks beautiful & if I can get up the church I see every propect of a fine congregation. the Last week we had above 300 Normandy fishermen all of whom would attend mass if we had a church & as the steeple will be visible from the Goodwin sands vows might ade by persons in distress.[4] I have heard nothing yet further ary Amherst but as soon as I do I will write.[5] eard she is suffering dreadfully & it is a monstrous sin to think of keeping her from me. I could make this a most Catholic spot. I have land for a school & everything—& with her cooperation I could do wonders. when I come to Alton I will explain everything to your Lordsip & Lady Shrewsbury & you will see I am not at all to Blame in the business.[6] her Brother Francis is most anxious for our union. he thinks it would be the most desirable thing possible. no reasonable person could expect or wish me to live by myself—under my circumstances. your Lordsip will see I have everything on the most catholic principle & Mary would deligt in everything I have. she is an admirable sacristan & understands Altar linen & vestments to perfection but I say no more at present.

I remain ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your faithful & devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin makes a note in his diary at 5 December 1844, when he was at Alton, that he 'Sent Wailes £100 for Cheadle'.

[3] Pugin acknowledges Griffiths's letter on 17 November; it is that letter of his which suggests a date for this one.

[4] The MS is damaged in a lower corner and several words or parts of words here and in the two following sentences are lost.

[5] Mary Barbara Amherst (d.1860) was a member of the family of Fieldgate, Kenilworth, for whom Pugin designed the church of St Augustine there; according to *Leetham*, she was thirty-six years of age when she died. Her brother Frank Amherst in his *Memoirs* states that Mary was 'the cleverest of the family, bright, pious and extremely pretty' (p. 249). A second cousin of Lord Shrewsbury, she was 'a great favourite' of the earl and countess, staying often at Alton Towers. In addition she was, according to her brother, 'devoted to gothic architecture'; during 1845 she becomes a purchaser of small items from Hardman: MWDB enters a lamp to her at a price of £9. 18*s.* on 30 August and two candlesticks and a lavabo basin costing a total of £2. 6*s.* 6*d.* on 29 November. At 10 January 1846 the charge of £1. 11*s.* 6*d.* for 'A China Holy Water Stoup, painted & Gilt, sent to Miss M. Amherst', is entered to Pugin.

Pugin hoped to marry Mary Amherst. He 'sent proposal to Mrs. Amherst' on 10 November 1844, according to his diary.

[6] Pugin spent the days from 4 December to 7 December 1844 at Alton.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Sunday, 24 November 1844?

Text: MS MCO 528/23[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Sunday

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am greatly distressed at finding it has been announced in the oxford paper that I have received the *second prize* for the plans of the choristers school.[2] now if you remember I most distinctly stated I would not be in the competition at all. I sent no plans. I only gave you a sketch of my idea & what the president was kind enough to present me was not in the shape of a prize but a mere kind gratuity quite independent of the competition. I never compete, I hate competition, & I would not have had this statement made for anything. it lowers me completely.

had I not better send a contradiction to the editor?[3] or will you do it for me by simply stating I was not one of the competitors. I cant let it pass. pray Let me hear from you. have the images arrived.[4] what is all this row about ward that I see in the Tablet.[5] pray Let me know.

ever dear M[r] Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] The *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette* (16 November 1844): p. [1], under the heading 'Choristers' and Masters' buildings, Magdalen College', reports that at the meeting of the president and Fellows on 7 November when the plan furnished by Derick was selected as 'first in order of merit', the 'design of the celebrated architect Mr. Pugin was second'. The word 'prize' is not used in the newspaper.

[3] No contradiction has been traced in the newspaper.

[4] The images are for the gateway at Magdalen College.

[5] The authorities at Oxford were beginning to take formal notice of W. G. Ward's book. 'The Ideal of a Christian Church.—Mr. Ward', *Tablet*, 5 (23 November 1844): 747, relies on the *Morning Post* and the *English Churchman* in recounting how a committee of Ward's 'enemies', a 'secret and inquisitorial board' of his 'notorious opponents', has been set up to judge him without notice to Ward himself, an 'underhand mode of proceeding' intended to lead to his expulsion from the university.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 26 November 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/28[1] *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Addington Place; NO 26 1844 in Ramsgate; 27 NO 27 1844; NO 27 1844 in Oxford

✠ S[t] Augustins Tuesday.

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

Singularly enough I had nothing to do with the inscription. in order to have the shields beautifuly done I entrusted them to Willement & told him to copy the Badges in the college.[2] this he did for you will find the pot & the inscription described in Bucklers account.[3] after all they are only 2 words *out of a text in* the *holy scripture*. it is quite disgusting for persons professing even moderate views to oppose these things. it is easily remedied. if A litle white oil paint *not too white* is applied over the words in 2 coats they will disappear. any painter can do this but if I have a new shield to make it will stop us for weeks.

I will be with you as soon as possible.[4]

ever with respect
dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Thomas Willement (1786–1871), a decorator, a designer of stained glass, and an antiquary who published books on heraldry.

[3] 'Buckler's account' is *Observations on the Original Architecture of Saint Mary Magdalen College, Oxford*, published in London in 1823; no author is named on the title-page, and college tradition ascribes the work to J. C. Buckler but the BL catalogue assigns it to his father John Buckler (1770–1851). Pugin's copy is lot 5 in the catalogue of the sale of his library. Buckler describes the statue of Mary Magdalen on what is now the Muniment tower. The 'pot' may be what the gospels describe as an alabaster box of precious ointment, brought to Christ by Mary Magdalene, but Pugin's letter to Bloxam of 28 November 1844 makes reference to a 'lily pot'. When Pugin's gateway was demolished, at least some of the statues from it were kept and stored in the base of the great tower of the college; when the Grove buildings were erected by the Longwall boundary of the college grounds late in the twentieth century, what is thought to be Pugin's figure of Mary was mounted on their north wall.

[4] Pugin was in Oxford on 12 December.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Tuesday, 26 November 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/38[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Nv[r] 26.

your people have not sent more than *one* cover to the arm chairs—this is too bad. it will cost me 3[s] or 4[s] to get this down separate besides all the delay & I should not wonder that you will want the one I have to Make it by—but send me the stuff & I will get it done—for I cannot spare the one I have.

I am the most exact man in England. if everybody was like me how well we should go on.

Dear Sir

Singularly enough I had made an estimate in my own mind of the furniture &[c] & was within a very few pounds of your bill so you see I am a good judge. the only thing I did not estimate was the paper for of that I am not a judge but have no doubt it is quite right.

we stand as follows

upholsterers work.		176.	17.	10
Picture frames &[c]		47.	6.	6
paper hanging		151.	12.	6
	total	£375.	16.	10
by 100 on account & £12 owing		112.	0.	0
		£263	16	10

I inclose you a cheque—for £163—& as soon as I come up to town & see how I stand I will hand over the remainer.[2] I will send you a Lock forthwith.[3] acknowledge this *by post* without fail.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin enters in his diary 'Sent Crace 163. 0. 0.' at 26 November 1844.

[3] A letter of Crace's written on 9 November and preserved in ML 1844 makes an inquiry about lock furniture in the Gothic style; perhaps Hardman referred him to Pugin and that is the reason for Pugin's offer of locks in the letter written to Crace about 16 November 1844. Another letter from Crace, written on 13 December and preserved in ML 1844, orders 'ornamental Lock furniture' to be made from a drawing by Pugin which he encloses, although he is rather doubtful about it because Pugin 'seems to have drawn it half size' and so he marks the actual size on the drawing. An entry in Hardman's Metal ledger credits Pugin in January 1845 with one guinea for his drawing of lock furniture for Crace.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 26 November 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/39 *Address*: M^r^. John Crace Jn^r^ / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; NO 26 1844 in Ramsgate; 27 NO 27 1844

let me have the blind as soon as you can. it happens to be the one the most wanted.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 26 November 1844?[1]

Text: ST, App. 8, p. 17 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Many thanks for your truly kind letter.[2] I expect to be at Alton next week, probably about the latter end, and will gladly remain as long as your Lordship wishes.[3] I am sure I do not need much inducement to stay for I am nowhere so happy, but your Lordship knows how I am often forced away by most urgent business. I have sent off to Wailes by this post. The windows will be quickly forthcoming and will be a fine job. . . . You may fully rely on my keeping the large window in the dining room without alteration.

[1] A later date is given in ST.

[2] Lord Shrewsbury's letter to Pugin, preserved as MS PC Franklin [102], replies on 'Sunday' to Pugin's letter of 22 November 1844.

My Dear Pugin

I am very glad to find you have so many consolations in y^r^. affliction—if it is for the best it will be, Please God—

I was delighted at all you told me about your temporal concerns—I trust they will continue to prosper both for y^r^. own advantage & honor, & the good of Religion—I am anxious to hear all details when you come—any time will suit us, but let me know beforehand—After tomorrow, the setting at Cheadle will be stopped for a week, to hoist the Tackle. When you come I hope you will remain 4 or 5 days at least that we may go thro' *all the details* at the Castle & Cheadle—as it will be a good while before we are here again. Lady S. has consented to retain the present large window in the dining room when that is to be done, so mind that is a *settled* point, & you must not unsettle it on any account—I have ordered the joint stock to pay one hundred to y^r^. acc^t^. for Wailes—so you can Send it him & I hope the windows will come Soon. We have not had any letter from M^rs^. A. or Mary.

Believe me
My Dear Pugin
Most truly & faithfully yours
Shrewsbury

Distract y^r^. mind as much as possible by occupation, & keep from fretting by all means.

[3] Pugin's diary shows that he was at Alton Towers from 4 December to 7 December 1844.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Thursday, 28 November 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/63[1] *Address*: Rev^d^ J Bloxam / S^t^ Mary Magdalene College / oxford *Postmark*: Addington Place; NO 28 1844 in Ramsgate; 29 NO 29 1844; NO 29 1844 in Oxford

✠ S[t] Augustins Thursday

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

Many thanks for your kind Letter—I will take no notice whatever of the statement about the premiums &[c].[2] respecting the *innovation* of copper under the painting it is an absurdity. heraldic charges painted on the stone do not stand well on account of the internal damp of the stone in exposed situations forcing the colour off & therefore a plate of metal is affixed to the stone to prevent this defect which is visible at S[t] Johns cambridge & other places where external painting & gilding is introduced.[3] there was a deal of metal work on the exterior of the old churches as at Salisbury uffington &[c]. & even ornamented but it was all torn out to be melted by the *reformers*. as you say the puritanical spirit seems quite raging in some quarters & what nonsense is written in the Times & other papers. did you see a correspondents acount of an *albe*!![4] you never read such trash. I expect to be with you in about 2 weeks & then we will get all setled about the extra work at the wall &[c]. keep the lily pot if you can for it is a beautiful bearing & if the mystery of *Lords incarnation* is to be rejected what is to become of the rest.[5] do these people disbelieve that the angel saluted our blessed Lady.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] The statement which agitates Pugin in his letter to Bloxam of perhaps 24 November 1844.

[3] Pugin wrote 'shields' as the first word of this sentence, then cancelled it by smudging, in favour of the broader phrase.

[4] During the previous week *The Times* carried a correspondence about albs and whether and when they were to be worn. Perhaps Pugin recalls the letter 'To the editor of *The Times*' (28 November 1844): p. 7, from 'J. T. L.' of Lichfield where the anti-Romanism is clearly apparent, but it is not possible to be sure.

[5] Buckler in his *Observations* points out that the lily was Waynflete's 'favourite device' (p. 69) and that the lily and the rose are 'the most common decorations of his architecture'.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Thursday, 28 November 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/40 *Address*: M[r]. J Crace Jun[r]. / Wigmore street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; NO 28 1844 in Ramsgate; 29 NO 29 1844

Dear Sir

I want 2 more blinds 4. feet 2″ Long from out to out of the box. Let me have them with the other.

Yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — Ramsgate, Thursday, 28 or Friday, 29 November 1844?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/761/1[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate, S[t] Augustines Westcliff
Thursday. 29.[2]

Rev & Dear Sir

as your job has been a Long time in hand & Likely to be so I should be much obliged if you will get me £25 on acount as My travelling expenses are annually[?] very heavy.[3] I will deduct this sum hereafter but it can make litle difference to the parish and it makes matters lighter to me.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. The present whereabouts of the MS suggests the recipient, and his identity is confirmed by the inscription in an unidentified hand at the foot of the page: 'The Churchw: this day directed the sum of £25 (by Dft payable at Sight) to be sent to M[r]. Pugin. Beverley 2[nd] Dec[r]. 1844.' The MS is endorsed '*December 1844* Mr *Pugin*'.

[2] There is a muddle in Pugin's date: Thursday was 28 November, not '29'. The termini are set by Pugin's address and by the inscription and endorsement.

[3] After he called at Beverley on 26 September 1844, Pugin reached Ramsgate on Sunday 6 October. By 10 October he had written his '✠ Report on the state of S[t] Marys church Beverley' and a '✠ Specification of work to be done in draining the north side of S[t] Mariys church Beverley'; both documents are signed and dated by Pugin, and at the end of each is an inscription 'Approved by me Rob I Wilberforce Archdeacon of the East Riding Nov 2. 1844'. The MSS are in the keeping of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research in York, all with the reference FAC. 1844/8.

✠ Report on the state of S[t] Marys church Beverley
and the proposed works and restorations.

1[s]. Defect — owing to the accumulation of soil in the church yard the whole building is buried to the depth of about 3 feet, this causes the main decay of the whole building for the damp and water from the roofs is continually forcing its way through the walls & sapping the foundations. to this cause several *recent settlements* (especially in the NE side of the chancel) may be ascribed.

Remedy. — It is proposed to cut a trench at Least 6 feet wide from the walls of the building and as deep as the old level of the church, shewing the base mould, the bottom of this trench to be flagged, and underneath a Large barrel drain to recive all the water from the down spouts, and to convey the same to a main drain at the East end. it will be necessary to lower some graves which have encroached on the building. When this trench is formed the church will be entered from a level instead of down steps as at present.

2[d] Defect — The whole easten end of the church is rendered useless by the present argmnt of seats, as well as the western part of nave, while the rest of the nave and ailes are blocked up with unsightly peus and gallerys, these are much decayed ‡, and in a filthy state, entirely destroy the beauty of the fabrick and occasion a great loss of space. The pavemt of the nave & ailes is also in a very bad state.

‡ The uprights of gallery are partly perished with dry rot.

Remedy. — Remove the whole of the present pues and galleries. relay the Whole floor of the church hollow with air holes beneath. Seat the nave ailes & transepts with oak benches after

antient models. which would contain 14 or 1500 Sittings and place the pulpit at the NW pillars of Great tower.

3 defect. The external doors especially those of transepts are badly fitted, decayed and open at bottom so as to admit a great body of external air rendering the church very cold in windy weather.

Remedy. fix new doors to Transepts, West end, and porches. each provided with a small wicket door. fix internal, or weather screens round & over, each doorway so that the current of air cannot penetrate directly into the building. when this was done & the glazing secured, the Eastern portion of the church would be as warm if not warmer than the present nave.

4 Defect. The pillars niches and other portions of the fabrick have been disfiged & injured by tablets & sepulchal monumts being fixed against them.

Remedy. Remove these to plain surfaces of wall & restore the portions of the church that have been cut away to receive them.

5^{h}. defect A doorway has been cut for the ringers through the main pier of the tower in the NE angle and a fire place has been built in the ringing chamber exceedly dangerous to the fabrick.

Remedy. open the doorway to the old rood staircase yet remaing perfect and build up the new doorway. remove the fire place & chimney in ringing chamber entirely. it is further suggested to remove the present ceiling under ringing chamber & open the Lanthern to the body of the church as originally intended & to ring the bells from the floor of the church.

6 defect A settlemt is still going on in the south transept the south wall of which is giving outwardly.

Remedy. a iron chain tie from the main piers of tower to each angle of South transept.

7 Defect owing to long neglect of drainage the north side of the church particularly at the East end is in a most decayed state, several recent setlements have taken place and the most serious consequences are to be apprehended uness prompt and effective measures are taken.

Remedy. after the formation of the drain and the excavation of the Ground the whole basement must be restored & in some cases underpinned the joints stopped with cement, and the Weatherings of water tables restored. new & sufficient down pipes must also be fixed to convey the water of roofs down to the new drain.

8 defect. The west end of the church is fast going to decay and in a few years it will be difficult to restore the ornamental parts accurately. The western turrets especially require speedy attention.

Remedy. rebuild the Western turrets. insert stones where the old ones are defective. take out the tracery of great west window and replace it by new. restore parapet inside of D^{o} and restore ornamental work generally.

9th Defect The screens of chancel which are of beautiful design & execution have been removed from their original positions and set about the church in a mutilated state. the stalls have also been removed & set againts the walls of chancl, a very offensive altar screen has been set up at the East end during the last century.

remedy. Restore the screens to their original positions so as to inclose the chancel—replace the stalls in their antient position in the chancl after the manner of a cathedral choir, remove the offensive altar sceen and replace it by one in accordance with the beauty of the fabrick. restore painted ceiling of chancel and ailes of D^{o}.

10 defect The roofs are much decayed in parts especially near the wall plates and the lead is in a defective state.

remedy strip the roofs by degrees, comencing with the north transept and scarf & bolt on sound peces in place of the decayed. recast the lead and fix the same with a ridge roll instead of the present manner.

These repairs and restorations are very considerable but by extending them over a number of years they may be sucessfully accomplished, The essential repairs for ensuring the durability of the church being first executed and those of an ornamental desciption afterwards.

The following is the order in which the various works should be executed.

1st. The formation of drains & the excavation round the building & repair of foundations.

2 The removal of the pues & galleries & substitution of seats, new doors & weather screens so that the nave & transepts of the church may be rendered fit for the celebration of Divine Service. the new pulpit may be added at any time.

3 The securing of the south transept wall.
4 The repair of the roofs & external walls.
5 the restoration of interior & exterior of tower.
6 the restoration of the chancel & Eastern portion of the church.

Another document is a 'Supplement' to Pugin's report, added and signed by the vicar and churchwardens, who declare themselves 'perfectly satisfied' with what Pugin has written but wish to name two 'omissions—1. The removal of the Organ to a more appropriate situation 2. The repair and restoration of the ceiling of the nave', which they hope may be provided for in the faculty which they seek 'agreeable to M^{r} Pugins expressed intention'. This supplement is dated 14 October 1844 and inscribed at the foot with Wilberforce's approval at a date of 2 November 1844.

Pugin's specification, also dated 10 October 1844, amplifies the remedy for the first defect identified in his report; any headstones over the graves that are to be sunk are to be laid flat above them as part of the flagging over the drain, for instance, and a retaining wall must be built 'all round the off side of excavation to keep up the earth'.

Pugin's signed 'Drawing of North side' of St Mary's, dated 1844, is preserved with the other papers; it shows a section of steps, a section of the excavation and drain, and a plan of the north wall of the church to indicate the route of the drain. Pugin inscribes at the foot of the sheet 'back this with Linen before it is used'; somebody complied.

Clearly St Mary's was in sad need of repair, but, although the application was heard on 31 October 1844 and the faculty apparently granted straightaway, the 'job' was to be 'a Long time in hand', as Pugin says. Construction of the drain was undertaken in the late spring of 1845.

R. Stanfield's letter-book, MS AAW SEC. 20/11/23, transcribes a letter which Wiseman wrote from Oscott to a priest named Walker on 7 August 1844; he has just visited Beverley where 'St Marys will soon be under Pugins directions. How well he is known not to the learned alone in such things but amongst the people who have anything to say to them. This is real fame. At both the Churches there his opinion was given as an oracle' (p. 62). The other church in Beverley can be taken to be the minster. On his journey Wiseman talked to a young stonemason at Patrington who had never seen Pugin but who knew 'his sayings & doings'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, November 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 61][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you the drawings for a lot of crowns & vanes & the chresting will go off on wednesday.[2] let me have the estimates as soon as possible & rember everything must be done in the strongest & best manner possible. I think all the chresting of crowns may be cut by a tool. the chresting of roof will be principally in Cast & wrought iron.[3] I shall hope to get a letter from you tomorow about my things. we are getting to rights so fast if I could only get the things from you I should be all right.

I shall be ready for young Powell in about 2 weeks.[4] It would be well for you to speak seriously to him before he comes for he is the only person I have ever consented to take as a pupil altgh as you know I have been offered a deal of money to do so. I hope he will apply most earnestly to study. he will have immense advantages & if he seconds my endeavours & profits by the means in his power he will become thghly versed in Christian art. I will find him in all things he may require for drawing &^{c}. free of cost & instruct him in all principles of the art but I do not expect he will run away from as soon as he gets to understand things or before he is 21. I may

in progress of time instruct[?] him with business of trust & importance which he must execute faithfully & when he is of age I doubt not that he will be capable of Earning an excellent income.[5] pray state all this to him & moreover especially explain to him that I have a very small establment in the way of servants & therefore he must in a great degree wait on himself for I dread Servants & will not have more than are absolutely necessary. now my dear Hardman let me have my things as fast as possible there is a good soul.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter begins on mourning paper. A pencilled inscription in Hardman's hand below Pugin's signature seems to read: '240 to Xmas & £100 for 12 ms following if like.'

[2] The metalwork is for the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. Hardman's Metal purchase ledger records a debit to the firm of Smith and Hawkes of thirteen shillings for '2 Vane patterns' on 17 January 1845. Smith and Hawkes are listed in the *Post Office Directory* for Birmingham for 1845 as 'engineers, smiths, & ironfounders' at the 'Eagle foundry, 51 Broad st., Easy row'; Pugin notes the name and address and a sum of £5. 4*s*. against them on the back end-paper [i] of his diary for 1844. Riddell's letter of 6 November 1844 contains a postscript asking Hardman if there is 'a person in Birmingham called M^r^. Hawkes who sells stoves', for Pugin has sent 'a name something like that' but Riddell 'can't make it out'.

A great many vanes are entered in MWDB for Westminster; there are no fewer than ten entries for a total of ninety-nine of them in the second half of 1845, for instance, although several times it is an alteration that is recorded rather than a new product. There is no detailed information to indicate their nature or their place in the building. Invoices preserved in BCA are also not specific: Wareing, for example, gilds metal weathervanes in February, March, and April 1845 and again later in the year; these may be for this great commission but there is no evidence to prove it. William Wareing was a 'Carver & Gilder, picture frame & looking-glass manufacturer', of 1 Union Passage, Birmingham. In a letter written on 17 November 1845 and filed in a clip of MSS labelled 'Barry letters 1844–45' in BCA, Barry informs Hardman that he has signed his account for vanes as approved, and forwarded it to Grissell and Peto, York Road, Lambeth, 'to whom you may apply for payment'.

The same absence of precise detail thwarts attempts to identify crowns made for Westminster, though for a different reason: there is only one entry in MWDB, at 7 October 1845, for, simply, 'Making 3 Pattern Crowns'.

[3] This cresting was still not settled months later. A letter from Barry written on 7 April 1845, which is preserved in BCA, instructs Hardman not to proceed with the trefoil leaves which Pugin has ordered for the cresting of the roofs, and to report to Barry how many, if any, have been made.

[4] John Hardman Powell (1827–95), Hardman's nephew, was the fifth son of William and Lucy Powell. He was, as Pugin goes on to say in this letter, Pugin's only 'pupil', and remained so; the exact nature of the financial arrangement between Pugin and Hardman is not clear, although the inscription on this letter seems to relate to it. Living in Pugin's household for several years, Powell left an account of life at The Grange, *Powell*, which yields unsurpassed insight.

[5] Pugin may have intended to write the word 'entrust', but did not do so.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Derby, Tuesday, 3 December 1844

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq^r^ / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: DE 3 1844 in Derby; 1844 in Birmingham

✠ Derby. Tuesday evening

My Dear Hardman

you must send of a common iron bedstead full size without a canopy & let it have casters.[2] [*Sketch: bed*] please to send it off same time as the other bedstead as I shall want it before John Powell comes.

I have been to Nottgham today. there is nothing at all the matter with the paint to speak of.[3]

I am still very unwell at times, Last night was wretched but better in the morning.

ever your devoted friend

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter has been given the number 80 in the microfilm of this collection held in HLRO.

[2] Perhaps the bed was included in the debit of £1. 2*s.* 9*d.* to Pugin at 6 December 1844 in Hardman's Metal sales ledger for unspecified goods from R. W. Winfield, from whom Pugin certainly obtained other beds, for the same ledger debits him £3. 2*s.* for 'Cash paid to R. W. Winfield for Bedsteads' at 20 March 1845. Winfield's letterhead, preserved among invoices in BCA, defines his operations at his 'Cambridge Street Works' in Birmingham: 'General Brass Founder, and Manufacturer of Patent Metallic Bedsteads, railings, cornice poles, stair rods &c. &c., gas fittings of all kinds, brass, copper, iron case, and other tubing, (rough & finished.) Rolled metals, brass and copper wire, solder, &c. &c.' The *Post Office Directory* for 1845 describes Robert Walter Winfield as the 'original patentee & manufacturer of metallic bedsteads & chairs, gas fittings, tubes, & general brass founders'.

[3] Pugin's diary for 1844 contains two receipts for £50 each from Thomas Kearns for the painting of St Barnabas's.

To ANNE PUGIN — Derby, Tuesday, 3 December 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 303][1] *Address*: Miss Anne Pugin / S[t] Augustines / Ramsgate *Postmark*: DE 3 1844 in Derby; 4 DE 1844; DE 4 1844 in Ramsgate

✠ Derby. Tuesday

My Dear Anne

tell Miss Greaves to send my boots to be mended. they want soleing. I should like to have them done by the time I come back. I am now at Derby & still very poorly. I am going to Alton tomorrow.[2] I hope you are all good. I have ordered another iron bedstead & M[rs]. Nash may make a Mattress to it when it comes.[3] kisses to all.

ever your affectionate father

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.

[2] Pugin's diary confirms this prediction.

[3] Mrs Nash has not been reliably identified. She may be Frances Nash, recorded in the census return of 1851 as living at 4 Paragon Cottages, not far from The Grange; then aged 43, she was the wife of Henry Nash. The other Mrs Nash in the census was the wife of a publican.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Thursday, 5 December 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/55[1] *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam / S[t] Mary Magdalene College / oxford
Postmark: Cheadle; DE 1844 in Oxford

✠ Alton Towers. Thursday

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

I think the window in place of the present door will be a great improvement—I have written to Willement for another shield.[2] The figures will be I expect at oxford by this time. they are very good. I shall bring the founders Pastoral staff with me. I expect to be with you next thursday.[3]

I remain with respect
ever your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] The typed transcript of the Acta in the MCO archive records a resolution of 1 February 1845 that 'the old door leading into the *Porter's Lodge* be converted into a window of the same proportions'. The shield, like the figures in the next sentence, is for the gateway at Magdalen College.
[3] Pugin's diary shows that he went to Oxford on 12 December.

To LORD MIDLETON — Alton Towers, Saturday, 7 December 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/46[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Towers. Saturday.[2]

My Lord

the space in the chancel at Peper Harow is so confined & even broken by monumental slabs that I do not think your Lordsip will find the tiles too crowded in effect. in Large spaces I always introduce lines of plain tiles—but at your church I do not believe it would answer.

I can promise your Lordsip a window in the chancel quite equal in colour & effect to that at S[t] Georges. if your Lordsip will allow the detail Items of the cost of the chancel to stand over till I come I shall be able to explain them to your Lordsips entire Satisfaction.[3]

I am quite sure no real good will be done in Ireland till I go & regularly start the work. I have written a very serious Letter to Pierce & if he does not give a satisfactory reply & a satisfactory proceeding, I will cut him off—but it is impossible to carry on the work at Midleton by more Letter writing & I think it is quite a Question for your Lordsips consideration wether an architect less occupied & whos time is less valuable than mine would not answer your Lordsips purpose better. it is impossible to me to take these long Journeys without considerable expense and unless your

Lordsip can manage to carry on in midleton a sufficient quantity of work at one time, I am sure it will not answer. In all this I am speaking rather for your Lordsips interest than my own but I cannot bear to put anyone to unnecessary expense—however I will do everything in my power to meet your wishes either by making merely the working drawings or otherwise—but I am sure your Lordsip will feel for me in this business for I have written more letters and occupied more time about that small farm house than I should have taken about a very fine church & I could be producing works of art while I am writing about potatoe sheds, I am certain I could have written a small treatise on christian art in the time.[4] I will send the designs for the front porch & N aile as soon as I return to Ramsgate. if your Lordsip could send me a cheque for the years account before xmass it would oblige me as I have had such Large sums to pay for my building.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips Devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter begins on mourning paper.
[2] The only Saturday when Pugin was at Alton between the death of his wife and Christmas 1844 was 7 December.
[3] Pugin next visited Peper Harow on 25 March 1845.
[4] The farmhouse at Ballysimon.

To ANNE PUGIN — Scarisbrick, Tuesday, 10 December 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 68][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Scarisbrick Tuesday[2]

My Dear Anne

I am on my way back. I never suffered so much from cold in my life. I do not think I shall get home before next Tuesday.[3] I may possibly get back on Saturday but I am afraid not. at any rate you must not expect me before Tuesday. send my Letters up to Thursday night to M[r]. Hulls

109 Wardour street
oxford Street
London.

kisses to all.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed 'Anne Hardman—hair—Hair August 2 / 47'; Anne was the name of Hardman's wife and of their second daughter.
[2] Pugin's diary shows him at Scarisbrick on 9 December and 10 December 1844; the only later visit there recorded in his diaries, in September 1845, was not paid on a Tuesday.
[3] Pugin returned to Ramsgate on Tuesday 17 December.

To LORD SHREWSBURY En route, Tuesday, 10 December 1844?

Text: MS PC Franklin [67][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have had a very cold journey & not done any good. M^r^. Scarisbrick was gone after all on a shooting excursion, & I think this hospital is a very doubtful affair.[2] I have seen Sir A knight & has given him a very good opinion after a very attentive hearing of the case.[3] he says I have a very strong constitution but overworked & injured by great application. he traces the pain I suffer to indigestion produced by anxiety & this I believe for when I have been much agitated the pains increase. I am going home & mean to be quiet & regular in living & hope to be better. when I have the pleasure of seeing your Lordsip again I can give a very curious explanation of the cheap Derby China pots & the way they were got up. I will attend to Everything as fast as possible & remain dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect

your devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] In the letter which he may have written to Scarisbrick on 11 May 1845 Pugin refers to 'convent drawings', and in his letter of 15 September 1845 he tells Lord Shrewsbury that Scarisbrick 'is really going to build a convent & hospital', but nothing more is known of this intention.

[3] Arnold James Knight (1789–1871), a Catholic from Lincolnshire who was educated at Oscott, took his MD from Edinburgh in 1811 and worked as a physician in Sheffield before he moved to Liverpool; he was knighted in 1841 for his eminence in medicine. Knight was prominent in Catholic affairs, too: his health was drunk at the grand dinner in the town hall in Birmingham after the consecration of St Chad's in June 1841, and in response Knight proposed the health of the college at Oscott.

To LORD MIDLETON London, Saturday, 14 December 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/44 *Address*: Right Honble / viscount Midleton / Tattons hotel / Berkeley Square / London[1] *Postmark*: DE 14 1844

✠ Dec^r^ 14

My Lord

I have just received the inclosed from Pierce & Lose no time in inclosing it to your Lordship.[2]

if I can only get to him I could set all in good order—I cannot move before the middle of march.[3] I feel so exceedinly ill & in such constant pain that I am returning home with all possible dispatch. I suffer such depression of spirits that I can hardly work.[4] I have been accustomed to return home for winter & miss my wife at every turn. I hope time may remove this but at present it is almost insupportable.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin writes 'if not there to be forwarded' above the address.
[2] Pierce's letter to Pugin of 7 December 1844 is MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/38.

Killarney 7th. Decr. 1844

Sir

I have at length Commenced in Midleton, It was last night, I got to Killarney, I have been in Midleton for the last 10 days, I got the foundations cleared out, Got the Stonecutters to work, quarry men to work in the rubble quary, & sand & Lime drawn. on Thursday, I went to Coave & purchased the timber, It was to have been rafted to Midleton yesterday, I got on exceedingly well considering the state of the weather, for it was raining the greater part of the time, I brought a foreman Mason with me from Enniscorthy whom, I can depend on, I think Mr. Foley & I will pull well together, I would not set out the foundations for a day or two untill, He had leisure to come to Ballysimon, I consult him on every thing, His instructions to me is to be guided by your directions, I know, He is now anxious to have the Agents house built but, He dont seem to like the intended site, I will write you on this subject when I'll have more leisure.

I am doing nothing but writing for some time past, however, I have managed the parties pretty well by so doing—you shall hear from me by tomorrows post relative to Mr. Wyses work.

Please on receipt of this send me a plan of a cross for the south porch for this, as, I wish to get that in hands befor, I leave this & also send the casts for the Scrowls of the large Crosses you promised. The Gables are all up here but the N. Transept, the Circular window is now seting in that, it will be finished in a few days, the tower arches are all Keyed. I have got a frame of wood immediately over the arches. The timber for the roof is not yet got. in haste

I have the honor to remain
your obt. servant
Richd. Pierce

I dont think the shops in Midleton can be done in the way that you'd wish to have them done for less than about £1100, there is an immensity of Cutstone to be prepaired for them, let me know do you think that sum too much, as soon as, I hear from you, I will go to Midleton as, I have but little to do hear, If you think the cost of the shops not too much I could get the stone cutting in hands at once, and also get the foundations cleared out, the wood work ought to be got in hands also.

[3] It was beyond the middle of May 1845 when Pugin crossed from Liverpool to Dublin, to see to his Irish work.
[4] Pugin repeatedly complains of his misery when in London during the months after the death of his wife. He went on working, nevertheless; *A. Barry*, p. 43, for instance, quotes an entry from Barry's diary noting that on 11 December 1844 he had

Mr. Pugin here with parts of railing for House of Lords:—

	Lbs.		per lb.		£	*s.*	*d.*
A. W. P.—	22 Small vanes	...	3*s.*	...	3	6	0
	52 Large vanes	...	3*s.* 10*d.*	...	9	19	4
	16 Crowns	...	5*s.* 4*d.*	...	4	5	4

and the same source records that on the following day Barry made a 'Report to the Board as to employment of Mr. Pugin'.

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Saturday, 14 December 1844

Text: MS PC [HLRO 304] *Address*: Miss Anne Pugin / St Augustines / Ramsgate *Postmark*: DE 14 1844; DE 15 1844 in Ramsgate

My Dear Anne

I hope to be home with you all on Tuesday.[1] I never Longed for anything more in my life than to get home—I have bought you all many pretty things but mind no boxes which come must be opened till I return. Let them be put in the hall. I hope I

shall hear a good account of you all for I cannot give pretty things to any but good children. I shall ask Miss Greaves & Miss Cley as soon as I get home.[2]

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

I dare say I shall come by the coach on Tuesday. if any heavy snow falls Harry must throw it off the gutter.[3]

[1] The hope was realized.
[2] E. Clay signs in acknowledgement of a quarter's salary of £7. 10*s*. in Pugin's diary at 25 March 1845.
[3] Harry may perhaps be the Mr Oliver of Pugin's letter to Anne Pugin of 16 September 1844 but evidence is lacking to secure any identification. Alternatively, he may be Henry Nash, described in the census return of 1851 as a 'Carpenter Journeyman'.

To LORD MIDLETON — London, Monday, 16 December 1844?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/45 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dec[r] 16

My Lord

I beg to acknowledge With thanks the safe arrival of your Lordships cheque for £58. 10 but have got such a severe cold that I am unable to write more till I am better.[1]

with great respect
your Lordships devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The spidery, shaky handwriting bears out Pugin's claim that he is unwell. Pugin asks for payment in his letter to Lord Midleton of 7 December 1844.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Friday, 20 December 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/41[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dr 20 Ramsgate

Dear Sir

I was too unwell to Call on you in London after all. I found I could have sent you all your money for I had a good deal more than I expected at the Bankers but I now forward the balance to you and I have dated the cheque in advance—so that you may acknowledge it.[2] I know I owe you a small balance for 2 blinds but this I will setle by & bye when I see you. be sure & write by post.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

thinking you might be out of town I have dated the cheque for the 30th So there will be no possibility of its miscarriage. you better put on the receipt that this seltes all accounts up to the present time.

shall I get my drawing room curtains by the time the *warm* weather sets in. I assure you the room is miserable for want of them.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] Pugin sent Crace only part-payment of his account on 26 November 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Saturday, 21 December 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

this has quite knocked me down again. I have no heart to draw or anything.

My Dear Hardman

I am again plunged in misery. litte katherine fell down yesterday broke her left leg dislocated her ankle & is a sad state.[2] I had no sleep at all last night & she requires constant watching. this has quite upset us all again. I suppose powell informed you of my Labourer whom I employ Lossing his eye while chopping wood on saturday. I have the Surgeon now constanlly in the house & I have no means for it.

to go from great things to small. pray Look a litte more after the way things are done. the candlesticks have arrived & in Cases big enough to carry twice the quantity.[3] it is a perfect Waste of stuff to pack things in that way & what is more the expenses are enormous. £1. 10^{s} expenses for coming here. now I cannot stand it. the same with pole screens.[4] a Large case for Each when they would have Laid end for end perfectly—the same with the Candlestics. they charge as much *warface* for *each package* as *one Large one* & the Same in freight.[5] I really cant afford the waste is too great—& now they have never sent the rings for the bed curtains & now poor Litte patty has a whole room to herself. I wanted to Sleep there—& cant put up any curtains. Powell tells me they were all made before he left & yet I have not got them.[6] I cannot understand this indifferent way of doing things. young powell ought to be ashamed of himself to send a bed without rings & then when a lot of Cases are sent half empty not to inclose them.[7] I see the expenses of these Candlesticks coming including the cases will be £3. now is this right. is it to be borne? Lord Shrewsburys fortune would hardly stand it—& I cant. if it was necessary I would pay it willingly but it is sheere waste.—this accident has quite put me out of drawing again. I am sick of everything. I have not a moments rest or quiet. I hope you will give powell a regular good scolding for the waste of these cases—&

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

let me know if he means to send the rings at all or if I am to go without curtains all the winter or wether he is going to make another case & make me pay ten shillings for them coming.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box', like others which seem rather to belong to the last days of 1844. This letter has been given the number 56 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO. The first two sentences of the letter, those preceding the salutation, are written in pencil.

[2] Katharine Pugin, born on 28 November 1841, was just three years old; she was called Patty in the family.

[3] Perhaps these are the four candlesticks entered as part of the order in MWDB at 13 December 1844, where boxes for them and for a thurible, a vat, and two crosses which came with them are charged at only four shillings and sixpence.

[4] The pole screens are first mentioned in the letter Pugin writes to Hardman probably on 13 October 1844; the charge recorded in MWDB for the packing of them and of '1 Braket for figure of BV' costing £1 is £1. 8*s*.

[5] What is charged is wharfage.

[6] The exact date of Powell's arrival at The Grange is not recorded but it was before 3 December 1844.

[7] Probably William Powell.

To LORD MIDLETON Ramsgate, Saturday, 21 December 1844?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/26 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^{t} Augustins. D^{r}. 21.

My Lord

I perfeclly enter into your Lordsips views respecting Ireland and I will do my very utmost to carry out your wishes. I quite agree with your Lordsip that unless we can bring a good style to the same price or nearly so as the modern it will never become general. I fear it is the cutstone that makes these buildings so expensive & I almost thought of substituding timber mullions as we see in many old houses. if your Lordsip will arrange with me before I go all that is likely to be done at Midleton for the ensuing year or two I will go at when there with all the spirit I can & when I have Pierce with me I can master all the difficulties he can raise & I dare say I can get by management 10 percent or more perhaps 20 percent off the shops in deductions that would not injure the effect materialy.[1] if your Lordsip could start the church wall the shops & the other farm house altogether I could do some good. I am truly grateful to your Lordsip for your kind sympathy in my feelings. I trust now I am home to improve & I will send the sketches for Peper Harow as soon as I am able.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin was next at Midleton on 28 May and 29 May 1845.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Sunday, 22 December 1844?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/42[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I like the stuff very much but I think the colours should be Dull green ground—gold Coulour & Large ornaments red. I find I shall want 15 yds. for the curtains and 12 yds of yellow fringe Like that on the chairs. [*Sketch: fringe*] let me have it as soon as you can.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

if you do not want the pattern I will keep it & pay for it as it will just make a cover I want.

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper. The MS is endorsed '*1844* A W Pugin Dec^{r} 22nd.' and bears on the verso a rough sketch of arches, one with a rood.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 22 December 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 954][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

poor litle Katharine has gone on surprisingly well since her sad accident & I am now in great hopes that she will eventually recover the use of her leg. her general health does not seem to suffer & she has been wonderfully patient. I fear Miss greaves heatth will prevent her remainging. she suffers dreadfully with headache for 2 days together. she will be a great loss. however I am quite resigned to anything now. I do not even expect the least comfort or enjoment whatever. the worse is everything falls on me now & interrupts me constantly in my work. I get nothing done. I am worse off than ever. the only thing that goes on well is the chapel.[2] I have most solemn services & when I get the rest of the things I shall do very well. I want the other altar cloths amices Chalice case Corporals very much—I want two purple curtains of cloth—with a purple fringe—& common 1″. brass rings at top about 12 to each.[3] I want them simple for Lent.

as soon as Herbert is gone I will take down the bed & send all the upper back.[4] it must be changed entirely in principle. [*Sketch: bed with dimensions '6.7' by '3.9'*] I assure what I say about the packing cases was quite correct—if the 2 tops had been packed thus they would have gone beautifuly in one case & the same with the others. [*Sketch: ends of bed packed together*] you see the cost of warfage &^{c} is enormous. I assure you the other day I paid £67!! on this acct only & since that £5. 17. 0. so you see

it is not without cause I am anxious to diminish these items for I see nothing for them.

Powell has been modelling very well indeed for the screen &c—he will make some very good things under my direction.[5] dont say anthing as if from me but I think it a great *pity* he writes so much. instead of profiting by air & exercise or from the mass of books in my Library his evenings & sundays are occupied in writting sheets of closely lined Letters—which seem to occupy intense thought & of difficult composition. what can all this mean. do you think that he is not comfortable? I cant understand a young man of his age without business or love affairs writing so much. I hope he is not plotting. I should not like anything to be said that would give him an idea I notice it for he is a very good fellow indeed but it seems singular & is certainly a pity—for it is a horrid waste of time & I see no end to it. tell what you think about it.

I have quite given up all idea of the business I spoke to you about in London.[6] I cant stand anything like diplomacy in these matters or waste of time & if she has not pluck enough to cut her stick she is not worth the powder & shot.[7] I would not bend to the Queen even for a princess—it is not my fault—anything like hapiness is a mere delusion—women soon get sick & uncomfable. all the fun is in the idea—mere delusion. I can reconcile myself to anything. get on with all the work.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Some figures pencilled at the end of the letter and not all now legible may have been written by Pugin:

18	15
15	6
30	11
5	1
121	10

[2] Pugin's diary records 'Chapel blessed first mass celebrated by Dr. Acquaroni' on this day. Acquarone came to The Grange, so Pugin's diary records, on 21 December 1844.

[3] Most of these items would come from Mrs Powell, but MWDB enters 'A Leather Case for Chalice & Paten' to Pugin at 12 March 1845 for £1. 10*s*.

[4] John Rogers Herbert (1810–90), a painter, often stayed at The Grange at Christmas time. Pugin's diary notes that this year he came on 26 December; Herbert's address at '1 Gloucester Road Brompton' is written on the back end-paper [i] of the same diary. According to *Powell*, of all Pugin's friends 'Herbert used to come oftenest, sometimes bringing his wife, and always stayed a few days. Their recollections of early times, and shortness of their funds, was [*sic*] most amusing' (p. 191). The *DNB* states that it was 'chiefly through the influence' of Pugin that Herbert became a Catholic. Elizabeth Rigby, Lady Eastlake, in her *Journals and Correspondence* (London, 1895), describes Herbert as 'a queer-looking fish, full of odd thoughts' (vol. 1, p. 266).

[5] An undated letter from Powell to Hardman, filed in ML December 1845, a year later, but apparently there erroneously, wishes his uncle a happy New Year, encloses a sketch of a lamp, remarks that his 'foot is a great deal better', and reports that he is 'moddling' for the 'Cheadle screen top of support &c &c &c'.

[6] Presumably the hope of marrying Mary Amherst.

[7] The idiomatic phrase, 'cut one's stick', categorized as slang, is defined in the *OED* as meaning 'take one's departure, be off'; the first illustration of its usage in the dictionary is drawn from *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1825.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Monday, 23 December 1844?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 347] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

never was anything so stupid as my forgetting to speak to you about a ciborium & monstrance for S[t] Augustins.[1] now there is a resident priest the B. Sacrament will be of course reserved & we have nothing for the purpose.[2] I think one othe small monstrances would be best & surely you have a good ciborium that would do. [*Sketch: monstrance*] [*Sketch: ciborium*] of *course all silver* parcel gilt.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin was last in Birmingham on 11 December 1844 on his way from Liverpool to London but his diary does not reveal whether he saw Hardman there or not. There is no sign of this purchase in MWDB; the volume which opens with the entries for the beginning of 1845 is seriously worn and some early matter has been lost, which perhaps recorded these items.

[2] The resident priest is Acquarone.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, Tuesday, 24 December 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/43[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Xmass Eve

Dear Sir

I am very much obliged to you for the deduction in this matter. I relied entirely on you & the result shews I was quite right in doing so.

1°. you say you *inclose* the cheque but you have not done so for I opened the Letter & examined it closely but it was not in. Let me know about this Lest it should be lost & if so stop it at the London joint stock as soon as you get this.

2 you better use it for I shall soon be in your debt for the curtains & the balance will go to that.

3 I am *delighted with the* stuff. I think it the best thing that has been done & I think I can get it extensively used for vestments.

now have you any objection to invest a litle capital & keep about 50 to 100 yds.

of Green ground.	yellow & red ornament
of Red ground	D°
of Purple D°	D°
of Black D°	only gold ornament.

I am sure they would answer well for vestments. I expect to get a great sale for it—start with a Lot of one coulour. say *red.*

I am better since I got down here—when I come to London now I am out of your debt I shall venture to call—let me hear about the cheque.

with the best wishes of this holy season
I remain yours truly[?]
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed: '*1844* Pugin Dec^{r} 24th. as to the Gothic Tapestry.' This design became one of Pugin's most admired patterns.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Tuesday, 24 December 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^{t} Augustins Xmass Eve.

My Dear Hardman

M^{r}. Barry has written to me to say that he has sent you the Large vane & a screw down and they want 4 of them as soon as possible before the rest in order that they may strike the Scaffold so let them have 4 as soon as you possibly can. he wants also an alteration in the *frame* on which the vane turns.[2] it must be worked as if *twisted.* you will understand this. you will cast it of course. [*Sketch: twisted frame of vane*] you remember also that the foot is not screw but to fit like a *box* over the screw & to be run with Lead. it better be jagged or rough on the inside to hold the Lead. [*Sketch: jagged interior of foot*] If you do not understand write.

I expect a solemn service to night. I Like my chaplain very much. althoug a Roman he Seems to enter into everything with spirit & is deligted with the chapel. Poor Powell is very Lame almost confined to the sofa. I fear it will be weeks before he can go about as usual.

I have made up my mind to have the bed nearly remade so I am now *resigned* to my fate.[3] I assure you I bear things better than I did & saw the Spring mattress which cost me £14 cut witht violent emotion but it is too bad to send dimensions which were of no use for no mattress could go under the end rail but I will say no more. I want a great many things for my chapel of which I will send you a list very soon.[4] they are common things but indispensable.

ever dear Hardman with kindest wishes of this holy season to you & yours

your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box' but this seems an error both because of the opinion Pugin gives here of his chaplain and because in 1845 Powell went home to Birmingham for Christmas. In the microfilm of this collection of correspondence held in HLRO this letter has been assigned the number 7.

[2] The Metal purchase ledger records that Hardman obtained 'Frames for Vanes' from Chivers on 3 January 1845.

[3] MWDB enters 'Bed Repaired' to Pugin without charge at 30 May 1845.
[4] The list is sent with the letter which Pugin may have written on 27 December 1844.

To LORD MIDLETON — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 24 December 1844?

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/31[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Lord

I was so ill that I could not reply to your Lordsips Letters but this evening I feel rather better.

1st. I quite agree with your Lordsip that the next year will shew how we can get on in Ireland. I purpose going there Early in the Spring & I *will stop at Midleton* till I see everything in good train.[2]

I trust your Lordship does not think that I undervalue or slight your employment in Ireland for I can assure you I am most anxious to carry out your Lordsips views there but I am quite distressed when I feel that matters are not going on satisfactorily & when I also feel that it is out of my Power to set them right, however I will *do my very best next year* & if I can manage I will. we shall see how all goes on & then I will Leave it entirely to your Lordsips judment to decide if the system will work well. I anticipate much good from my visit in the spring for then I will set matters as straight as Irish matters can be.

2d. I have ordered the capuchin Cloak & it will be forwarded in a parcel & Left at Tattons hotel.

3d. I need hardly say how gratefully your Lordsips most munificent contribution would be received at St Georges.[3] I can readily understand your Lordsips feelings on the matter and explain them if you wish it to Dr Doyle.[4] he is indeed fond of a Joke. he is quite an ecclesiastical Liston—but an excellent & most zealous man.[5] there is a most extraordinary commotion at present amongst all parties in the church but I still hope that good may come of it. anything better than stagnation.

4th. I have the view of the gatehouse drawn in Ink but I do not think I could undertake to etch it.[6] it would be far better to have a spirited Lithograph done by Hague from my drawing.[7] he would do it beautifully with half the expense & twice the effect of a line engraving. pray consent to this.

I purpose remaining some time at Ramsgate for I fear I am getting in a bad way & if I am not careful I may be knocked up altogether.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written on mourning paper.
[2] It was on 28 May 1845 that Pugin next arrived in Midleton.
[3] Pugin's letter to Lord Midleton of 25 December 1844, which suggests a date for this letter, is more specific about the 'contribution'.

[4] Thomas Doyle, priest at St George's, London.

[5] John Liston (1776?–1846), an actor noted for his comic roles, often playing with Charles Mathews (1776–1835), a friend of Pugin's father.

[6] The gatehouse at Oxenford.

[7] Louis Haghe (1806–85), a lithographer and water-colour painter, had by 1825 crossed from his native Belgium to London, where he joined forces with the printer William Day (d.1845) and his son William; with premises in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn Fields, they became during the 1830s and 1840s the leading firm in the production of tinted lithographs of topographical subjects.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Wednesday, 25 December 1844

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/44[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins. Xmass day

Dear Sir

as I wrote to you yesterday I have only to return you the cheque you sent me & beg you will credit me with the balance. I think the stuff most *sucessful.*[2] I have made the pattern piece into 2 pole screens & it Looks beautiful. the effect in Black & gold will be very fine.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

kindest wishes of the Season.

The fringe for the curtains may be of the Length you mention. 5″ & a few red threads in it. remember worsted not silk.

[1] The MS is endorsed: '1844 A W Pugin Dec[r] 25[th].'

[2] The Gothic tapestry.

To LORD MIDLETON — Ramsgate, Wednesday, 25 December 1844

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/33 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate Xmass day

My Lord

I beg to acknowledge the safe arrival a cheque for £100 which I will remit to D[r] Doyle As soon as see him as I think it will be better for me to explain your Lordsips intentions by word of mouth rather than by Letter.[1] I have informed him that I have received the sum of £100 for him but I did not mention your Lordsips name as I thought if I did so before I could explain your views to him in his burst of gratitude he might circulate it. as soon as I have seen him he will doubtless write to your Lordsip. I am sure he will be equally surprised & deligted.

The remarks in the record & M^r^. Closes sermon are disgusting & carry their own refutation with them.[2] all that can be said in extenuation is that the wretched men who write this observation have no other means of getting a livlihood. it is their trade to abuse everything good.

would it be quite impossible for your Lordsip to pay a short visit to this place in the spring. I think you would be greatly pleased with my house—it is well carried out & compleat in its way. I have now a resident chaplain & my chapel is well furnished. I should be deligted to shew it to your Lordsip.

I quite understand all your Lordsips intentions about Ireland & I will do my very best in the spring.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

over

I will call on your Lordsip as soon as I arrive in town.

I think the inscription for the view of gatehouse capital. I will write it out with the view & forward it.

[1] The money is a gift from Lord Midleton to the building fund for St George's, Southwark, earmarked for a specific purpose, as Pugin's letter to Forristall of 8 June 1845 discloses. In a letter to Forristall of 26 June 1843 preserved among SAA St G, Darley writes that 'Lord & Lady Middleton with two Friends were at the Church. from his feelings while in the Church I think he would be a Benefactor'. Lord Midleton's gift eventually became public knowledge; one item under the general heading of 'Court circular', *Morning Chronicle* (5 March 1845): p. 5, reads: 'Lord MIDDLETON [*sic*] has given the sum of £100 towards the funds for the erection of the Roman Catholic church in Lambeth.'

[2] Francis Close (1797–1882), an evangelical divine, graduated from St John's College, Cambridge, and served as a priest at Cheltenham for thirty years before becoming Dean of Carlisle from 1856 to 1881. Besides being, as *Venn* puts it in a rare personal comment, 'Bitterly opposed to horse racing and the theatre', Close was the 'arch enemy' (p. 139) of the Cambridge Camden Society, according to *White 1962*. Of his numerous controversial publications it is probably to his direct and explicit attack on that society that Pugin refers: a sermon preached on the explosive date of 5 November in 1844 and published soon afterwards as *The 'Restoration of Churches' is the Restoration of Popery*; according to *White 1962*, Close's assault 'nearly proved to be the undoing' (p. 142) of the society.

An untitled, unsigned editorial in the *Record* (19 December 1844): p. [4] makes its own comment on the discussions of the Cambridge Camdenians before it ends by thanking Close for bringing forward a 'true view' of the case.

> It is, indeed, a pitiable sight in this age of boasted illumination . . . that there should be men, boasting of their learning, proud of their intellectual endowments, and ambitious of distinction, who can shut their eyes to all that is passing around them, and equally forgetting the littleness of time and the greatness of eternity, occupy themselves about such paltry matters as those which engross the members of the Cambridge Camden Society. Their conduct might seem to intimate their belief that Christianity was intended to appeal to the senses rather than to the souls of men, and that the Gospel . . . was well-nigh powerless if not supported by the skill of the artificer in wood and stone, of the colourers of glass, the embroiderers of cloth, and the painters on canvass.
>
> These were the arts by which in a dark and superstitious age, the monks of old were wont to stupify the senses of their ignorant votaries. . . . It is no wonder then that we find Rome holding out the right hand of fellowship to the Camden Society. . . .
>
> Lord Shrewsbury's devotion to the Romish superstition is before the world. . . . But the Noble Earl in his zeal as a devotee finds the Camden Society working towards Rome, and therefore it is that it has his warm support. . . .

The people are crying for bread, they are perishing for lack of knowledge; but instead . . . they are presented with wood and stone, or entertained with questions about the Offertory, the surplice, or Rubrics!

In the abstract, accordingly, nothing can appear more ridiculous than these proceedings of the Cambridge Camden Society. . . . But when we remember that these outward changes into the forms and habiliments of Rome are a part of the deep-laid scheme to bring our Church and nation back into the embraces of Popery . . . we see at once that these young men at Cambridge are but the blind instruments of far deeper minds. They are mere automata, worked by Popish hands for the accomplishment of Popish purposes.

To LORD MIDLETON — Ramsgate, Thursday, 26 December 1844?[1]

Text: MS PC GMR SHC 1248/33/3 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Thursday.

My Lord

The day before yesterday I sent a full answer to your Lordsips Last Letter & I have some reason to believe that it was lost on its way to the post office. will your Lordsip be so kind as to send me one line & inform me if it has reached its destination.

I remain with respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The dating depends on that of the letter placed at 24 December 1844 but neither date is firm.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Friday, 27 December 1844

Text: MS MCO 528/158 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins feast of S[t] John

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have given Myers directions respecting a low coped wall for Tubney & a lich gate.[1] am I right. I have also ordered the tiles for chancel.[2]

The shield for the gateway without the inscription will Leave London tomorow so I suppose you will have them put up—the bell pull for the side gate with the cross of lilies will be with you in a few days.[3] with best & kindest wishes of this holy tide

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

is there to be any cross in the church yard at Tubney?

[1] A letter from Myers to Bloxam dated 9 January 1844, apparently in error for 1845, MS MCO 743/86, grumbles that 'Mr Pugin Never told me what length' the wall was to be. The lich-gate was not built.

[2] There is discussion in the correspondence which Bloxam kept concerning Tubney about whether or not tiles should be laid over the whole or only part of the floor of the chancel.

[3] Hardman's Metal sales ledger debits Pugin £1. 18*s.* for a 'Brass Bronzed Bell Pull for Magdalen College' at 25 January 1845.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Friday, 27 December 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Friday

My Dear Hardman

I inclose you a list of things I want yet for my chapel & which I must have so I will defer having the Golden chalice just for the present & get all the essentials.[2] you will see by the list & drawings what is required.

My service on Xmass night was so solemn that I hardly envied you. I like my chaplain very much—& he seems well satisfied. when you write to John Powell give him a hint not to *correspond So much.* he writes long Letters like a girl about nothing. without business & at his age he shoud not waste time in writing without cause. just hint it. all his work is to accquire knowledge. he writes his letters first in *pencil* then in *ink*!! as if he were correcting for the press. it is a dead waste of time & annoys me. I cant stand humbug in any shape. I am very strict with him & keep to the exact thing. he has not the first ideas of *principles.* he has always worked from eye. he does not eveng know the ordinary rules. he will do well if he sticks to it but stop that cursed writing for it is like Miss Keats—& irritates me dreadfully. I could make a fine fellow of him in time but you have no idea how much injury Elkingtons style has done him—he is continualy running wild in his drawing & losing sight of principle.[3] this is my great difficulty but I can manage him I think. he is a very good soul.

I send you a ciborium for southport & cheadle.[4] I think you will understand it. I made Powell draw it out carfully & it is the best thing he has done.

I shall send you off all the cheadle things—& with them the screen construction. I expect you will have them all on Monday night or Tuesday.

get on with the 4 vanes for the houses of parliament as fast as you can.

I send you also the enamel[?] for D[r] Weedalls chalice. I think you better make the cheadle chalice the same only the foot *copper gilt* or german silver plated & parcel gilt for Lord S. is sure to ask me—& he will be angry if it is all silver.

had you not better make another of the same chalices for stock. I think it would be a good ing to make 3 or 4 of a sort when we have a good pattern.[5]

I have been better but am now in a deal of pain in my back & head—but I dare say it will go off.

I assure you all I said about the bed is true.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

The sum of 17^{s}. 1^{d}. was collected at the offertory in my chapel on Xmass day. will you give that sum to M^{r}. Moore for the *Confraternity* & debit me with it. you have real poor—we have hardly any.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'; it has been numbered 72 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] This may be the 'Chalice of pure gold' that Pugin tells Griffiths he has 'had made' in his letter of 17 November 1844.

[3] George Richards (or Richard) Elkington (1801–65) and Henry Elkington (1810–52), who were cousins, founded their firm in Birmingham in the 1830s, and in 1840 took out a patent for electro-plating. In the early 1840s Josiah Mason was taken into partnership. They are described as 'gilders and platers' in Wrightson and Webb's *Directory of Birmingham* for 1843; the factory was in Newhall Street, and G. R. Elkington is also listed as a 'manufacturer of gold silver and gilt ornaments' at 44 St Paul's Square.

[4] There was some delay in the making of the ciborium for Southport, and Pugin remarks in a later letter to Hardman that it is on his conscience. On 29 June 1845 in a letter preserved in ML, James Newsham writes to Hardman:

M^{r} Pugin begs I will write to you on the subject of a Ciborium, which he undertook to furnish for Southport. It was to have been sent for Easter. On my calling at Southport I find loud complaints, partly because the ciborium has not been sent, and partly because the Money for it had been paid to M^{r} Pugin before the receipt of the Article.

Pugin's diary states that he called at Southport on 10 December 1844. Hardman acted promptly, in response to Newsham's letter: MWDB records 'A Silver Gilt Ciborium, Enamel'd & set with Stones for S^{t} Mary's Southport' at a price of £25. 15*s*. at 8 July 1845. The charge is made out to Newsham but 'to M^{r} Hardman' is added above his name; and the tone of Newsham's letter of thanks confirms the implication that Hardman made a gift of the ciborium. Newsham writes from Southport on 9 July in a letter filed in ML.

yesterday the Ciborium arrived quite safe. It will be a satisfaction to you to learn that every one who has seen it is extremely well pleased with it. It is one of the handsomest I have ever seen. Accept of my best thanks in return, and sincere wishes that for years to come you may flourish in the production of such admirable ornaments for the honor of Religion.

I write by this days post to M^{r} Pugin that he may have the pleasure of knowing that his work gives perfect satisfaction.

A ciborium for Cheadle is entered to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 10 August 1846: 'A Copper Gilt Ciborium, set with Stones', costing £16. 10*s*.

According to the *Catholic Directory* for 1844, the priest at St Mary's, Southport, was James Pemberton (1808–81), ordained in 1834 after his education at Ushaw.

[5] 'ing' is all that survives of the word 'thing' because the paper was punctured and torn when the letter was filed on a spike in Hardman's office.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Saturday, 28 December 1844?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I quite forgot to tell you that the Lions in the vanes are to be *peirced* not painted.[2] be sure you attend to this.

I am already getting Powell into firmness of hand & he will soon get rid of his loose touch. it is necessary to draw very surely before he is free. I think I shall make a fine fellow of him.

you must send the Iron hinges you have had so long to M^r^. *Denny* at alton—but be sure you take an impression of them before they go.[3] [*Sketch: hinge*]

I send you some drawings for cheadle.

the coronas—for nave
the Lamp for high altar[4]
the Sacrying bells.[6] very good
the comunion rail.[7]

{ This will also do for the one for S^t^ Oswalds.[5]

The corona for the chancel I shall make out of the old iron one we have got.[8]

I send you also a compleat List of all you have to do for cheadle—& the prices.[9]

the rest of the cheadle drawings you will have imedially as I want to get all that off my mind & the opening is fixed for the 3^d^. of September—so there will not be any time to Lose.[10]

the Brass work for the organ loft better have small tabs inside on the frame that may slip into holes in the stone & then be screwed into the frame. [*Sketch: brass work with tabs*]

I am working very hard indeed again & trying to get through the acculation of drawings that quite overwhelm me. I am much better here than I was. herbert is here & has produced an excellent likeness of my Late dear wife. he is also going to finish my portrait.[11] I am very sorry to hear Anne is so poorly.[12] there is always something. ever dear Hardman

your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'; in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO this letter has the number 16.

[2] The vanes are for the Palace of Westminster.

[3] It is not until 23 September 1845 that MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury '4 Old Steel Hinges, richly gilded with 9 doz of Ornamental Roses & Screws' for £2. 13*s*. William Wareing's invoice dated 18 September 1845 charges Hardman eighteen shillings for gilding four hinges and Hardman annotates it 'Cheadle'.

[4] This drawing survives in BMAG, L116.84; signed and dated 1844, it is inscribed by Pugin 'Cheadle', 'Lamp for high altar', and 'The same for S^t^ oswalds—for M^r^ Challoner. should there not be one for stock?' No item identified as a lamp for the high altar is contained in the long lists of goods for Cheadle in MWDB.

[5] The lamp for St Oswald's, Old Swan, Liverpool, is entered to Edward Challoner in MWDB at 21 November 1845, the cost being £20. Challoner, a generous benefactor, undertook the completion of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the new church. Letters surviving in BCA tell some of the story. The priest John Maddocks writes to Hardman on 19 May 1845, informing him first that he received a letter

from Pugin that day and will be satisfied to have Myers build a school for £883, for he has 'the greatest confidence' in Pugin, whom he hopes to see on Wednesday, 21 May, a day when Pugin's diary records that he was in Liverpool. He then requests Hardman to tell Pugin that when Challoner was in Newcastle recently and asked Wailes about the window for St Oswald's, Wailes replied that he knew nothing of it. It was only on 27 September 1845 that the stained glass from Wailes arrived, according to Maddocks's letter of 29 September 1845, kept in ML. Maddocks writes again on 2 October, repeating that the glass has come 'at last'; it is by this time installed, so the goods which Hardman is making can now be sent; Maddocks saw Pugin 'a short time ago—& he told me all was ready'. His communication of 10 October expresses alarm because the brass which Hardman informed him left Birmingham on 7 October has not been delivered, but by 22 October it has been laid in the chapel, as have the tiles, so the other ornaments may be despatched. On 18 November Maddocks inquires when he can expect the tabernacle for 'M^{r}. Chaloner's Chapel', and on 1 December, in a letter mistakenly filed in ML October 1845, he reports that it arrived on 24 November, as did the pair of copper candlesticks; these, 'Richly gilded', 'mounted on Lions', and costing £17 10*s*., are part of the order for Challoner in MWDB at 21 November 1845, which also contains the wrought iron tabernacle 'richly gilded & ornamented with Colours, with Cross, Evangelists & Figure' for £22, and 'A G. S. Plated & Parcel Gilt Lamp, richly Engraved & Counterweight, Cord &c Complete' at a price of £20. 'G. S.' stands for 'German Silver'. The Metal sales ledger records the items at the same date. In the letter of 24 November Maddocks asks Hardman to find out from Pugin whether he intends to paint the chapel, and to send Challoner's account to him, Maddocks. He pays the account, for £187. 3*s*., on 9 December 1845 and promises to forward a plan of 'M^{r}. C.' Chapel' soon. This he does in his letter of 31 December, wishing the decoration to be carried out as soon as possible: 'M^{r}. Pugin I think might have attended to this long since—but I suppose he has been too much engaged. I wrote to him a short time since to order a window for Patteson Ellames Esq—but have not heard anything from him.' In his letter of Saturday 9 January 1846, filed in SGL, he tells Hardman that he has that day sent the dimensions of the window in memory of Mrs Pattison Ellames to Pugin and that he will pay £20 to J. V. Gibson 'tomorrow—or Monday'. Pugin has informed him 'that you require half the value of intended window to be paid on commencing the work—the other half on its completion'. Ellames's mortuary window for St Oswald's, costing £40, is entered in SGDB at 12 June 1846. Letters of late June and early July 1846 ask urgently for a wire guard to be sent for the window. Earley's painting of the chapel is entered in Hardman's DDB in July 1846, and the Metal sales ledger credits Pugin £7. 1*s*. 4*d*. at 22 July 1846 'By $\frac{1}{2}$ profit on Painting at S^{t} Oswald's Church at Chapel of Blessed Sacrament, charged £45 : 10 : 0'. Mrs Powell's invoice, dated 5 May 1846, for supplying curtains at a price of eight guineas for St Oswald's is also preserved among the Hardman material.

Pattison Ellames, who went up to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1813 at the age of eighteen, owned considerable property in Liverpool. When he died in 1849, he was buried at St Oswald's.

BMAG L211.84 is an unsigned and undated drawing of a candlestick, inscribed 'chapel of B Sacrament S^{t} Oswalds Liverpool' and '9 of these for side screen 8 D^{o} for front screen'. Another drawing, of a figure of St Edward and a pedestal for it, survives in MFT; an inscription notes that it is for 'E Chaloner Esq 5 East side Queens dock Liverpool'.

[6] The consignment 'for Cheadle' in MWDB at 29 April 1846 includes 'A Large rich Sacrying Bell' for £2. 12*s*., and more sacring bells are entered at 3 August 1846, a 'Large Rich' one for £2. 12*s*., a small one the same for £2. 2*s*., and a 'Brass Engraved' one at a price of £2. 10*s*.

[7] The drawing for the communion rail, signed and dated 1844, is BMAG L125.84. 'A Brass Communion Railing' costing ten guineas is entered to Lord Shrewsbury '*for Cheadle*' in MWDB at 4 July 1846.

[8] This corona is likely to be that entered to Lord Shrewsbury for Cheadle in MWDB at 17 July 1846: 'An Iron Hexagon Corona, with Gilt Inscription, richly pierced & Chains &c & Brass Pans with Pierced Borders' at a charge of £30.

[9] The list survives as MS BCA, with the number 15 in the microfilm in HLRO.

	✠ S^{t} Giles Cheadle			
Drawn	Brass screen chapel B Sacrament			180
Drawn	Brass pillars Baptistry *			
Drawn	Brass work for organ loft *			
Drawn	6 standards for Rood			18
D^{o}	2 Candlesticks for altar B Sacrament			15
D^{o}	2	D^{o}	Lady chapel	15
D^{o}.	4	D^{o}	high altar & 2 small	30

D°	2 Elvation Candlesticks with crowns	30
D°	Lamp for high altar D° Chapel of B Sacrament }	50
D°	Brass credence table	10
D°	3 sacrying bells Plated	10
	cross for the high altar	20
	D° Lady chapel	14
D°	5 Iron coronas for nave	100
	1 Corona for chancel	40
D°	6 plain high candlestics for funerals	18
	holy water vat	5
D°	pair of processional Candlicks	6
	Curtain Rods for high Altar	15
D°	small processional cross. (the one made)	8
D°	Brass comunion rail	12
	small chrismatory	5
D°	ciborium & chalice { feet copper gilt or white metal plated & parcel gilt	40
D°	2 sets of cruetts plated like mine	10
D°	2 brass Thuribles & a boat	
D°	3 cushions for the altars	9
	2 Missall & binding	20
D°	Branches for consecration candles	18
	Pascal candlicks	25
	lenten hearse light	15
	2 offertory basins	6
	739	

Pugin doubled the number of missals as an afterthought but forgot to change the noun. A hand that seems to be Hardman's modifies this list, adding '& Crosses' after 'consecration candles', and annotating at the end:

15 Uprights for screens*
12 D° " Rood
1 Long Pierced Screen for Chancel
2 Smaller " "
A Pair of 4 Light C Sticks to drawing
with Lion forms[?]

The estimate for the '2 offertory basins' is either £5 or £6, both figures being written, one over the other. The total is £744, rather than £739. The significance of the asterisks is not clear.

Many of these items occur in MWDB. The screen for the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, 'of 4 Compartments, set in Iron Frame with richly decorated Brass Work', entered at 6 June 1846, came out well above Pugin's estimate, at £251. 14*s.*, before the costs of fixing were added. '15 Brass Uprights for Baptistery Rail' amount to £24 in the entry of 26 June 1846, and altogether six 'Brass Tracery Screens for Openings into Chancel, with Cresting', reach a total of £106. 5*s.* Two 'G. S. Plated & P. G. & Enamel'd Candlesticks for Chapel of Blessed Sacrament' are set down at £18 at 3 August 1846, as are the matching pair for the Lady chapel. Two 'Brass Elevation Candlesticks, with Coronal Tops to hold 10 Lights each' amount to £45, with an additional charge of twelve shillings for shields to them. 'A Brass Credence Table with Oak Top' is charged at £10 on 12 August, while the cost of 'A Richly Gilt Cross & figure set with Chrystals & Enamels, High Altar', in the entry of 22 August 1846, is £34. 10*s.* A 'Richly Engraved & Enamel'd Cross & figure for Ladye Chapel' are recorded at the same date for £26, not Pugin's estimate of £14. A 'Brass Hexagon Holy Water Vat, Engraved', costs £3. 10*s.*, less than Pugin's allowance, at 26 August. The entry of 4 August includes 'A pair of Brass Engraved & Enamel Painted Processional Candlestick' at a price of £5, and 'A pair of Iron Painted & Gilt Curtain Rods & 3 doz rings' is entered at a price of £6. 10*s.* at 3 August 1846. The 'small processional cross' which Pugin lists appears in the entry for 3 August: it has a 'Gilt & Engraved Head' and costs £7. 10*s.*; the same entry records the 'Richly Gilt & Enamel'd &

Engraved Chalice & Paten' which incur a charge of £25, and 'A Sett of G. S. Plated & one Gilt, Cruets' which totals £6. 4*s*. 6*d*. Another 'Sett of Plated & Gilt Cruets, mounted on Glass', at a price of £7, is entered to Lord Shrewsbury 'for Cheadle' at 29 April 1846. 'A Brass Turret Thurible' is entered at 3 August at a price of £3. 12*s*. One missal is charged, £6. 10*s*., at 22 August, bound 'very richly in Velvet'; a set of gilt corners for it, 'engraved with Lions', adds £6, 'A Rich Register for Missal' adds a further £3, and 'A Deal Stained Box to hold Missal lined with Utrecht Velvet' for twelve shillings brings the total to £16. 2*s*. The entry of 26 June 1846 notes '12 Brass engraved Consecration Branches' costing £19. 16*s*., and that of 3 August includes two offertory basins at a price of £3. 10*s*. Thirteen, not fifteen, brass 'Uprights for High Altar Screen' are charged at £29. 18*s*. on 26 June, and two brass 'Branches for Rood' at £5. 2*s*. A great many more objects are charged to Lord Shrewsbury for St Giles's.

Another list for St Giles's, MS PC [HLRO 889] survives, written by Pugin and undated.

supplementary list of things for Cheadle

crucifix on a plain cross
to hang up—for sacristy [*Sketch: cross*]
holy oil stock to carry in the visation of the sick
a pyx. for D°.
2 chalices— Monstrance
small brances to fit in candles for benediction
small vessell for puryfying the fingers at altar
6 torches made with crowns. [*Sketch: torch*]
salt cellar.
6 flower vases.
extinguishers for candles.
cases for relicks for the 3 altars
3 cushions of red plush for the sedelia about 3 inches thick [*Sketch: cushion with dimensions '1.5' and '1.11½'*]

MWDB enters at 10 August 1846 'A Black Hanging Cross & Figure for Sacristy' costing £2; at 3 August 'A Sett of Holy Oil Stocks' for £1. 16*s*. and 'A Silver Gilt Pyx' at a price of £1. 6*s*. are charged; besides the expensive chalice noted above, the entry at 26 August contains 'A Small Gilt & Engraved Chalice & Paten' for £7. 5*s*., and 'A Richly Gilt Monstrance, New Pattern, Engraved & Set with Stones' for £21. 10*s*.; at 3 August '2–5 Light, richly Gilt Candlesticks pierced & Enamel'd Shields, for Benediction' costing £40 are recorded and 'A Silver Puryfying Vessel' at a price of £1. 10*s*.; '6 Brass Torches with Corona Tops for 4 Lights & Painted Wood Staves' costing £7. 10*s*. are entered at 18 August; at 22 August 'A G. S. Plated & Engraved Salt Cellar, with Glass Lining' is charged at fourteen shillings and sixpence; '6 Brass Painted Flower Vases' at 4 August cost £5. 8*s*.; 'A Brass Extinguisher & Stick' for eight shillings and sixpence and '3 Painted Relic Cases' for sixteen shillings and sixpence are entered at 3 August; and '3 Cushions for Sedilia: of Utrecht Velvet stuffed with Horse Hair' are entered at 3 August at a price of £4. 10*s*.

[10] Other drawings signed and dated 1844 for Cheadle preserved in BMAG are L120.84 for 'Curtain Rods for high Altar', and L124.84, a lamp for the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. There are also unsigned and undated drawings for the screen of the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, L127.84 and L128.84, candlesticks, L129.84, and the cross for the high altar, L441.84.

The consecration of St Giles's church at Cheadle, initially set for September 1845, was postponed for a year.

[11] *Powell* tells the story of this painting. On one of his visits to The Grange, Herbert 'insisted on finishing a portrait, begun eight years before, but Pugin pleaded "The Post" and "going away" anything in fact, in his disgust, but Herbert fixed his unfinished canvass, set his palate [*sic*], placed a chair, and waited calmly. Pugin remonstrated "look here this is not treating a man fairly in his own house, how long do you want?" an hour was the reply; then they bargained down to twenty minutes; out came Pugin's father's watch laid on the table, and neither spoke till "time was up"' (p. 191). The result was the best-known portrait of Pugin, often copied, and now hung in the Pugin Room of the House of Commons; a recent reproduction in colour is printed in *GP*, p. 9.

[12] Anne Hardman was at an early stage of pregnancy.

January to June 1845

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, about Sunday, 5 January 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/67 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I have had a sad accident in my family since I wrote to you. My litte daughter Catherine fell down dislocated her ankle & broke her leg. she is going on favourably thank God but it has made me very anxious.

respecting the cross—on the gate I had no idea of anybody ever raising any objection on the matter.[1] all christian structures were surmounted by crosses—when gables we used the cross was at the apex—when copings in the centre. The crosses as you know have almost all been knocked off—but we could find plenty of evidence of their existence on close examination—the best way will be to make the master of university state his reasons why there should not be a cross on the gateway—The Balliol people have at Last written to me to say they will not pay the account for the drawings and require me to make a considerable *abatement*.[2] that is the very word. I feel quite indignant about it. I have Laid out more than 2 3^ds^ of the charge in expenses. they have kept me 2 years & now write in that way. I would rather give up everything than abate a shilling & I most deeply regret ever entering into the business. it has been nothing but trouble & expense & now I shall have great annoyance—& a great waste of time in unpleasant correspondence. no one is better able than yourself—to write a description of the gate. pray save me all you can—for I am overwhemed with business—& very unwell—I have written for a stamp & will send you a receipt for the gatehouse in full.[3]

ever dear M^r^. Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] There were more objections to the cross atop the gateway than the one which Pugin goes on here to identify and counter. In a letter to the editor from a pseudonymous correspondent in Reading printed under the heading 'New gateway to Magdalen College' in the *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette* on p. [2] of an issue between 17 January and 23 January 1845 [the copy of the paper in Bodley is mutilated and no other is known], any praise of the 'beautiful' workmanship of the structure seems faint beside the pointed particularity of the criticisms offered. The inside face is too plain, the statues are too large for the niches, the 'side door and the porch for the porter are childish trifles', but the cross is the greatest absurdity: it is 'certainly the most inappropriate ornament for the supreme finish of a gateway . . . that could have been devised'; it is 'unsightly and ridiculous' and 'cannot be too strongly censured'. Myers was saddened by the attack on the feature: in a letter dated 9 January 1844, evidently in error for 1845, MS MCO 743/86, he remarks to Bloxam that he is sorry to hear about the cross, for he thinks it 'the finest one I ever Made'.

[2] Frederick Charles Plumptre (1796?–1870) was elected Master of University College, Oxford, in 1836, having been a Fellow there since 1817.

The 'drawings' are those made for the rebuilding of Balliol College early in 1843.

[3] Various receipts for payment for the gateway survive: none is dated January 1845. The receipt for construction of the gateway is MS MCO FA7 / 3 / 1AD / 1, no. 17:

✠ oxford. Dec^{r}. 12 1845

Received of the Rev^{d} J Bloxam the Sum of six hundred & seventy five pounds being the amount of contract for the new gateway to the college of S^{t} Mary Magdalene

£675. 0. 0 ✠ AWelby Pugin

There is no evidence in Pugin's diary that he was in Oxford at any time in December 1845; however, he was there on 12 December 1844, so perhaps the year in the receipt is an error, made because, although the account was paid in 1844, the receipt was not written until 1845. Pugin asks Bloxam to remind him of the amount paid, in his letter of 12 January 1845.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS — Ramsgate, Sunday, 5 January 1845

Text: MS AAW A81/4[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^{t} Augustins. Ramsgate.
Jan^{r} 5th.

My Dear Lord Bishop

D^{r} Aquaroni seems highly sattisfied with his position here—& has requested me to apply to your Lordsip for faculties. he appears to me a man of Piety & Learning of a retired & studious disposition & fully answers all my wishes. the service is very solemnly conducted in my Litte chapel & I hope to have a small organ by Easter so as to chant the vespers &^{c}.[2] I had 2 oxford men on Xmass night who were deligted—& quite impressed.[3] I feel certain that your Lordsip would be highly satisfied with the furniture of the chapel. everything is secundam regulam & of the best materials.[4] I have stated to the catholics here that till the churgh is erected they cannot assist at my chapel on Sundays & holidays of obligation but on *ordinary days* I allow some devout persons to attend mass who could not otherwise be present.[5] I believe in all this I am acting in accordance with your Lordsips wishes—for I would not willing do the Least thing in any arrangement that I make which would not be perfectly satisfactory. I have been very ill since I had the pleasure of seeing of Lordsip but I am now better. we have had a sad accident here. My Litte daughter Katharine has broken her leg & injured herself severely. this has Caused me great anxiety—but she is going on favourably.

D^{r} Aquaroni christian name is Luigi.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in what looks a contemporary hand 'Pugin Chapel at Ramsgate annd 10 Jan / 45'.

[2] Pugin notes 'Organ came' in his diary at 22 March 1845; the next day was Easter Sunday.
[3] The '2 oxford men' have not been traced.
[4] The Latin phrase, correctly spelled 'secundum regulam', means 'according to rule'.
[5] The word 'some' is an afterthought squeezed in between 'allow' and 'devout'.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Sunday, 5 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you the seals—& 3 more drawings for cheadle.[2] when I send you the tabernacle I shall have nearly sent you all for that job.[3] Powell is modelling the chalices for screen. I am very sorry to hear of your table accident but it was very lucky that it happened *after diner*. did you Lose much glass & crockery?

you better have deal facing & an oak top. then I think £20 would do your job. tomorow I send you the panels for the houses.[4] I should have sent them before but was anxious to get Cheadle done.

ever dear Hardman your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I hardly dare think of what this year may bring forth the Last has been so eventful.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'; the letter has been numbered 62 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.
[2] On the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845 an amount of ten shillings for '2 seals' is the first entry in a list which Pugin keeps to record the charges he makes to Hardman for drawings.
[3] The drawing for the tabernacle is BMAG L122.84, signed and dated 1845. Heath's invoice of 28 August 1846, surviving in the bundle for that month in BCA, makes a charge of £20. 8*s*. 6*d*. for his work of engraving and 'lac' enamelling '5 Vine Ornat Strips', quatrefoils and Evangelists on the tabernacle. The only other drawing in this set which is identified as being for Cheadle and has the same date is that of a paschal candlestick, L121.84.
[4] It was at first intended to affix brass plates to the wall behind the last row of benches in the chamber of the House of Lords; Pugin is designing their decoration, and notes a charge of six guineas for his drawings in the list of jobs sent to Hardman on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Monday, 6 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you the drawings for the engraved plates for the House of parliament. they are exact the size & quite correct. I think it is quite a consideration wether they should be *engraved* & ennamel painted or—baked on copper like the shields I had for my fire places.[2] I think you better try both ways—& Let Mr Barry decide.

the duke of Cumberland will be like the Duke of Cambridge only the Labels on the shields & Supporters will have a different bearing which I will send you—& the inscription at bottom will be Mons. le duc de Cumberland.[3] [*Sketch: labels*] you will observe I have left a thickness of metal between the white & red & blue which would be required if ennameled. [*Sketch: thickness of metal*] I wish these could be engraved & filled up with enamel colour—pray see that my lines are followed exactly for I have taken the greatest pains. you will understand 3 are wanted—for the pattern compartment. let us have the archbishops first.[4] [*Sketch: three panels containing shields*]

when will you have the compartment of Railing ready. M^r^. Barry is very anxious for it.

The ground colour must be Carried out to the full size of the plates so that the tracery may Lie over it & then it must fit.[5]

ever your devoted friend ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'; the letter has been allotted the number 9 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] '3 Shields for Fire Places', costing twelve shillings and sixpence each, are entered to Pugin in MWDB at 10 September 1844.

[3] The Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale, created in 1799, was Ernest Augustus (1771–1851), fifth son of George III and an uncle of Queen Victoria; he became King of Hanover in 1837; the Duke of Cambridge was his brother. Their distinctive royal heraldry supplies subjects for the panels. Heath's invoice, in the January to March 1845 bundle in BCA, is dated 20 January 1845 and charges £1. 10*s*. 6*d*. for 'Engraving Outline of Duke of Cambridge's Arms on plate for Gilding with planishing & preparing plate Cutting Edge &c.'

[4] The arms of the Archbishop of Canterbury furnished the motif for another trial compartment. Heath's invoice details his work as 'Engraving Brass plate of Archbp Canterbury's Arms with waxing in various colours polishing &c'; the charge, including the brass, is £9. 8*s*. 6*d*. The invoice is dated 'Jan^y^. 27, 1844' and consequently kept in the bundle for that year, but the year is clearly a mistake for 1845.

[5] Carved wooden tracery is planned to cover the junction of the metal panel with the surrounding woodwork.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 8 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

Catherine thank God still goes on exceedly well.

I am afraid you have made a bad bargain in selling the candlesticks.[2] I shall not be able to make a pascal candlestick for double the money for nottingham.[3] I shall only be able to afford one of tinned wood for there for it was never estimated for or intended & I have done so much for nottingham I can do no more. you know the candlestic you made for D^r^ Weldall cost double what both of these will fetch. I think you better say it is a mistake & send one of them to Nottingham as arranged for I cannot afford now I have a chapel to keep up to make presents. it is impossible.

2 The drawing of the Lamp for cheadle that I sent you the other day was written on.[4] The same pattern for S[t] oswalds for M[r] Challoner & I mentioned *it in my Letter as well*!!!

3. you will have a box full of Models from J. Powell very soon.[5] the lion is nearly done.

4 I will take M[r] Sibthorps brass in hand myself.[6]

5 Make the sacrying bells of anything you Like best.

6. [*Sketch: chalice marked '9″' by '6¼'*] The chalice is 9″ high & 6¼ across but you better make the Case a litte Larger & Leave a slit inside the top to hold the paten.[7]

7 make my cross as drawn.[8] The cheadle ones wood with metal Plates.

8. you better make 6 Quatrefoils across the openings of organ gallery—& a corresponding number in height.[9] you can go on so, it will be all right.

The curtain rings have not arrived.

I am going to send back all the upper part of the bedstead very soon—& with it a drawing how it is to be altered. also my best candlesticks to have them made of a size for they look very bad indeed as they are.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box' and has been given the number 11 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin with £8 in January 1845 'By Allowance for 2 Candlesticks, sold to Mousley Esq[r].' and makes out a charge to Charles Edward Mousley, of an address near Tamworth, for them for the same amount on 7 January 1845. Mousley was a client of Charles Hansom, and Hansom orders items for Mousley's chapel from Hardman.

[3] 'A Brass Paschal Candlestick with plain round pillar for St Barnabas Church Nottingham' is entered to Pugin at a cost of £9 in MWDB at 13 March 1845. In a letter of 4 February 1845 held in ML, Francis Cheadle writes: 'I believe Pugin has ordered a Paschal Candlestick for Nottingham'; he wants to know the size of candle he should procure.

[4] Pugin remembers accurately what he wrote on the drawing and in the letter which he probably sent on 28 December 1844.

[5] The models are for the decoration of the church of St Giles at Cheadle.

[6] Writing to Hardman from Ilkley in Yorkshire, Sibthorp first intimates his desire for a brass in his letter of 28 August 1844, kept in ML. 'I have endeavoured overleaf to convey to you by a very rude sketch, as you will easily perceive, my idea of what I wish, as a monumental remembrance of my Father & Mother. I have some recollection of seeing, either a specimen or a drawing, of a Brass, let into *Black Marble* at the Bishops House, Birmingham, on M[r]. Moores table. It seems to me far better, than placing the Brass on the bare Wall—Be so kind as to inform me on this point.' His sketch follows, rude indeed, and then his discussion of it. He thinks '4 feet or 4½ feet would be high enough perhaps too high'; the inscription at the bottom of the brass should contain only the names, ages and dates of death of the deceased 'with R. I. P. at the close'; a text is to run round the other three sides of the border; the label over the head of the male figure is to carry the words 'Have mercy upon us', that over the female, 'Grant us thy peace', with coats of arms placed above. Sibthorp is '*decided*' in his opposition to 'putting the arms in the Centre of the Brass as is done in Sir H. Throckmortons'; in that position he wants to 'have the Lamb & Flag—which is in the base of Sir H. T's'. The price can be between £30 and £40; perhaps the words 'Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world' would be better in the border than his first idea of texts, leaving part of the border 'plain, and narrower'; the two figures drawn in his sketch 'are smaller in proportion than they should be', he thinks.

On 6 September Sibthorp writes again, still from Ilkley, returning the 'drawing' that has been sent him, which he dislikes because it is 'not possible to say which is the male, which the female', of the two figures, and because the symbols of the four Evangelists have been introduced; he proposes texts again, which might be disposed 'in the way that "Grace & Mercy," are introduced in Sir T. Throckmortons,' and a number of other alterations; for example, the head of the male figure should be 'bald', which would 'better represent the original than the flowing hair' in the drawing; and perhaps 'our family motto c[d]. be introduced between the 2 coats of arms. *or* in the Border.'

When by 2 October Sibthorp has received neither another sketch nor an estimate from Hardman, he sends an inquiry, and then spells out details of a vestment he would like to have. In January Pugin takes 'Sibthorps brass in hand' himself, and jots a note of a charge to Hardman of £1. 10*s*. for the drawing of 'M[r] Sibthorps brass' on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845. Sibthorp, however, retracts his intention, informing Hardman in a letter of 15 January 1845 that the brass is postponed because it is too expensive, even though it seems that he has not yet seen Pugin's sketch. There is no evidence in MWDB that a brass was made for Sibthorp.

[7] This may be the 'Small Gilt Chalice & Paten with Copper Foot' entered to Pugin at a price of £7. 10*s*. in MWDB at 14 March 1845; a leather case for them, costing £1. 10*s*., is entered at 12 March.

[8] Perhaps this is the 'Gilt Mahogany Cross for Triptick diapered & set with Amethysts' for which Pugin is charged £5. 10*s*. in MWDB at 12 March 1845. The bundle of invoices for January to March 1845 includes that of Souter and Son dated 1 March 1845 and charging six shillings for 'Triptick Cross—Pugin. Painted'.

[9] This work is for St Giles's.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Friday, 10 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I herewith send you. 1[o]. The drawing for M[r]. Leighs Picture frame.[2] 1[s]. [s]1.[3] & the hood of M[rs]. Knills cope 1[s]. 1. 0.[4] This Latter is the best thing Powell has done & I think you will see a great improvement. with application he will make a capital fellow in time.

The orphrey for the cope will go on Tuesday—& it better be put in M[rs]. Barons hands as soon as possible.[5]

I wish you could send *me* the *old orphreys to work* by. I cant give the true character to these things without. I think you might send them in 2 parcels by post. dont neglect this. Catherine is going on very well indeed thank God. be sure to Let me have the Railing up in town by the end of next week when I purpose being there.

do the best you can about the pascal candletick. they must have it by the time.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Tuesday is a a green day *& no green vestment.*[6] *disgraceful*!!

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. In the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO this letter has been given the number 57.

[2] 'Has Pugin sent you design for M[r]. Leighs' Engravings?' is a question put to Hardman by Weedall in his letter of 20 December 1844. Leigh inquires after the progress of the frames when he writes to Hardman on 3 March 1845, both letters surviving in ML, but it is only at 23 September 1845 that MWDB enters to

Leigh of Leamington '2 Mahogany richly Carved & Gilded Picture Frames with Inscriptions &c & Plate Glasses, & Streching Plates' at a cost of £24.

[3] Pugin notes this charge to Hardman for the drawing of 'M^r Leighs frame' on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845.

[4] The charge to Hardman which Pugin enters on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845 for this drawing of 'M^rs. Knills embroidery' is two guineas, not one. Pugin mentions the cope in the letter which he probably writes to Stuart Knill on 24 October 1844.

[5] Mrs Baron has not been identified. The name appears in several letters about this time and the reading is quite unambiguous in most cases. It is possible that Pugin has not caught the surname correctly and that the reference is to a Miss Brown. Lucy Brown and Winefred Brown assisted Lucy Powell in her business. The sisters are commemorated in a plaque on the wall of St Chad's Cathedral, where both are buried in the crypt; Lucy died in 1897 at the age of seventy-eight and Winefred in 1900 at the age of seventy-seven.

[6] In the sequence of liturgical colours in the ecclesiastical calendar, green is used on the Sundays and ferial days between the octave of the Epiphany and Septuagesima. In the *Catholic Directory* for 1845, 14 January is the only Tuesday that is a green day.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Sunday, 12 January 1845

Text: MS MCO 528/36 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^t Augustins Sunday in the Octave of the Ephany.

Rev^d & Dear M^r. Bloxam

I have had 2 visits from your Brother.[1] he is quite a chip of the true block—(Bloxham). I am very much pleased with him. he likes my house & chapel exceedly. he is quite an acquisition in the town & will be an additional inducement for you to come here this summer. I consider his appointment to be a most fortunate circumstance. I have somehow or other Lost the exact amount of the gateway. just Send it to me & I will forward a stamp receipt by return. to put an end to the Balliol dispute I have offered to let them off by paying my actual expenses—I hope they will agree to this—for I detest corresponding on unpleasant matters—it makes me ill.

ever dear M^r. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] This brother of Bloxam's is in orders, it appears from Pugin's letter to Bloxam of perhaps 15 January 1845, and he has recently been appointed to a new benefice. He is not Andrew Bloxam, who was at Twycross from 1839 to 1871. Another brother, Thomas Lawrence Bloxam, went up to Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1816 at the age of eighteen, and was ordained, but no more information is available about him. Richard Rowland Bloxam (d.1877), who went up to Worcester College, Oxford, in 1815 at the age of eighteen, served as a chaplain in the navy from 1824 to 1845; in 1850 he became rector of Harlaston. This identification, with its properties of church and sea and timing, is inviting but there is some conflict in the sources over whether R. R. Bloxam was a brother of J. R. Bloxam or came from another family.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 12 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

a Large brig has just gone ashore on the Goodwin. wind freshing fast. I can send the banner to day.[2]

My Dear Hardman

1 The Railing should be in London by tomorow, (Monday) week. you must send me one of the panels—also.

2 you can get on with the *other* ***Large*** *vanes* imedialy—& as soon as I get to town I have no doubt to get everything setled.

3[d]. you say you send me the dimensions of the room, but you do not—if you send me a Longitudinal & transverse section with the windows shewn I can do everything.[3] I do not mean to travel as I have done. I will not go anywhere without *urgent occasion. positive necessity.* I have expended a fortune in travelling & half of it useless. if I travel I will see something new—& fine. Now I can draw out every arrgmt of the shew room here & you will understand it perfectly & I shall save £5 of money & £10 of time. I am getting knowing at Last—& my expenses in this place are very heavy & require great exertion on my part.

4 you should have told me & prepared me of John Powells being a Somnambulist. I had no idea of such a dreadful thing in practice. I live in constant alarm. the other night he knocked his head dreadfuly in figting in his room. he is out of bed every night. the other night we heard the doors in the house opening & shutting—I have removed everything that he can injure himself or others with & am going to have the room fastened outside at night. Edward sleeps in the same room & has been dreadfuly frightened. he tells me Now that when at Birmingham he has often found himself shivering with cold in a corner of the room & once threw his window right up & was in the greatest risk of falling out. Luckily the mullions will not admit of that here. that is one comfort but it is very dreadful & makes me very nervous—& anxious, I am all night on the listen. ask his Mother how long he has been so afflicted & if there is no remedy? to me it is awful. I do not think he is happy in his mind. I dont indeed. It quite frets me.

I send you the 2 seals you want with Initials.

also the Seal for M[r] Leigh.[4]

also the sketch for the banner. The Seal should be engraved by Weigall of S[t] James street. if you send my sketch—& mention my name he will undertake it & do it every justice.

I have accomplised a great point. the revival of some *Magnificent* stuff for copes curtains &[c]. only 30[s] a yards. *5 feet wide*!!! I have told crace to send a pattern to you for the shew room.[5] you can have it any colour. Purle & gold colour. white & gold D[o]. Green & gold D[o]. Black & D[o]. Red & D[o]. it is *magnificent.* it will Last for ever and a day & Look better than gold itself.

why did you not send the green vestment? & the chalice Case. I want this badly. it

is quite irreverent to keep the chalice without. when you send another package—Let me have a pair of common brass Candlesticks that was made for my house—they are for a M^{r}. Daniel here.[6] [*Sketch: candlestick*] they must have I D engraved on them. [*Sketch: I D in monogram*]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 4 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The banner is for the 'Holy Gild of S^{t} Wilfrid's, Preston', according to the letter of James Dawson, bursar, dated 21 December 1844 but incorrectly filed in ML December 1845. Dawson writes for a design in 'the Pugin or Ancient style', and wishes to know what material would be used, the banner being for public processions, and what the cost would be. On 29 January 1845 he thanks Hardman for the design, and on 5 February the banner is ordered at a price that may be up to £30. That is the figure for it when it is entered to Dawson in MWDB at 10 May 1845: 'A Banner for Preston Gild, 6ft by 3ft, with Figures of St Wilfrid & Lamb & Poles, Cross Cords & Tassalls &c Complete.' Mrs Powell is paid, at 10 May and 20 May 1845, according to Hardman's Metal purchase ledger, for her part in fabricating the banner; she supplied 'Cords & Tassals' costing £1. 5*s*., 'Green Lutestring' to the value of one shilling, lace and fringe. Dawson's letter of 11 May reports delivery of the banner but his joy is shortlived: his letter of 14 May, crestfallen like its subject, reports 'with the greatest pain and regret' that only half an hour into the procession, even though there were 'only occasionally small breezes of wind blowing', the 'Banner began to crack and break'. Hardman's Metal purchase ledger records that Lucy Powell charges four shillings for 'Repairs to Preston Banner' at 24 December 1846.

[3] Pugin is designing the showroom for Hardman's new premises at 166 Great Charles Street. The invoice submitted by James Smith on 18 January 1845, which survives in the bundle for January to March 1845, details some of the interior finishing. A 'Man & boys time Canvassing' was eighteen days, and 260 yards of canvas were needed and '38 Thousand of tacks'; '40 Pieces of Sheeting paper' were hung and '36$\frac{1}{2}$ pieces of crimson and blue'; skirting, cornice and steps were varnished; the window and the showcase were painted blue. Under a date of 24 January 1845 the Birmingham Gas Light and Coke Company presents an invoice of £8. 14*s*. 2*d*. 'To fitting up Shopping with part own fittings'. William Cox's invoice is kept in the same bundle and endorsed by Hardman 'Show Room Fittings'; under the dates of 1 February and 26 April 1845 it charges nearly £40 for carpentry and joinery, including the provision of counters with and without drawers, and timber for 'Back & Top of Altar', 'for Screen', and 'for Rood'. On 19 July 1845 Hardman pays £35 for six months' rent of the Great Charles Street premises to the executors of the late James Davis. Heath's invoice of 19 December 1845 charges £5 for 'Part of Expense for Show Room Brass'. Hardman's Metal sales ledger credits Myers £27 at 30 December 1845 for 'Fittings in Ware Show, Dressers, &c', presumably for the new showroom.

[4] William Leigh requires a seal for his son. Pugin notes a charge to Hardman of £1 for the drawings of '2 seals & M^{r} Leigh seals' in the list he kept on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845. Leigh writes from Oscott on 30 January 1845, in a letter preserved in ML, hoping for the seal soon and giving Hardman the information that the crest is a unicorn's head in a lozenge. As Pugin recommends, the seal was engraved by Weigall, who was known for the quality of his work in this field. His invoice to Hardman is kept in the bundle for April to June 1845 because it bears a date of June 1845, but it states that the work for Leigh was carried out on 24 February; it consisted of 'Engraving arms & Crest within gothic ornament & inscription on seal'. Hardman annotates the invoice 'Drawings not returned'. The delay is partly explained by correspondence in ML: on 21 May Weigall writes to obtain Christian and surnames for the seal, and on 19 June Leigh reports that he has received this letter forwarded by Hardman. The seal is entered to Leigh of Leamington in MWDB at 23 June 1845: 'A Gold Seal to Drawing, richly engraved cut in Bloodstone'; a cost of £3. 3*s*. is listed, and then 'Cutting by H. Weigall, Crest &c' at a charge of £5. 15*s*. 6*d*.

[5] It is the Gothic tapestry that is '*Magnificent*'. A letter from Crace dated 8 February 1845 and kept in ML covers the despatch of three yards of one tapestry and 'slips' of others. In the following month he sends more: on 19 March six and a half yards of the purple and gold, and six yards of the red and gold; on 20 March it is the white, red, and gold tapestry that he forwards, which looks 'pretty well', but 'as for the white & gold it is horrid'; he had already declared in his letter of 18 March that the white and gold fabric 'will not do at any rate'.

[6] MWDB records 'A Pair of Brass Table Candlesticks engraved with initials J D' at 13 March 1845, for which Pugin is to pay £1. 19*s.* James Stock Daniel (1804–84) was Pugin's family doctor in Ramsgate.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Monday, 13 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1" I send you—M[r] Chaloners brass—with the figures compleat.[2] See that Heath cuts the lines firm & sharp & thick enough. those for the holy Trinity are much too *light*—you will see a corected pencil sketch for the B virgin & S[t] Katherine. those I drew on the rub did not please me—in the lower part.

2[d]. I send the orphrey for M[rs]. Knills cope.[3] will M[rs]. Baron want one of the old orphrys to work by. if so I will send it but she must Let me have it again without fail. these drawings must be chard. 3. 3. 0.[4] They are an immense deal of trouble.

3[d] I send you the labels for the arms of the Dukes of Cumberland & Cambridge. you can now finish.

4° I think I am now *clear of you* & you have got all you want for some time.

I shall Lose a great part if not all the Balliol money after all. I find I cant help myself—it would cost hundreds in Law. this will be rather a heavy loss for I paid a great deal out of pocket but I bear all things patienlly.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. This letter has been allocated the number 64 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The memorial brass is to be laid in St Oswald's church, Old Swan. Heath's invoice of 11 September 1845, in describing his work, reveals something of Pugin's design: he has engraved for 'Mrs Chaloner & Children' a 'Central Cross and four kneeling Figures surmounted by Canopy Containing Emblem of Holy Trinity and four Saints, Supports for Canopy and base, 4 Scroll pieces and 2 Coats of Arms—the whole surrounded by an inscription with the letters in relief and Evangelists at Corners'; the cost of the engraving is £59. 5*s.* 6*d.*, and with the charge for the metal and the finishing work, the total reaches £70. 16*s.* 2½*d.* The invoice of the stonemason William Cook amounts to £13. 18*s.* 6*d.* for the slab, and for his work of letting in the brass, bedding it, and drilling. MWDB enters to 'Edward Challoner', Liverpool, at 8 October 1845 'A Monumental Brass let into Black Marble Slab to memory of M[rs] Challoner with Inscription & Figures, Canopies &c.' for £125.

[3] The orphrey was promised in the letter probably written about 10 January.

[4] On the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845 Pugin jots a memorandum of this amount in his list of charges to Hardman for drawings.

To JAMES GILLIS[1] Ramsgate, Tuesday, 14 January 1845?[2]

Text: MS SCA ED 2/22/7 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Jan[r]. 14

My Dear Lord Bishop

The folling books would be of great service to the young man you mention.

Parkers glossary of pointed architecture—3 vols.[3]
My Fathers specimens of gothic architecture[4]
D[o] Examples of gothic architecture[5]
works of the cambridge Camden society[6]
The Ecclesiologist[7]
Publications of the oxford architectural society (P. by Parker oxford[8]
The cambridgeshire church. (Publised by Stevenson Cambridge[9]
The monastic architecure of england now publishing in numbers.[10]
Mullers german architecure[11]
Boisereé Cologne Cathedral[12]
My True Principles
D[o]—apology for the revival of christian architecture
2[d] Edition of the contrasts[13] Dolman
my—Ecclesiastical architecure[14] D[o]
Blores monumental remains[15]
fonts by van vorst (Patnoster Row)[16]
Wallers Brasses.[17]
Stodarts Monumental effigies.[18]

if any others occur to my mind I will write.

I remain with great respect your Lordships devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] James Gillis (1802–64), coadjutor bishop of the eastern district of Scotland from 1838, was appointed vicar apostolic there in 1852. Pugin met Gillis at Grace Dieu in 1837. The recipient of the letter is identified by the present location of the MS.

[2] Pugin's diary indicates that he probably was at home on this day; the letter cannot have been written from Ramsgate at an earlier date; the year 1846 is possible but there is no diary extant to disclose Pugin's whereabouts; his diaries rule out 1847 and 1848, and the handwriting, frail and uncertain as it looks, appears to preclude any time after that. If the 'monastic architecure' in Pugin's list is correctly identified, however, the letter was written on 14 January in either 1849 or 1850, on both of which dates Pugin's diaries show him to have been at home.

[3] *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic Architecture*, compiled by J. H. Parker and first published in 1836, ran through many editions, becoming a standard work of reference.

[4] A. C. Pugin, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1821–3).

[5] A. C. Pugin, *Examples of Gothic Architecture* (London, 1831–6).

[6] The publications of the Cambridge Camden Society are listed in *White 1962*.

[7] The journal of the Cambridge Camden Society, which began publication in November 1841.

[8] The society's series, *A Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford*, was published by J. H. Parker. It began in 1842 with the 'Deanery of Bicester', in which some of the illustrations are signed by Orlando Jewitt, and continued with the 'Deanery of Woodstock' in 1844 and the 'Deanery of

Cuddesden', the first part in 1845 and the second in 1846; various authors and other illustrators contribute. Other publications issued under the society's auspices between 1842 and 1845 are accounts of St Giles's church, Oxford, St Bartholomew's chapel near Oxford, St Peter's, Wilcote, the abbey church at Dorchester, and St Mary's, Littlemore.

[9] Perhaps Pugin means *Notes on the Cambridgeshire Churches*, written by George R. Boissier. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green; Cambridge: T. Stevenson, 1827.

[10] It is possible that Pugin means *Remains of Ancient Monastic Architecture in England: Represented in a Series of Views, Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details: with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Each*; according to the title-page, the work was published by Weale and others in London, Parker in Oxford, Stevenson in Cambridge, and Thomas George Lomax in Lichfield, who was also the printer. There is no date on the title-page but the description of the first building illustrated, Buildwas Abbey, Shropshire, is dated Whitsun 1847 and the description of the other subject, Tintern Abbey, Easter 1847. The volume contains over eighty plates, a few of them lithographs by Day and Haghe. The author is Joseph Potter (*c.*1797–1875), an architect, and son of an architect of the same name who had worked at Oscott, who took over his father's office in Lichfield and enjoyed an extensive local practice. No more 'numbers' are known to have been published.

[11] Georg Moller, *Denkmaehler der deutschen Baukunst*. 2 vols. Darmstadt: Heyer und Leske, 1815. The text was translated: *Moller's Memorials of German-Gothic Architecture*; with additional notes, and illustrations from Stieglitz, etc.; by W. H. Leeds. London: John Weale, 1836. Pugin's copy, of an edition published in Leipzig in 1830, was sold as lot 404 at auction after his death to the London antiquarian bookseller Bernard Quaritch for £2. 19*s*.

[12] Johann Sulpiz Melchior Dominicus Boisserée's volume of plates, *Vues, Plans, Coupes et Détails de la Cathédrale de Cologne, des Restaurations d'après le Dessin Original, accompagnés de Recherches sur l'Architecture des Anciennes Cathédrales, et de Tableaux Comparatifs des Principaux Monumens*, published in Stuttgart and Paris, has a date of 1821 on the title-page. The volume containing the text appeared in Stuttgart: *Geschichte und Beschreibung des Doms von Köln, nebst Untersuchungen über die alte Kirchenbaukunst*, and in Paris: *Histoire et Description de la Cathédrale de Cologne, accompagnée de Recherches sur l'Architecture des Anciennes Cathédrales*, in 1823. Hering and Remington put out a new edition of the text in London in 1843.

[13] The second edition of Pugin's *Contrasts*, issued in 1841, found a commercial publisher in Charles Dolman of London.

[14] Probably Pugin has in mind *The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture in England*.

[15] *The Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons, comprising the Sepulchral Antiquities of Great Britain, engraved from Drawings by Edward Blore, F.S.A.* With historical and biographical illustrations. London: Harding, Lepard, 1826. Pugin owned a copy of this work, according to the catalogue of the sale of his library, where it is lot 17.

[16] Pugin probably means *Illustrations of Baptismal Fonts*, published by John van Voorst, of Paternoster Row, London, in 1844; it has an introduction by F. A. Paley. Pugin's copy was lot 218 in the auction of his library in 1853.

[17] Pugin cites this work when writing to Drummond on 4 December 1843.

[18] Charles Alfred Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1817), with a text by A. J. Kempe.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Tuesday, 14 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

it was only Last night I said I was *clear of you* for the *present* & I am again thick as ever.

I send you a Glorious plan for the shew room—the effect will be transcendent & I will soon have out a view of it for Circulation. I am preparing a book that you can

send by post. by the screen & 2 small altars we shall double the effect of Length & have space to shew everything. put my small rood & images at top. I have provided ambries for vestments & church Linen for we ought to do a great deal in that way. a wooden slab raised 15 inches to Lay brasses on—& 6 mortuary candlestics rounds with *tapers in them* & shields on them. the antependiums M^rs^ Powell can make very simple but of good character crosses &^c^. [*Sketch: antependium*] The screen & everything I have done will be easy to make—& not expensive. you will be frantic when you see the new stuff.[2] it beats everything we have done hollow. you must keep a drawer for Laces &^c^.

I think the engraving of the plate is capital—you are deserving of some credit. a capital man in your way.

I could not have arranged the ware room better if I had come & you ought not to wish me to come just now when you think of all my drawings I have to do.

I send you—the patterns you want for the chalice. also a drawings of 4 silver salt cellars I want.[3] I have nothing but partly broken glass one. I want them *very strong.*

I shall get better off at Balliol than I expected—I hope to get setled at once.

if you will Let me know what sort of Inkstand you mean I will do it. one to hold pens & Sand & ink or only ink?

I am going to work to night for you & try & finish Cheadle besides my List.

I find I must send you a Pascal Candlestic[4]
a Lenten herse light[5]
a chrismatory.[6]

your best way would be to make 3 of Each & then then we should have some stock—& they would come a deal cheaper.

it strikes me that the engraving of the plate for the house of Lords is nothing like deep or strong enough. I want some very strong black lines or it will not shew. mind this.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have sent you the sort of thing for the windows but what you will do about the glass I know not. the room will never Look the thing without it.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'; the letter carries the number 69 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The 'new stuff' made by Crace, the Gothic tapestry.

[3] Heath submits two invoices to Hardman, both preserved in the bundle for January to March 1845, for this commission. On 14 March he charges thirteen shillings for engraving 'Inscrip^n^. & Arms to 3 Salts M^r^ Pugin', and on 15 March four shillings for putting the same decoration on '1 Silver Salt for M^r^. P.' MWDB enters to Pugin at 20 March 1845 '4 Silver Salt Cellars, gilt Inside' and four silver spoons for them; the cost is £28. Two of these salt cellars and spoons, now in the V & A, are illustrated in *GP*, p. 183.

[4] BMAG holds two drawings for a paschal candlestick for Cheadle: L121.84 which is signed and dated 1845, and L123.84, signed but undated. MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury at 4 August 1846 'A Rich Brass Pascal Candlestick to drawing complete', for £14.

[5] MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury at 4 August 1846 'A Lenten Herse Light with Brass Stand complete', costing £10.

[6] MWDB enters to Lord Shrewsbury at 4 August 1846 'A G. S. Plated Chrismatory, with 2 Silver Bottles, engraved' at a charge of £5. 12*s*., and a 'Single' one 'with Silver Bottle', costing £2.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Tuesday, 14 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you the pascal candlestick & Lenten herse light for cheadle. you better make 3 of a sort. I must have one & if possible by Easter for D[r] Aquarone will carry out everything as much as possible & it will do for my church some of these days.[2] write to M[r] Cheadle at Nottingham.[3] I know they will want a herse light & you can make the top for him. [*Sketch: top of hearse light*] it will not be very expensive in Iron painted. write & ask him.

you may remember—I had a diptich reliquary—with relicks. I have had many scruples of concience about its Lying about & I have drawn out a frame & glass within which I shall put it & hang it in the chapel.[4] you will understand it.

I should like to sette acounts with M[rs]. Powell. if she will send me a statement I will book up. she must include the Green vestment.

I am preparing an advertizement for you—that will beat George Robins Hollow.[5]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 24 has been assigned to this letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The order for Pugin at 14 March 1845 in MWDB includes 'A Brass Paschal Candlestick to drawing complete' at a price of £14 and 'A Lenten Herse Light with Brass Stand complete' at a price of £10.

[3] Francis Cheadle (1805–86), who was educated at Oscott and became professor of divinity there, was a priest at St Barnabas's. A letter from him at Nottingham preserved in ML February 1845 may be his reply to Hardman's inquiry about whether he would like these articles for Easter; under a date of 16 February, he states that 'We shall want a triangular candlestick, also a *staff* or *rod* for the *triple candle* on Holy Saturday. I supposed that these would form a part of the furniture of the church. But as it seems that we shall have to pay for them, I hope you will make both as plain & with as little expense as possible.' MWDB enters to him at 13 March 1845 an 'Iron Lenten Herse Light with Gilt mouldings complete' costing £8. 12*s*.

[4] Perhaps Chivers's charge of nineteen shillings and sixpence for a 'Relic Case A W P' recorded in the Metal purchase ledger at 26 February 1845 is relevant; perhaps this is the reliquary case for a sum of £4. 18*s*. entered to Pugin in MWDB at 30 May 1845.

[5] George Henry Robins (1778–1847) was arguably the most noted auctioneer in England in the nineteenth century, famed for his persuasive eloquence and his extraction of high prices for his clients; he grew very prosperous. He sold the contents of Strawberry Hill in 1842, just after Pugin went there on 11 April and recorded in his diary that he was 'disgusted' with what he saw. Robins also had connections with Margate and was known for his charitable works there.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM

Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 15 January 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/49 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Revd & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I am rather uneasy at not hearing from you—as I fear you are unwell. I am anxious to send you the receipt for the Gateway. there is a surplice war commencing here. it is quite disgusting. I hear your Brother has had a most eligible Curacy nearer to town. I am sorry for this as far as I am concerned for I should have been delighed to have cultivated his society.

pray Let me have a line from you.

ever dear M^r^ Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE

Ramsgate, mid-January 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/12[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I want some circles painting for cheadle church of which I inclose you the sketches.[2] 3 of 2 feet diameter with heads of kings & a bishop & 2 of angels with Thuribles. I want them well painted but quite in the old severe style & lined so as to shew well at a height. the heads are going up 25 feet. the angels 12 feet. I think you will understand what I mean—they must go soon.

I send you also drawings of 2 frames.[3] one a small one for a portrait of my Late dear wife. the second is for my own portrait. it must be gilt all over & as M^r^. Herbert wishes to exibit it I cant pick in the Colour till it comes out—nor even put in the inscription on the Labels.[4] The 6 birds in the Quatrefoils must be carved rather flat. Let me hear from you if you understand what I want. when Am I to have the curtains—? you can make the frame in dry pine.

do you know you never sent me a receipt for the balance of the acount.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.

[2] The 'circles' form part of the decoration of the interior walls of St Giles's, placed high above the arches between nave and aisles.

[3] The drawings survive in the V & A and are catalogued in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 233, where one of them is reproduced as an illustration. The frames are for the portraits drawn by Herbert during his Christmas visit; Pugin writes to Hardman about them possibly on 28 December 1844. The artist of the miniature of Louisa Pugin, which is in the possession of a descendant, has not previously been identified, although

GP, p. 6, assigns the drawing to Pugin in the caption to an illustration of it, but without citing any authority for the attribution. The evidence of the correspondence makes it almost unarguable that it was Herbert who drew this portrait.

[4] Herbert's portrait of Pugin was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the summer of 1845.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, mid-January 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/15[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

Send me the stuff & fringe down here. I have an excellent workwoman in the house.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ramsgate, Sunday, 26 January 1845?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/25 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

my address will be for Tuesday & Wednesday Morning M^r^. Hulls 109. Wardour street oxford street London.

My Dear Sir

I have no idea where you are at present & therefore direct this to Albury. I am very anxious to know what is doing in respect to the alterations at the house & when it will be necessary for me to go down—everything should be *well organised* before the roof comes off—so as to prevent any unnecessary delay—& I do not think Brown is a good manager in the way of forsight—I think I better go before Long.[1] I inclose you the account I I have received for the niche tomb &^c^. in the chantry. M^r^. Myers direction is No 9 Laurie Terrace Westminster Road—London. you can either send him an order of pay it to my account & I will transfer it & get you his receipt. I have heard it reported that Miss Drummond is to be united to Lord Lowain—if this is true I trust it will contribute your comfort & hapiness as well as hers.[2]

I remain with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

H Drummond Esq^r^.

The idea of your bad tracery in the screens quite haunts me. I see distorted quatrefoils in my sleep. [*Sketch: distorted quatrefoil*]

[1] Pugin's diary indicates that he next paid a visit to Albury from 4 March to 5 March 1845.

[2] Louisa Drummond, elder daughter of Henry Drummond, was married at St George's church, Hanover Square, London, on 26 May 1845 to Algernon George Percy (1810–99), Lord Lovaine, eldest son of the Earl and Countess of Beverley and future, sixth Duke of Northumberland. It is by this route that the Drummond papers come to be at Alnwick Castle.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 26 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

There is no harm in the brass being represented as I have marked it. I do not think the diapering is necessary.

I am going to London tomorow D V.[2]

Send up the brass Railing Directed to Charles Barry Esq[r]
new houses of Parliament
& write J H outside & then they will not unpack it without me.[3] it ought to have been gone before this reaches you—as it will drive me very Late. at all events I rely on you sending it by a parcel train or some means to ensure its *quick delivery*. my adress till Friday will be at the Euston hotel.[4]

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

could you not send up the plates seperate in a small parcel by themselves or will you send them up in the box with the Railing. send me a line off—tomorow night to Let me know when I may expect the things.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 59 has been allocated to this letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Pugin's diary records that he went from 'Ramsgate to London' on Monday 27 January 1845.

[3] Pugin superimposes one initial over the other to form a monogram.

[4] Pugin stayed in London until Friday 31 January, according to his diary. Benjamin Webb, in his diary for 1845, MS Bodley Eng. misc. e. 408, records that on 30 January he went with a companion identified only as 'Henry' to visit 'Carpenter: with whom to call on Pugin at the Euston Hotel. He was out' (fol. 4r). Webb records in his diary that when Carpenter visited him in Dover on 7 July 1845 he came from Ramsgate; Pugin was away but it can be assumed that Carpenter looked at The Grange.

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Monday, 27 January 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 374] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

I got up safe Last night after a very bad passage.[1] when we got just above the Nore—we had the most tremendous snow squall I ever was in. every vessell

suffered more or less. it became black as night & canvass was split to ribbands. I never saw anything more awful while it Lasted. it blew a gale all the way up afterwards. Last night it snowed heavilly & very cold. London is Miserable. wretched.

remember me kindly to Miss Greaves. Love to all the litte ones. I have hardly a moment to write this I am so busy. tell Teddy to be very good.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

I hope her majesty is well.

[1] At Monday 27 January, where Pugin notes his journey from home to town in his diary, he also enters 'Tremendous snow squall WNW just above the nore', this letter making the reading of the last word in the entry possible. It seems that he actually left Ramsgate on Sunday night, to reach London on Monday, for Barry records in his desk diary, MS RIBA DC/Ba Fam 1(a). 7, that he had a 'Consultation with Pugin respecting wood carvings &c' on 27 January. At 28 January, 29 January and 30 January Barry enters simply 'as yesterday'.

To JOHN HARDMAN London, Wednesday, 29 January 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

there are lots of alterations to make yet in this railing before it is considered quite perfect. they are as follows

1 The standard to hold the light is to be higher. the crown to be open at bottom with a pan to drop in &c. for this I must send you a drawing. (The present design will make a capital Standing Candlestick for our work for the effect is beautiful.)

2. The shields are to omitted all along the bottom brattishing & to be all roses. the Larger roses are also to be altered. at present they Look quite dark from being cupped. the leaves will have to turn back so as to Catch the light keeping them the same size. [*Sketch: turning-back of leaf*] it is merely throwing the leaves back. 3. the fleur de lis spandril is to be adopted but *much smaller.* [*Sketch: spandrel*] for this I must send you a drawing. the first bracket is to have a bead down the middle to enrich it. [*Sketch: bead*] you will have to send up therefore

a new standard
a new spandril & brace
a new first bracket.
a new Rose.

you will have also to send an estimate & tender to Mr. Barry.[2] he will then get the Woods & forests order & everything will proceed.[3] you will soon find out the cost of the new parts. I think they will be much the same.

this will keep me a day or 2 as I must get these drawings done for you &c. I am sure

I have not slept 4 hours out of the last 48. I dare say I shall get a good night to night in my own bed.[4]

ever dear Hardman your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I think London is more horrible than ever. it is perfectly miserable to me.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 74 has been used to identify this letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO. The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Hardman's tender for the railing is dated 10 May 1845 and sets a price of £33 for each compartment. When Barry forwards the tender to Alexander Milne (*c.*1781–1861), Second Commissioner in the Office of Woods and Works, his covering letter describes Hardman's factory as 'the only one in the Kingdom where such work is properly executed'. Milne's letter notifying Barry that Hardman's tender has been accepted is dated 14 July 1845, and it is on 18 July 1845 that Barry writes to tell Hardman of his success; this last letter survives in the Hardman archive, the other documents being in the Public Record Office.

[3] The Office of Woods and Works, also known as the Office of Woods and Forests, was charged with oversight of the expenditure on rebuilding the Houses of Parliament; in 1851 the office became the Office of Works.

[4] Pugin was kept a day or two in London and left on Friday 31 January but did not get back to his own bed till Saturday.

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Thursday, 30 January 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 285][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

I fully expect to be home on Saturday & I shall be delighted to get back for I am walked off my legs in this beastly place.[2] nothing but fog & mud. tell Miss Greaves to think of the Cotelettes a La Maintenon. I dont get such good things now I am away & hardly time to get anything.

kisses of all the litle ones & poor litle Patty.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in another hand 'Catherine Pugin Hair August 2 / 1847'. The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin returned to Ramsgate on Saturday 1 February.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Dover, Friday, 31 January 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dover Friday evening

My Dear Hardman

I have been so driven up for time I could not write till this moment.

I send you a sketch which will explain to you the alteration in the railing—I also send you a full size drawing of the iron stancheon that you must Let into the bottom of the uprights so as to fix the railing into the cast iron brackets which are already fixed. you will observe a nut drawn on the screw part. [*Sketch: railing showing position of nut*] this nut will be Let into the bottom part of pendant so as to screw on & draw the stancheon down tight—you will of course perceive that this iron stancheon must go well in the brass work as the *Brackets are done away* & the whole strain will be on these—there is another point. [*Sketch: pendant with nut*] you must arrange for the possibility of a small Gas pipe passing up the centre of the stancheons. it will have to enter in the base so your Solid work that dropes into the bracket must be pierced for it. [*Sketch: gas-pipe*] if any alteration in the base is required I can make it. I hope on Sunday night to Send you the new drawings of the 3 engraved panels of arms.[2] they are now much Longer & required additional work which I will draw. get these & the Railing done as fast as possible as the comissioners are waiting to see it—so get as many hands as ever you can on the twisted work. I think it would not be prudent to cast much of the railing till M[r] Barry has finally approved of it as he is such a man for alterations that one is never safe till the final order is given.

I think we have at last hit on a crown that will do. if so in a very few days you can be getting on with those.

I was getting quite ill again in London & so came down here by train & shall get early to Ramsgate tomorow morning. you have no idea how I suffer in London. I assure you it is no affectation to say I suffer dreadfully. it rouses up all sorts of wreched associations & I cannot bear it.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. This letter has been given the number 26 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] Heath's invoice charging £4. 1*s*., apparently for the work of alteration to the panels of the arms of the dukes of Cambridge and Cumberland and those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is dated 15 February 1845 and preserved in the bundle for January to March 1845 in BCA.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 2 February 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 951] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you several things—

1. the exact dimensions of the new panels for arms—which you will perfectly understand & I have sketched the way in which they must be enlardged[?].

2d. a sketch for the reliquaries.[1] I could not send them before.

3d a seal for the Rev Mr Dalton.[2] he wants it for the tickets for his opening.[3]

4 I went the other day to Craces & he shewed me a piece of lock furniture which of all vile productions of the vile period of the vile men was the vilest.[4] not one line of tracery decent. I said to him what a pity you do not Let J. Hardman make these things—when to my dismay & astonishment & horror he told me they were made by you. now I think you ought to be fined £100 for attempting to fly on your own wings & do this without Letting me know. it is a beastly attempt & I find now I have returned that John Powell was the author. I assure you I think it a mercy for him that he has come here or he would have *been ruined* utterly *ruined* & this a proof of it. there is not one line on principle, horrid. he had got into a loose fanciful way that would have damned him for ever. the other day when he came to set out tracery on principle he was astonished & found he knew nothing but the Long & the short is that I have prepared a proper full size drawing for you in different thicknesses & to give effect to the perforated work you must have it beat up hollow in parts. [*Sketch: perforated work*] he will go to a good & proper price for them & I charge you £1. 1s for the drawing—never attempt anything in this way again.[5] you are certain to fail.

I forgot to ask you in London about my hall Lamp.[6] it is really two bad—for I tumble about in the Dark & the draft is so great I cant Leave a candle alight—now Lord Shrewsbury is really coming here at Last & I shall be dreadfully off. pray get it done for me. I will pay *ready money* if you Like for it—anything to have it. we had a very good procession to day indeed—from the chapel round the hall before the image of our Lady & back. it seems at any rate to keep up the true principle.

I am in a deal of trouble again. circumstances have occurred which I cant yet explain to you but which will probably break off all connection between myself & Myers. thus all my work of 8 years is knocked down in a day & I shall have to begin again. in this case I must imedialy find £1000 to square off. besides this between you & me I am in good deal of alarm about Dr. A.[7] I fear he is fond of drink. I find he goes frequently to a public house for *spirits* & has a bottle under *his bed*!!! this distresses me very much. I am quite satisfied that no one shoud ever associate with those with whom he is to be respected—omne ignotum pro Magnifico is the real thing.[8] you may easily believe I am in a rather distressed state of mind altoger & see a world of difficulty & trouble arising. a visit to London always makes me worse. when I go there I feel as if I ought to see poor Louisa & it quite upsets me. it is wonderful how I get on as I do.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin explains these reliquaries in his letter to Hardman perhaps written on 6 February.

[2] At an unspecified date between 12 February and 22 February 1845, MWDB enters a seal for 'Lynne' costing £1. 4s.; the invoice of Thomas Davis charging sixteen shillings for Dalton's 'Hanging seal', preserved in the bundle of invoices for January to March 1845, is dated '17th. 1845' without indication of the month. Hardman routinely engaged Davis to work on seals.

[3] Dalton informs Hardman in a letter of 20 March surviving in ML 1845 of arrangements made to open the new church on 8 May. His notice, 'Dedication of St. Mary's church, Lynn, Norfolk', *Tablet*, 6 (3 May 1845): 288, announces that the ceremony is set down for 8 May, and solicits further donations to help pay off the still considerable debt. According to the account, 'Lynn, Norfolk.—Opening of St. Mary's Church', *Tablet*, 6 (17 May 1845): 311, only the nave and chancel, with a combined length of 72 feet, are complete; the erection of the north aisle and tower envisaged by Pugin is postponed until money becomes available. The east window was made by Wailes; a figure of the Virgin with two angels to each side adorns the altar; the steps are paved with tiles made by Minton; the tiles on the floor of the chancel were manufactured in King's Lynn.

[4] A letter from Crace, filed in ML July 1845 although it is dated 5 February, informs Hardman that Crace could not use the plates and handles which Hardman made, for they were 'not handsome enough for the party'; he hopes Hardman will be quick about making the new ones from Pugin's design. 'M[r] Pugin saw your first plates & was very energetic as he usually is if the thing is not quite up to the mark'; the paper is torn after 'energetic' and a small stretch of text may be lost.

[5] The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin £1. 1*s.* in January 1845 for a drawing of 'Lock furn[re]. Crace & son'.

[6] The lamp is first mentioned in Pugin's letter to Hardman of probably 13 October 1844.

[7] Dr Acquarone.

[8] A Latin tag, to the effect that 'everything unknown is taken for something magnificent'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Monday, 3 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I send you the drawing for a crown. you must work as hard as possible & get it made in zink lead or what would be better make it in *wood* & cut the crown part out of zinc. it does not *matter how rough it* is so as we try the effect. colour it our yellow gold colour & just send it up as *quick as possible* for it to be tried up.[2] the crockets you have will do capitaly. when you send it up write on the box *Model crown* & then they will know what it is. you can soon get it roughed out of wood—& that will do as well as anything.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 23 has been assigned to this letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] An invoice from William Wareing is preserved in the bundle of invoices for January to March 1845; it charges four shillings on 7 February 1845 for 'Painting a metal Crown'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Thursday, 6 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you the drawing for the cheadle pascal candlestick & herse *light weeks ago.*[2] what do you mean by asking for it again.

2 the drawing you sent to me about was for some reliquaries for Lord Stourtons chaplain.[3]

3 what you do mean by having an entirely new piece of railing made. that will take too much time. only do *what is just necessary in the alterations.* keep all you can of the present work—it will be at your place by this time.

you are quite right in the alterations. they are exactly what I mean but do not do anything more than alter the present piece of Railing which I ordered to be sent to you before I Left.

a box with some wax models are sent off to day from J. Powell. The Reduction of suppers have no good effect. he passes half his nights on the floor—& kicks up a dreadful Row. Between him & the D[r]. there is no peace all night & I shall be obliged to *go Out* to sleep at last!!!

Myers has come to his senses—at last. I think everybody is going mad. you and I are the only reasonable men Left & you are half mad or you would not ask me for Drawings which I sent Long ago.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter carries the number 5 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] These drawings were probably sent about 14 January.

[3] In ML 1845 a letter from J. B. Bridge of Allerton Park, Green Hammerton, York, dated 28 January, asks for designs of reliquaries, probably four of them, as Lord Stourton wishes to have relics in his care 'placed in cases or ornaments to place behind the candlesticks on the Altar'. John Brice Bridge (1793–1860), a Jesuit, was the priest at Allerton Park, home of William Stourton (1776–1846), seventeenth Baron Stourton. There is no sign in MWDB or the Metal sales ledger that the reliquaries were made by Hardman.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 9 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I cant tell you how vexed I am about the Loss of those drawings.[2] it is impossible that 2 sheets of *Cartridge paper* could miss by post. you may rely on it your people have mislaid them. I must do them again but driven up as I am it is most annoying & I shall never rembember the same thing. I pleased myself very much. I herewith send you the working drawing of the banner for which you must book me 2. 2. 0.[3]

I also send you the dimensions of a dossell I want for my altar which you must give to M[rs]. Powell & tell her to make it of common matterials for it is a Large thing to obscure the stained glass in my chapel. I want it not expensive but as common as she can—& Let her sew some Lead weights in the bottom. Send this

with the other things. she can soon make it. I should Like to get Square with her & pay up.

I have no heart to do those pascal candlestics again.

ever your devoted friend ✠ A Welby Pugin

I dont want the Railing &c till the *middle of next week.*

when am I to send the old piece of Embroidery to Mrs. Baron to work Mrs. Knills by.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. In the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO this letter has been given the number 49.

[2] The drawings of the paschal candlestick and Lenten hearse light for Cheadle.

[3] Pugin enters a charge of two guineas for his drawing of 'Banner for St Wilfrids' in the list he makes on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845, recording payments he expects from Hardman, and the Metal sales ledger credits him with that amount at an unspecified date in January 1845 for the 'Drawing of Banner—Preston Gild', the first drawing having been sent to Hardman perhaps on 12 January.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Monday, 10 February 1845?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1° The inscription round the Edge of Miss Rylands tomb is as follows.[3] '✠ I am the ressurection & the life Said the Lord. he that believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he live ✠ & whosoever liveth and believeth in me ✠ shall never die. St John Chap XI. XXV. XXVI.'

rember all the Letters are to be legible. get on with it.

2d. I send you sketches for Mr. Sherburnes things.[4] you must estimate for 6 candlesticks for the high altar

the Lamp.
The 2 crosses.
the Elevation Candlestics & coronas.
The Candlesticks for Lady chapel.

} all in German silver plated & parcel gilt

another price for the Elevation candlicks in brass. if you will send this to me I will forward it to him. send me back the sketches & I will prepare working drawings. my own idea is as follows—

	£	
Lamp.	25. 0. 0	The banner will be proceeded with & you will have a *full-sized* drawing.[6] the sketch will be returned. I spuppose you will get Souter to paint it.
altar candlests. Each.	10. 0. 0[5]	
Lady chapel. the pair	15. 0. 0	
altar crosses. Each	20. 0. 0	
Great candlests plated.	the pair 80 0. 0	
brass.	30. 0. 0.[7]	

I do not know what to do about D[r] Weedall. if I had a drawing of the Sanctuary with the dimensions I could then do something but the drawings will cost him £5.[8] I cannot do anything now without money. I am *druv* to it.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have written 3 close sides in your defence to M[r] Sherburne this day.

[1] An 'Estimate' in Hardman's hand of the prices for goods the same as those listed here by Pugin is filed in ML; it is addressed to Pugin at Ramsgate and postmarked in Birmingham on 11 February 1845. It appears to be Sherburne's hand that inscribes '6 Plain Candlesticks' at the end of the list. With the sheet the other way round, Pugin writes at what is now the foot: 'Myers—Cheadle.' Another MS in BCA is a 'List of things for kirkham' written in pencil by Pugin, with some notes added by Hardman, and inscribed '1845 Box'.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 10 has been given to this letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO. Hardman inscribes 'Annals of Propagation' at the head of the first page.

[3] The commission for a tomb is the reason for Pugin's first known letter to Louisa Ryland, written on 10 May 1844. The inscription is set on a blue ground and the letters are easily legible.

[4] Thomas Sherburne, priest of St John's, Kirkham, inquires about metalwork for this new church built to Pugin's design. Pugin forwarded to him the estimate which this letter asks Hardman to provide. Sherburne's response to it and to the 'defence' which Pugin mentions later in this letter was written from 'Willows' on 'Feb: 19. 1845', apparently to Pugin; it is preserved in ML.

My Dear Sir

I have received your two favors; as to the first, I beg you will understand, that those who consider M[r] Hardman's prices high have no idea of imputing blame to you, on that account, but merely look upon it as a matter of sale and purchase. And really, my good Sir, to go no further than the list before me, does not £20 for an Altar Crucifix appear a serious sum? The metal is of no great value, and we do not know that the figure will be wrought with peculiar excellence. Of course I cannot tell whether or not he will be a great gainer but I own that the figure seems high. Still if you think that Crosses of that style ought to be used I will give up my own ideas about expence. I could also wish a pair of candlesticks for each of the chapels as you describe them: only with the receiver smaller and flatter than the pattern. The two for Benediction must be of brass, and the foot larger and screws stronger than those sent to the Nuns. I understood the price to them was £18 the pair. As to the High Altar we must have something temporary, for I am persuaded that I can get a handsome set, from Spain, of silver, for less money. If the Lamp, £25, be of German silver and finished so as that you call it handsome I could like to have it. Still, all this is adding seriously to the already heavy cost. I apprehend that you can get a set of sufficiently showy Candlesticks for the High Altar, till I have time to inquire about what may be eventually satisfactory.

[5] Pugin wrote both '10' and '12', one on top of the other, and it is impossible to tell which was the final figure, but Hardman's estimate puts the candlesticks at £10 each. Hardman annotates the item 'in Brass'. Perhaps it is his pencil which ticks approval of all Pugin's other prices.

[6] The banner for Preston.

[7] The prices in Hardman's estimate are the same as these; £30 is the price for the 'Great candlests' made in brass.

[8] In an undated letter preserved in ML January 1845, Weedall tells Hardman that he wants Souter to come and paint the sanctuary of St Peter's in Leamington before Easter; Pugin is to supply designs. By 23 February, in his letter written on the feast of St Peter Damian which is stored in ML, Weedall can report that 'We like the designs for the Sanctuary very much'. When he writes in March 1845, in an undated letter filed in ML, Weedall entreats Hardman to thank Pugin 'especially for his condescending to adorn my Sanctuary'. Leigh too makes express acknowledgement of his sense of Pugin's complaisance in providing designs when he writes to Hardman from Leamington on 3 March 1845: 'It was very goodnatured of Pugin to give the design' for the decoration of the church, 'considering that the building must be one that he cannot, I suppose, look at with a very favourable eye'.

To WILLIAM DUNN?[1] Ramsgate, Tuesday, 11 February 1845?

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 59 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate—Feb 11.

Dear sir

The design I propose would answer very well if you could secure the scite c d—to form an entrance—*without disturbing* the *superstructure.*[2] [*Sketch: plan marked 'a', 'b', 'c', and 'd'*] when the vault was filled the site c d might then be used. [*Sketch: plan and elevation of tomb with canopy, showing 'level of ground'*] I think you will understand what I mean. the tomb I propose will occupy the scite a b—the scite c d will be reserved as an entrance till the vault is full. if you approve of this suggestion I will will prepare the working drawings of the vault & tomb on hearing from you.

I remain dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

My heath is better than it was but am yet very far from right.

[1] The present whereabouts of the MS suggests this recipient.

[2] Pugin is designing a tomb for members of the Dunn family. A signed view of it survives as MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 58, while MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 62 is a working drawing.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 12 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

do you mean to say you did not know that M[r]. Richmonds brass was to be done?!![2] the other things are all in hand.

My Dear Hardman

1° The Post office people have confessed that the Letter stuck in the box for *2 weeks*. they only discovered it on monday. So that explains the whole business.

2 do not on any account put any *Lace* on the banner or you will spoil it—it must be *all* painting or *all* embroidery & of course it must in the present case be all painting on *silk*. I should think you must get M[r]. Macky to paint the image of S[t] Wilfrid.[3] I should paint a floriated cross at the back in place of another S[t] Wilfrid. it will not do to repeat the image. put a Lamb in the centre of it. [*Sketch: banner*]

3 I sent £5 to M[r]. Moore some days ago—for charitable purposes & I have heard nothing of its arrival. knowing him to be a man of business I am uneasy—Lest it may have miscarried. pray see about it.

4° I send you a drawing for a brass for the Late M[rs]. Knight—the *clear money* is £42.[4] I want none of that but you must pack it up included for which I have allowed the £2. I think you will understand it. it is wanted of course very soon. cannot you

Let it into a good slab of blue slate—I have kept it simple so I think you will manage it well.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in Hardman's hand: 'write to Rev[d] Mr. Rolfe for date of M[rs]. Knights death'; the words '& her age', added after 'death', have been crossed out. The letter is numbered 98 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO. George Rolfe (1799–1864) and John Rolfe (1784–1851) were both priests at East Street, Finsbury Circus, London, according to the *Catholic Directory* for 1845. John Rolfe appears to be the one with whom Hardman dealt, for the Metal sales ledger at 14 February 1846 debits Pugin £42 'To Transfer of Acc[t] for Brass to memory of M[rs]. Knight, Chelsea, per Rev[d]. J Rolfe'.

[2] The brass has already been ordered when Pugin writes to Hardman about 13 October 1844.

[3] Evidence is lacking that Edward Mackay, whose work had not been found wanting in the past, was engaged, but, whoever the artist was, the original painting of the image proved unsatisfactory. The bundle of invoices for April to June 1845 contains, besides that of Grove and Son who charge £1. 0*s.* 4*d.* in May for making the poles and 'shanking Banners', an invoice from J. W. Hulme of £2 at 26 April for 'assisting M[r]. Souter in Painting Banner' and Souter's invoice of £14 for painting the banner at a date of 1 May. On 26 April 1845 Dawson informs Hardman, in a letter preserved in ML, that Pugin has forbidden the banner to be sent because the painting is so bad; on 5 May Crace writes to Hardman about the banner and singles out the 'figure—which to speak truly seems horribly done'; he has not yet received any drawing from Pugin for the lamb or the banner, but Hardman's Metal sales ledger credits him at 14 May 1845 with £3. 15*s.* for 'Painting Figure & Lamb on Preston Banner', in compliance with his invoice of that date.

[4] Mary Knight, née Lorymer, was the wife of Joseph Knight of Chelsea, for whom Pugin drew plans in 1841; born in 1782, she died on 11 January 1845. Care was to be taken over the way in which Mary Knight was represented on the brass, as Pugin's letter to Hardman perhaps written about 21 February shows, and on 8 May Knight sends Hardman 'a little sketch' of her, according to his letter in ML. Hardman's Metal purchase ledger enters a payment of £14. 9*s.* 7*d.* to Heath at 23 July 1845 for his work on the brass, the sum of £9. 14*s.* 6*d.* being his charge for the engraving, while the balance is made up of waxing, colours, piercing, and rubs. An invoice from William Cook dated 25 July 1845 and preserved in the bundle for July to September 1845 charges £3. 8*s.* 3*d.* for the slab, while 'cuting out Rubing down Grounding & Snaking to leting in Brass' costs £2. 5*s.* and 'Drilling Biding & Screwing in Brass' costs £1. 2*s.* 6*d.* MWDB enters to Knight at 10 September 1845 'A Monumental Brass to memory of M[rs]. Knight, let into Blue Stone Slab', at a cost with case and packing of £42. *Meara* prints illustrations of rubbings on pp. [135] and 136.

To DANIEL ROCK — Ramsgate, Wednesday, 12 February 1845?[1]

Text: MS SAA T-R 179 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustines Ramsgate.
Wednesday in Ember week

Rev & Dear D[r]. Rock

I am about designing a stained glass window at Ushaw representing the life of S[t] Cuthbert.[2] I rember at Alton you once shewed me a MS. of the Life of that saint full of illuminations which would be just the thing for the purpose, can you tell me where I can get a sight of it? I am now quite settled at Ramsgate in my residence which I think would please you & which I hope you will some day come & see. I have

mass every morning in my chapel. my children are thank God very well. I miss my poor wife at every turn & feel sometimes quite lost. I live in hope of being able to build a small church here for the mission. I have purchased the Land.

ever with respect
I remain dear D[r] Rock
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The date is suggested by the combination of internal evidence and a note pencilled on the front end-paper [b] of Pugin's diary for 1845 : 'Ms of S Cutbert [*sic*]'.
[2] The life of St Cuthbert was the subject of the west window of the ante-chapel at Ushaw.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, mid-February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I a fit of desperation I have drawn out the candlesticks again. they are not I think quite so good a job as the first but the best I can remember. you better make I think 4 of Each. I must have one of Each—for Myself. then cheadle & 2 will not be too many for stock of things so much wanted—I think you will understand them.

what do you think of making the herse light in *Iron* painted blue & parts gilt. I Leave this to you.

the Loss of the original drawings ought to lie heavy on your concience—& you may think yourself well off to get some more.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter, which bears the number 58 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO, is written in pencil.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, mid-February 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 126] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

if you have not begun the sconces for my rooms do not make them as there is light enough from the coronas.

get me a receipt from M[rs]. Powell. I file all receipts.

My Dear Hardman

1[o] with my other things send me a supply of *altar* breads.

2[d]. I send you a cheque for M[rs]. Powell. it is dated in advance—you you can acknowledge it in time.

3d. I did not mean to expend so much on the *black* antependium for it is only used once in the year or so. I cant think how I can have got so far out. I must have made a mistake in the drawing—for my altar front is hardly biger than a pocket handkerchief & I intended a plain black frontal. I think they must have made a wrong[?] cross. however there is no help now. I have no doubt it is all right but I cant think how those vestments have cost so much more than Nottingham ones. I never meant them to cost so much—for I wanted them for common use & after to a better one of Each sort.

4o. I think the pascal candlestic will be stout enough. I fear anything Larger would be so heavy in metal but if it Looks light in execution you may increase it a litte. The part you do not understand comes over from a quatrefoil to a circle. [*Sketch: details of candlestick*] it is very simple.

5 you must Let me know about the Railing &c as I must regulate my going accordinly. I hope you will be able to manage it as I want to go up next week.[1] I dont things Look so well in that quarter as they did. it may be my suspicious disposition but I have now a habit of watching the weather for every cloud that flies.

do not take any notice but I gave Powell a good dressing Last week & I think he is a deal better for it. he has got a most careless habit of drawing without thinking the Least of what he is doing. I had taken imense pains that morning in explaining to him the principles of tracery & a Quarter of an hour afterwards he did just the same as If I never had spoken a word. he says he acquired the habit of working without thinking at *Elkingtons*—& cant get out of it. it is a sad thing for he really can do well when he tries—& with attention would improve fast. do take any notice for I believe he was heartily ashamed of himself & has been very attentive since.[2] I am now often sunk to the Lowest depth of despondency—& can never get poor Louisa from my mind. the minutest circumstances connected with her illness & death recur to me continually with a force & reality that is dreadful & circumstances are continually recurring which bring them to my recollection. was I not incessantly occupied it would be much worse, I say nothing of this to anybody—but I suffer certainly far more than I did.

There is now no human probability whatever of the other business I mentioned to you ever coming about—& after all I am not particuly sorry for it as between you & me I scarcely think it possible to maintain the great expenses I am at.[3] I am really *obliged* to work incessanlly & this to keep up ordinary outlay. my chapel alone will be about £200 a year. this I do not grudge as you well know—if trade was good I should not care a bit but although I am worked off my Legs it is all in the *small ways*. mere Guinea jobs. nothing on a grand scale. I am devoured by a small correspondence of nothings—Letters without end. I keep a vigilant eye on matters—& if once I find I am going to Leeward I shall make a stop—& reduce everything. I have enough now to live on with economy in case of sickness & this I will not intrench upon. it all depends now on the P. H. & if they fail which mind is not at all certain in my mind—I stop at once.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin next went up to London on 24 February.
[2] Clearly Pugin has omitted 'not'.
[3] Presumably the proposal to marry Mary Amherst.
[4] 'P. H.' for Parliament Houses.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, mid-February 1845?

Text: MS BMAG L96.83[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My dear Hardman

I herewith send you the drawings for the small candlesticks.[2] you will have to file off the edge on the twist for the House of Lords railing for M[r] B had not the least idea of it—for the future[?] I am to make all the work drawings. you can file a bit of it right.

acknowledge the *Cheque.*

[1] The letter is written on a drawing of a candlestick, without date or signature; the last three words are written in ink, the rest is pencil.
[2] Perhaps the small candlesticks are those for St Giles's, Cheadle, noted in the list of articles wanted which Pugin sends to Hardman possibly on 28 December 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, mid-February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I have this day sent off the Gilt candlesticks to be altered.[2] you will see unfortunately the stems are of different Diameters. all you can do therefore is to lengthen the short part at A & to make the 2 small sockets for candles the same size as the Large ones. [*Sketch: candlestick marked 'A'*. Fig. 7] it will still be a botch on acount of the diameter of the stem. it seems as if there was a fatality against my having a real—good, job. I set my heart on these & the bed & both have signally failed. I shall want them back before Easter so pray get them done at once. I know it is a sort of job, you will shove on one side but it must be done for I cant bear to see them as they are. in what I said about the P. H I did not refer to your metal work. that must go on. they cannot get it done—elsewhere. I am only waitting for some transfer paper to draw out the shew room & pattern sheets.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have some great schemes in my head which I will tell you by & bye. it does me good to scheme. I am scheming a stained glass shop—but this only between ourselves.[3]

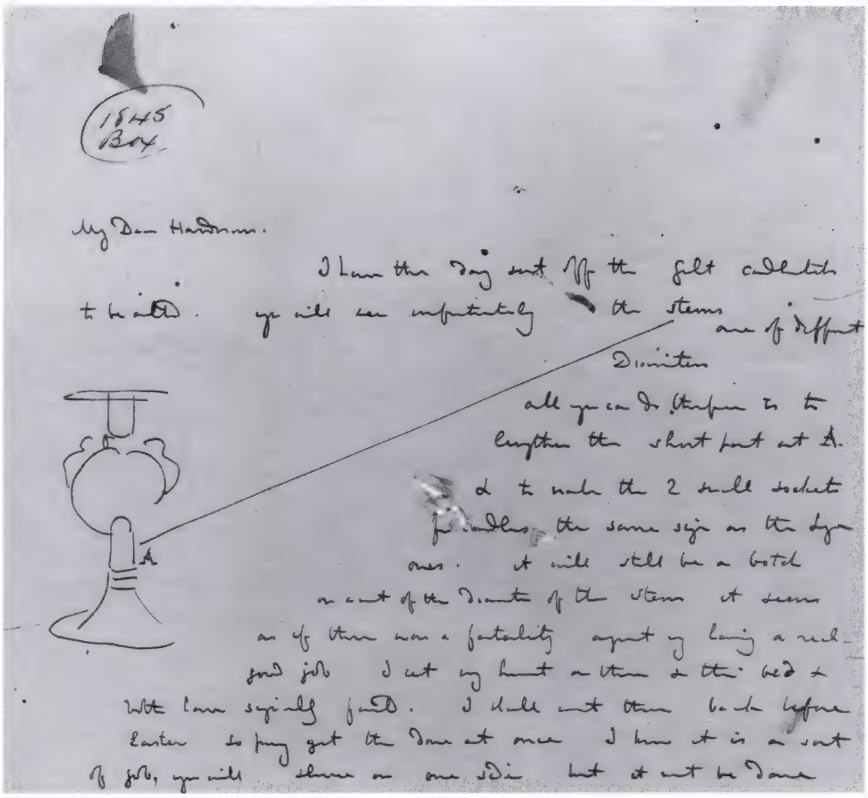

Figure 7 Pugin's candlestick, sketched in the letter to John Hardman perhaps written in mid-February 1845

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter carries the number 41 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin announces that he will return the candlesticks in the letter to Hardman which he may have written about 8 January 1845.

[3] A shop where glass was made, a workshop, rather than a place where it was sold; this is the first intimation in the correspondence of Pugin's conviction that Hardman should make his glass.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Sunday, 16 February 1845

Text: MS MCO 528/148 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins 2[d] Sunday in Lent

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have been quite loninging to get a few lines from you on the great events which are passing at oxford. it seems a long time since I even heard from you. I consider our

friends Wards degradation a sort of triumph afterall.[1] I was quite surprised to see so many votes for him—do pray let me know what you think of all this.[2] it must have been really a grand sight to see the champion stand up so manfully before his judges. I have hads letters *dated* (Wards day)—sent to me so you see his defence is considered already as a great festival.

I have heard that the Camden society is dissolved.[3] is this true? I shall be very sorry if it is the case. do Let me hear all you know. what will be the result of Oakly Letter?[4]

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

dreadful excitement for you in Ember week.[5]

[1] W. G. Ward's opinions came to be deemed intolerable by the university. At a meeting of Convocation on 13 February 1845, his publication, *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, was censured and he was stripped of his degrees; his formal career in Oxford was thus at an end.

[2] An untitled, anonymous editorial in *The Times* (15 February 1845): p. 5 states that 777 votes were cast for Ward's degradation and 386 votes against it; in giving these figures, it corrects a 'misprint' in the previous day's paper where the votes against were said to be 586. The condemnation of his book was carried by a larger majority.

[3] Benjamin Webb records in his diary that he talked about 'dissolving the C. C. S' (fol. 5r) with the president, Thomas Thorp, in Cambridge on 5 February, and on 7 February the committee of the Cambridge Camden Society was 'unanimous in proposing to disband the C. C. S. at the Anniversary', that is, on 10 May, the anniversary of the society's foundation. When the proposal was put to a general meeting on 13 February, it was greeted with 'Dead silence' (fol. 6r). An item headed 'The Camden Society' in *The Times* (15 February 1845): p. 5 reports that agreement was reached to dissolve at a meeting on the previous Thursday, 13 February.

[4] Oakeley's letter was printed in *The Times* (15 February 1845): p. 5 under the heading 'The University of Oxford'; written from Balliol College on 14 February and addressed to the vice-chancellor of the university, it is a virtual challenge to the academic authorities to condemn him just as they condemned Ward, for he shares the beliefs for which Ward was punished.

[5] Wednesday 12 February, Friday 14 February, and Saturday 15 February were Ember days in 1845.

To WILLIAM DUNN — Ramsgate, Thursday, 20 February 1845

Text: MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 60 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Feb. 20. 1845

Dear Sir

I herewith send you the working drawings specification & a view of your proposed tomb.[1] I have taken everything into consideration & think it would be an appropriate structure. the wault is calculated for 8 coffins the end to be gradualy walled up from entrance as they are inserted.

there are 8 *spaces* between the *bases* of shafts—which are intended to receive 8 brass plates for inscriptions corresponding to the number of coffins.

I calculate that if done in the best manner with marble shafts &c. carving and all complete with the exception of the brass plates which will be only added as required—the cost will be about £250 fixed. if done as I propose with marble & copper fastenings &c it will Last for centuries.

I remain dear sir
yours most truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

W. Dunn Esq[r].

[1] The specification, written by Pugin and signed and dated from St Augustine's on 20 February 1845, is preserved, MS NRO. 2988 / AWP. 61. For the 'familly Vault & Tomb', the tomb and its canopy are to be built of 'newcastle stone' with the eight shafts of 'dark Marble', while the carvings are 'to be executed from Models to be furnished by the architect'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Thursday, 20 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I herewith send you the drawings for Leamington. I have done my best—but it will be a beastly job when done. the Detail is in the early Italian style which is the best of the sort—I shall charge £3. 3. 0.[2] this I shall put down *to you* so make Souter pay you & he will charge it to D[r] Weedall.

M[rs]. Knight on the brass must be represented with a Double chin. this I must draw out. you will see her age &c in the last Tablet.[3] I am very unwell to day again & had a bad night. I have worked so hard Lately. I have hardly been out.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been allocated the number 71 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin makes a memorandum on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845 of his charge to Hardman for 'D[r] Weedall Leamington 3. 3. 0'; Hardman's Metal sales ledger credits him with three guineas for 'Leamington Church' in February 1845.

[3] 'The Late Mrs. Mary Knight', *Tablet*, 6 (15 February 1845): 102, an account of her funeral, includes biographical information revealing that she was sixty-two years of age.

To EDWARD JAMES WILLSON — Ramsgate, Sunday, 23 February 1845

Text: MS JHU 23 *Address*: Edward J. Willson Esq[r] / Architect / Minster yard. / Lincoln
Postmark: Addington Place; FE 23 1845 in Ramsgate; 24 FE 24 1845; FE 25 1845 in Lincoln

✠ S[t] Augustins 3[d] Sunday in Lent

My Dear M[r]. Willson

some time ago you mentioned to me that Tuke had got a Lot of casts of stall finials from the Minster.[1] I am now in great want of wood detail such as crockets stall finials Elbows of stalls sub sellæ &[c]. heads of kings. Linclon stalls would furnish me with all this. will you Let me know what he has got—for I am a *customer* for *a great lot* of wood detail. please direct me During the week till Saturday at the Euston hotel Euston square

London. I shall be D V in your neighbourhood as soon as the weather breaks. with kindest respects to M[rs]. Willson ever yours most sincerely

✠ AWelby Pugin

I had a Letter from Hobart town a few days ago & was deligted to find the Bishop is in such excellent health.[2] he had not of course heard of my sad loss—which weighs on me more & more every day. I have suffered dreadfully this winter the first I have passed quite alone.

[1] Probably Samuel Tuke, listed in contemporary directories as a painter living at 12 Sincil Street, Lincoln; his name appears on a front end-paper of Pugin's diary for 1842. At 23 April 1845 Pugin enters 'Mr. Tuke 27. 8 for casts H. P.' in his diary. The casts were used as models for the craftsmen at the Thames Bank workshops who executed carving for the Houses of Parliament.

[2] R. W. Willson, Bishop of Hobart and brother of E. J. Willson.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Tuesday, 25 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Tuesday.

My Dear Hardman

The railing is to be quite altered in proportion still & I do not think a single pattern will do excepting for the bottom Roses which will remain.[2] I hope you have not been casting any of it. you rember I warned you of the alterations that might always be expected till M[r]. Barry had finally pronounced—however all will be setled this time. there must be some mistake about the panels for they do not fit. they are now too Large. send me the dimensions I sent you that I may compare them & see where the fault lies.

Send up the archbishops as soon as possible.

I shall get the crowns setled this time.

I have got M[r] Sherburnes order in great part & will send the drawings. also a new brass.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 20 has been given to this letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The railing, the panels which Pugin mentions later, the 'archbishops', and the 'crowns' are all for the House of Lords. The first entry for this day in Barry's desk diary records that he was 'With Pugin at the Gov[t] Shops at Thames Bank giving orders at the Works'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Tuesday, 25 February 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I inclose you a general drawing of the Brass gates for the house of Lords—M[r]. Barry wants you to give him a price.[2] now in the first place—I should be obliged to have a model full size made here under my own eye in wood—& I think you must reckon for that £30. wax models—for the bosses—roses &[c]. pinnacles[?] &[c] £20. the 2 iron frames for each door in wrght iron with the bolts &[c] 40. The brass Pinnacle compleat £35. The rose nuts £50. 4 incriptions—engraving £12.[3] 12 open panels—6 Large & 6 small—dressed on both sides & 2 Large spandrils & 4 small £180. small shafts—twisted buds &[c]. £40. fitting up £50. total £497. I think if you was to stipulate to have all the *models furnished to you free of cost*—you might take the job at £520—but look over it—& see what you think. there is no much brass except in the panels the frame being all iron. let me have the Drawing back as soon as you can with your ideas of the price. I do not think you will be able to understand the way I propose to put them together without my explaining it to you but it will answer very well indeed & be very strong. you must send up the pattern panel of engraved arms as speedily as possible. I shall have to be in London—next week—but do not say so to anybody. I should like it above all to be up there then. you might manage this. I feel very unwell indeed but do not relax a moment from business. I have turned out a great lots of drawings. ever dear Hardman

your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box', and endorsed by Hardman: 'Charge for Dr Weedall 20/– supper mon[?] Clean Cross Sponge Earley about painting refectory at Convent sketch of M[rs]. Knight'. The letter is identified as number 19 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The 'gates', illustrated in *GP*, p. [229], lead from the Peers' Lobby into the chamber of the House of Lords. They are entered in MWDB at 18 February 1847: 'A pair of Brass Gates, on Iron Frame with ornamented Panels, Lock & Key with Hinges & Plugs to Dovetail into Wall & Screws &c.' for a sum of £808. 2*s*. Cases and packing to transport them to Westminster add £14. 9*s*. 6*d*. to the cost.

[3] The inscription is the royal 'Dieu et mon droit'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Wednesday, 26 February 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Wednesday.

My Dear Hardman

I now find that we shall have to begin quite afresh with the railing for Last night M^r^ Barry altered all the rose work at bottom & we must start quite a new pattern. he is aware of the great loss of dies &^c^. for I explained it to him & he says he cannot be helped for he must have it perfection to his mind. I shall now have to send you an entirely fresh drawing. what vexes me most is the loss of time especialy as the great gates of the house are to be made *entirely of brass* & these I am also at work at— for you. I think the plates of arms admirable. I long for the archbishops. I shall soon have a lot of them drawn out. you have no idea how I am harrassed just now. All this is a great charge in addition to other things especially as I have others to please besides myself. the carvers have started & all that is in full swing.[2] the moment the railing is quite to M^r^. B. mind you may put as much strength as you like or can on it. take care of all the old patterns as they will come very well for some Candlestics &^c^ I have in my eye & you will get paid for them besides so it will not be lost time.

I am more miserable in London than ever. it quite increases on me. God only knows how much I suffer in my mind. every place is associated with miserable ideas for me. I am quite unhappy at being forced up so much. I do not think you will see me till after Easter. I have got splendid transfer paper to draw on. I shall get all your pattern sheets done very soon as hulmandel in London will print them.[3] I send you a chalice as a specimen. I shall make a splendid view of the ware room as a sort of title to the book.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I go to Scott Murrays this afternoon & then return to this wretched place for a few days.[4]

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 65 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] It is at 5 February 1845 that Pugin notes 'Began carving for Palace of Westminster' in his diary.

[3] Charles Joseph Hullmandel (1789–1850), born in London of German extraction, was a draughtsman, illustrator, and printer; his influential *Art of Drawing on Stone*, published in 1824, helped to ensure his eminence as a lithographer. The Metal purchase ledger records a payment by Hardman of £2. 18*s.* at 26 January 1846 to Hullmandel and Walton of 49 Great Marlborough Street, London, for printing lithographs of crosses and candlesticks.

[4] Pugin enters in his diary 'London to Mr. S. Murray' on Wednesday 26 February 1845. Probably Scott Murray wanted to discuss plans for the Catholic church he decided to build in Marlow. In a letter dated 7 March 1845 and preserved in ML, Scott Murray tells Hardman: 'I saw M^r^. Pugin a few days ago. he is much better & I hope when he gets about again as usual may soon recover his spirits.'

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Thursday, 27 February 1845?[1]

Text: MS PC [HLRO 372] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Thursday.

My Dear Anne

I shall not be home entirely this week & I do exactly know when. tell Miss Greaves to give John Powell the Sovereign for the offertory on Sunday & tell him to offer it at the proper time & not forget. tell M[r]. Beard the carpenter that the 6 iron lights wch. came down are for the end window & the other will be soon down—The bricklayer will be down on Monday & he must set him to work on the foundation.

ever your affectionate father
in great haste[2]

you must not send the London after *Sunday* night. I will tell you wether to keep them or send them.

[1] The letter cannot be dated with security.
[2] The signature has been cut out of the letter.

To JOHN HARDMAN

London, Friday, 28 February 1845[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1° I send you a Letter I have recd from M[r]. Nicholson about a slip of Brass in addition for Lady Sutton.[3] you will understand what to do—& I charge you 10[shillings] for I have written *4 Letters about* it so book me that.

2 It is impossible for me to come down before Easter but try & send me a Lenten herse light & I must have a *simple chalice* for the reservation of the B sacrament for Maundy Thursday. I must finish my drawings before I start for good.

3. we have lengthened the panels & the plates do very well.[4] I have been with M[r] Barry to day to see those at S[t] Georges Windsor & they beat mine hollow. I have got a person taking rubs of them which will be of great service.

4° you may rely on my sending you the drawing for the railing as soon as possible. it is not my fault.

5. I cannot send Anne from home. it would break up our studies & system. under existing circumstances I do not like to separate the children. I cant bear the idea so pray my dear friend dont ask me.

ever ardman[5]
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

If I can keep quite clear it will be a grand thing.

[1] Pugin's diary records that on 28 February 1845 he went 'With Mr. Barry to Ockwells, Windsor and London', and Barry notes in his desk diary that he 'Accom[d] M[r] Pugin to Ockwells and Windsor'.
[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 8 has been assigned to this letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[3] The letter of James Nicholson, Sutton's agent, is preserved among ML, dated 22 February 1845 from Southwell; after acknowledging Pugin's letter enclosing Minton's bill for tiles, Nicholson continues: 'As Sir Rich Sutton has given me positive directions to have the additional Inscription on the Tomb I am very desirous of having it put on before He next Visits Tofts Church therefore you will render us a great Service by Ordering a Plate with the following Inscription in such Letters as you may please to direct

Blessed are the Dead
which die in the Lord
Rev. 14. v. 13.'

He includes the measurements of the space which is to receive the plate, and suggests another lay-out for the words if what he has written should not fit well in the available space. Another hand, apparently not Hardman's, inscribes 'A W P 10/–' at the foot of the letter. Heath's invoice charging seventeen shillings and sixpence for the plate with 'Claws at back' is dated 14 March 1845, and on the same day MWDB enters to 'Sir R Sutton Bart' of Lynford Hall 'A Brass Plate with inscription Blessed are the dead &c—1 ft $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ In', at a cost of £1. 13*s.*

Sir Richard Sutton (1799–1855) of Norwood Park, near Southwell, Nottinghamshire, and Lynford Hall, Norfolk, commissioned Pugin to design a chantry in memory of his wife, Mary Elizabeth, née Burton, who died on 1 January 1842. The first visit to Lynford noted in Pugin's diaries was made on 4 October 1844. The chantry was built at the church of St Mary, West Tofts, Norfolk, where her fifth son, Augustus, was rector. Myers erected the tomb, a drawing for which survives among the MFT papers, and letters from Myers written in September 1844 and kept in ML ask Hardman to forward the 'Toomb Top' because his workmen on the site are held up for lack of it. *GP* includes illustrations on p. 193. After Richard Sutton's death, the chantry was demolished.

Pugin describes the 'slip' of brass, with its quotation from the Book of Revelation, as 'in addition' because he had already designed one brass for this commission. MWDB enters 'A Monumental Brass to drawing for Sutton Esq' at 23 September 1844; the charge is made to Pugin 'for Lynne', and the cost is £23, plus £12 more for 'Letting into Slab'.

Hardman's DDB records the work, including ten shields, of painting the chantry and tomb at 5 December 1846; the charge is £41. 12*s.* 9*d.*, with travelling expenses amounting to £11. 12*s.* Pugin is credited with £10 for 'Drawings & designs' for the painting at 11 November 1846; at the same date the Metal sales ledger credits him with £6. 17*s.* $9\frac{1}{2}$*d.* 'By $\frac{1}{2}$ profit on painting the Chantry & tomb, for Sir Richard Sutton Bart Brandon, charged £57: 10: 0 & Travelling Expenses'.

[4] The panels and plates are for the House of Lords.

[5] The MS is torn.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — London, Saturday, 1 March 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/144 *Address*: Rev[d] J. Bloxam *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

I am perfectly amazed at what you say about Ward.[1] surely you had no idea of such a termination. after that I may look out for *your Bride Cake* for I would not have thought it possible. it will throw ridicule on the whole affair. I enclose your receipts for the payments with thanks. I need not say how *delighed* I shall be to see you at Ramsgate—you will find it just to your feelings. it is no use entering into all the extraordinary affairs of the day in the compass of a letter. I pospone it till we meet which will be I trust very soon after Easter.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] W. G. Ward had let it be known that he intended to marry. His wedding to Frances Mary Wingfield was celebrated on 31 March 1845.

To EDWARD JAMES WILLSON — London, Saturday, 1 March 1845

Text: MS JHU 24 *Address*: Edward James Willson Esq^{r} / Minster Yard / Lincoln *Postmark*: 1 MR 1 1845; MR 1 1845; MR 2 1845 in Lincoln

My dear Sir

many thanks for your kind attention to my request. will you desire me Tuke to send me all the casts he has of *Bosses*—& *finials* and as many Squeezes of Stall Elbows—*crockets* especially of the canopies—as he can. I prefer the Squeezes to the casts. I want some good *kings heads* from the stalls. some of the *Dragon* & animals would be very useful indeed. Let him Send the bill to me & the Casts to (M^{r} Bayne

Government Works
Thames Bank
Vauxhall Bridge
London.[1]

I have got the figures[?] from Percys tomb already.[2] I think there are some details to *Longlands* tomb which would answer admirably as the style is Late.[3]

I have just heard that *Ward* is to be *married*!!!! what an end to all this stir. you may well say we ought to be thankful to Sail in S^{t} Peters Ship. give my kindest respects to M^{rs}. Willson & believe me ever

yours most scincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

✠ Sabbato Post Dom III in Quad[4]

[1] Richard Bayne was the 'Practical Superintendent', the man in charge of the everyday work at Westminster.

[2] The Percy tomb is in the minster at Beverley.

[3] John Longland (b.1473) was Bishop of Lincoln from 1521 until his death in 1547 or 1548; the chantry is in Lincoln Cathedral.

[4] Latin: the Saturday after the third Sunday in Lent.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Monday, 3 March 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you some Initials for M^{r}. H Seal—which you will of course reduce to the size you require.[2]

2^{d} I will attend to the *7 lights* & send you drawings for Wymeswold Kirkam &^{c} altogether.[3]

3 you will receive from Webb a Parcel of antient iron work which I have purchased for the concern.[4] it is all I could get & as we shall have all the hinges handles &^{c} to

make I thought it would be invaluable. the white door is quite wonderful. I think it a great acquisition.

4°. I am getting everything in train at the Westminster Palace. things look better again.

5. I never passed a more wretched day in my life than yesterday.[5] I fear sometimes you will think it is affectation, but God only knows what I suffer. I feel a loneliness & depression in London that is quite dreadful & sometimes quite alarms me for it weighs me down. I do not know how I shall on—or what to do.

6. you must Let me have Lord Midletons Brass—& feretrum as soon as you can.[6] you will have to work hard at M^r^ Sherburnes things—as soon as I send them.

ever dear Hardman

your devoted friend ✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. This letter has been given the number 6 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The seal is for John Murray Holland (d.1877), who went up to Wadham College, Oxford, in 1837 at the age of nineteen; he was appointed a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and held various academic positions there. From 1860 until his death he was rector of Stanton St John, Oxford, but from 1843 to 1854 he served as curate in charge at Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, Kent.

Holland inquires the cost of a seal in a letter of 17 February 1845 preserved in ML, and pursues his interest in a letter of 27 February, stating that he will 'gladly leave it to the able hand of M^r^. Pugin—who has kindly assisted me before—to design it'. His letter of 4 March asks: 'Is M^r^. Pugin still residing at Chelsea?' The order for the seal comes in his letter of 9 March 1845, and MWDB enters to him at 30 April 1845 'A Steel Gilt Hanging Seal with Initials' at a price of £1. 4*s*. Pugin notes a charge to Hardman of five shillings for the drawing of a 'Seal—M^r^ Holland' in a list jotted on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845.

[3] About Easter 1844 Pugin began a restoration of the church of St Mary at Wymeswold in Leicestershire, which he first visited, according to his diaries, on 2 April 1844. The vicar was Henry Alford (1810–71), educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and subsequently Dean of Canterbury. Alford's letter of 5 April 1845 to the secretary of the 'Incorporated Society for promoting the Enlargement, Building & repairing of Churches & Chapels' is one item in a file concerning Wymeswold, ICBS 3598, held in Lambeth Palace Library, London. In support of the application for funds which he proposes to make, Alford dwells on what has been done so far: 'The Parish Church of Wymeswold is receiving extensive repairs, the North & South aisles being rebuilt, and the whole put into a substantial state. . . .

It is contemplated also to re-seat the entire Church with open oak seats: and it is towards accomplishing this that' he wishes 'to solicit the assistance of the Society'. On 5 July he makes formal application for aid, accompanying his request with a further description of the repairs already carried out. The two aisles have been rebuilt, and 'The whole external walls are now completed in a substantial manner and in the best style of Gothick, under the superintendence of M^r^. Pugin'; necessary repairs to the chancel are 'guaranteed' by the lay impropriators, Trinity College, Cambridge, the master of which is the patron of the living; William Whewell (1794–1866) was appointed master in 1841. The roof of the nave, however, is in a 'decayed and bad state'; if the society would consider making a grant, the architect would receive orders at once to prepare drawings. A grant of £80 was voted on 21 July 1845, on certain conditions regarding the seating, but as late as 21 April 1847 Alford is still asking when it will be paid. An illustrated account of the restoration, and of the state of the building which necessitated it, was published in *A History and Description of the Restored Parish Church of Saint Mary, Wymeswold, Leicestershire* in 1846, of which Alford was almost without doubt the author; see *Belcher 1987*, C5.

Alford begins inquiries about lighting the refurbished church in November 1844, only to discover from Hardman's reply that his first thoughts are beyond his means. He writes again, on 18 February 1845, his letter being erroneously filed in ML July 1845, for something cheaper: Hardman is to send a 'pattern for approval to hold 7 candles'; Alford first writes 'to hold 7 lights', then cancels 'lights' and replaces it with 'candles'; perhaps this change is the cause of Pugin's emphasis. MWDB enters to Alford at 13 November 1845 '2 Coronas with 7 Lights, Round Iron Coronas painted with Inscriptions & Gilded Balls & Chains' at a cost of £20, and '2 Iron Chains 29 feet long & 2 Hooks painted Blue' at a cost of £2. 6*s*.

Herbert W. Jones of Trinity College, Cambridge, interested himself in the improvement of Alford's church, as his letter to Hardman of 18 October 1845, kept in ML, reveals; the Metal sales ledger records that he paid £5 for 'additional enrichment' to the coronas for Wymeswold.

[4] John Webb of Bond Street was a leading antique dealer and a maker of furniture. Hardman's Metal ledger enters the 'Iron Work, Hinges &c. from Webb' at a charge of £5 on an unspecified day in March 1845.

[5] If this letter was written on Monday 3 March, 'yesterday' was a Sunday when Pugin would be alone and unable to work with others.

[6] MWDB enters to Lord Midleton at 30 April 1845 a 'Small Brass Plate, Holy Trinity', at a cost of £1. 4*s*. The repair and gilding of a feretrum are part of the same order, although it seems that Pugin first mentions that job to Hardman on 22 November 1843.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Monday, 3 March 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 953][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

Since I wrote to day I have got your Letter with the drawing of the railing. things are looking up at Westminster. I expect we shall soon start the *Throne chairs.*[2] 3 of them. I shall send you very shortly all the shieds & banners for the Throne. it is an imense job. I have got an extension of time for the shieds of arms round the house. the Lower tier will alone be required for the opening.[3] The tops for the chresting will be gilt—you surely cant mistake them they are so simple. M[r] Barry looks ill & harassed. it is a very difficult work & I think he finds me a great comfort to him. I assure you I have enough to do & must give up almost everything else. I shall soon be on the right side with you in the balance way—This will be a busy year—cheadle & all.[4] I assure you I require all my enery to keep square. If I did not feel so wretched in my mind it would be better but I really suffer & yesterday was dreadful. you cannot on reflection wish me I am sure to separate the chidren. they are all happy together & Anne has now a clergyman & everything. it is truly kind of you but I cant bear to send her away from the house. I have said nothing further about D[r] A so will hope it is a mistake.[5] he celebrates very devoutly And if he did not Lie so much in bed during the day he would be very ecclestical, but I suppose we cant have perfection.

The Archbishops arms arrived Late on Saturday.

if you can manage the pascal & Lenten light or either you must send them by railway to be forwarded by the London[?] & Dover line Directed *Goods train.*[6]

you must Send me *a chalice* for Maundy Thursday. that is indispensable & some *inscence* for we get wretched stuff here.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed in Hardman's hand: 'M[r] Aston Chain Maker Send[?] Messenger Mr Moore'.

[2] Barry's desk diary confirms that designs for the throne in the chamber of the House of Lords were being considered in March 1845. A number of drawings for the throne are among the many designs for the Houses of Parliament catalogued in *Wedgwood 1977*, pp. 61–70.

[3] The new House of Lords was opened on 15 April 1847; it had been hoped that it would be ready sooner.

[4] The consecration of St Giles's church at Cheadle, initially set for September 1845, was postponed for a year.

[5] Dr Acquarone.

[6] The South Eastern railway opened from London as far as Tonbridge in May 1842 and reached Dover, by gradual stages, in February 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN Canterbury, Wednesday, 5 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1. I am snowed up at Canterbury close to home & yet not able to get there.[2] the roads are several feet deep in snow—I am going to try tomorow & get across the fields on horseback. the mail cart has even been abandoned on the road & the bags brought on by the fields—it is awful.

2[d] I send you the corona & sconces for Wymeswold.[3] I can make nothing simpler—a circlet of iron with some thin pierced work & seven standards with plain pans fastened to it by the *hooks* which pass through the standards & nut on. I should not send any chain pulleys or counterweights but only the coronas. Let them find the rest.

3 as soon as I can get home you will have a whole lot of drawings. those for kirkham will require your *instant* attention & you will also have the pattern of Railing for Westminster. this is to be made *all solid.* no tubes—which is far better & it is much reduced in size. also the Lower work is simplified & *stronger.* you will quite understand it.

4[th]. I must possitively have some things for holy week & you must get M[rs]. Powell to send me the folling.

1. a plain purple silk cope with a plain velvet hood silk fringe and a Lace orphry.[4] [*Sketch: pattern inscribed 'narrow lace cross Lace red & yellow' and 'Silk', the whole sketch then cancelled*] [*Sketch, apparently replacing the cancelled one: pattern marked 'only the red & yellow cross here without narrow lace'*]

2[d]. a white silk veil. 3 yards long & 2 feet wide silk fringe at both ends & a silk cross in the middle. [*Sketch: veil marked 'hook' and 'eye'*] this is for the B sacrament on Maundy Thursday.

3[d]. I shall want the 5 grains of incense for the Pascal.[5]

4[th] if you cannot Send me the pascal & Lenten herse light in time Let me know that I may make 2 temporary ones myself—for I am resolved to have everything—done & *sing all myself.* it keeps up the principle against better days. I shall have a procession.

5 The chalice for the B S. is *indispensable.*

now—let me hear from you about all this—& Let me know if you have sent me any *inscense* & *altar breads.*

have you received my gilt Candlesticks to alter?

have you got the patterns of the silk for Cope &c—from Crace & how do you like it?

Mrs. Powell can easily send me the cope & veil. I must have them for Palm sunday.

I have got an order for a cross 2 candlestics & a pair of curtain Rods for St Georges. this is a beginging.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 14 has been allocated to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin's diary records that he was 'snowed up' for a night at Canterbury on 5 March 1845.

[3] In his letter of 18 February 1845, preserved in ML, Alford requests that he be sent 'a pattern of sconces at £1 each'. MWDB enters fourteen brass sconces to him at a cost of £12. 12*s.* at 19 September 1845.

[4] The invoice of William Cox, dated 12 March 1845, is preserved in the bundle for January to March of that year; it charges three shillings and threepence for a 'Case' and Hardman annotates it 'Hall Lamp—A W P Vestments'.

[5] The order entered to Pugin in MWDB at 14 March 1845 includes 'A Set of Incense Grains' costing twelve shillings.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Thursday, 6 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Thursday.

My Dear Hardman

I have got home at Last after a desperate journey & going round through the villages over fields &c. it has cost me above £4 to get here!!!

There is no intelligence whatever of the *Dossell* for my chapel & it ought to be up on Sunday.[2] what can have become of it. write imediately & let me know when it was sent off & how.

it belongs to Myers.[3]

I am in despair about the chapel things not arriving.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 55 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] Pugin orders the dossal in the letter which may have been written on 9 February.

[3] Pugin begins this paragraph with the words: 'I have received the inclosed. I know nothing at all about it—& think it must be something you have done'; then he realizes his error, cancels what he has just written, and adds this explanation.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 9 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Passion Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

1 I am very sorry to hear you are all so poorly but the weather has certainly been very severe. Not that we know anything of it in the house for althg we are open to the German ocean we do not feel half so cold as at chelsea & thank God the children are as hearty as possible. my house is a beautiful job as regards keeping out the weather perfectly warm & with Large rooms for the children. I always rejoice with trembling but certainly I have every reason to be thankful for their health up to the present time.

2° I got your Letter from the Euston.

3°. The Dossell arrived *just in* time Last night & was hung imedially & will do very well. The conveyance was very quick, but *heavy things* must be directed—*Goods train* or the cost is ennormous.

4°. have you remarked a Letter in the Last Tablet on The Wykham society signed *Dunstan.*[2] this is doubless D[r] Rock & is intended against me. it must be a very clever society if it is to improve what has been done Lately. I should like to see them *practically at work*—I shall not take any notice of it. I cannot afford the time but it is too bad for some really good things in their way have been done & if funds permitted would have been capital. I had a very *nasty* ***civil*** letter from him the other day.

5 I have made an entirely new drawing for the house of Lords Railing which I dare say you have received by this time.

6° be sure the chalice you send me is *consecrated* or it will be useless.

7. I send you Lots of things.

first The Drawings for M[r]. Sherburnes things—which I think you will understand. I suppose you will mount the plated crosses on Wood. you will see I have marked the Candlesticks & cross for Lady chapel S[t] Georges to be of the same.[3] This will help matters & if I was you I should prepare for 4 of Each sort. that is get the metal out & then you can finished any time but it must reduce the cost very much.

Secondly. I have drawn out a fresh top to the benediction Candlestick. *open.* that is without bottom. [*Sketch: top of candlestick*] the foot also is *stronger* & the 3 bottom feet being made the width of the hexagon cast[?] the 3 uprights will be stronger.

I send you back the prices for M[r]. Sherburne. he does not *want a bell* but he wants to borrow 6 plain candlesticks for his high altar till he can meet with a set of silver ones.[4] let him have 6 plain ones & he must keep them for common use.

Thirdly. Remember the things for S[t] Georges. Cross pair Candlicks Rods & 2 curtains of craces Stuff blue & yellow—with silk fringe—are to cost £46 so you must work to that & Leave out Engraving & accordinly—but I think you will do. the curtains will be worth with the fringe &[c] about £8. 4 yds. | 2 yards to Each.

fourthly I send you a drawing of a brass railing for S[t] Georges.[5] this you are charge to Myers. it is the bishops order & credit me £1. & thats all I want.

fiftly. I send you a brass to be sent to Rev[d] M[r] ONeil S[t] Johns Wood London.[6] Rev P. Kaye of S[t] Georges fields can furnish you with inscription arms &[c].

Sixtly I shall Leave here D.V on Easter Monday—& probably be with you by the end of Easter week—so that I can explain everything you may want.[7] Get on with M[r] Sherburnes things as fast as you possibly can. he has fixed his opening for about 3 weeks or 4 weeks after Easter but this I do not believe.[8] however he is so cross about it I cannot argue with him. have 6 Common candlesticks ready for his high altar.

I am completly fixed for time. I never was so hard up—& with a continual headache. it is very difficult to get through single handed.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[*Sketch: mirror*] I have existed with a wretched *Mahogany* glass frame in my room for want of a brass one—I arranged about some time ago.[9] have you forgot it?

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter is identified as number 60 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO. Hardman inscribes, at the foot of the first page, 'Write M[r]. Leigh
" M[r]. Scott Murray'.

[2] A letter from 'Dunstan' 'To the editor of the Tablet' forms part of a piece on 'The proposed Catholic Wykeham society', *Tablet*, 6 (8 March 1845): 148–9. Dunstan heartily welcomes the proposal to found such a society because it 'may be the means of preventing, for the future, the perpetration by architects of those glaring departures from ecclesiastical antiquity, which are, more or less, to be seen in every one of our numerous churches, without one exception, that have been built up to the present day, within the last ten years'.

A long letter from 'Ecclesiophilos' precedes Dunstan's; endorsing the proposal, he praises what has been done: 'The beautiful erections of Pugin, and his followers in the good work of bringing back the too long neglected and despised style of ancient English architecture, has [*sic*] made more converts than all the voluminous works of Britton could have effected. Nor have the writings of Pugin gone forth without producing a good result on the minds of his readers' (p. 148).

A paragraph in the *Tablet*, 6 (24 May 1845): 325, reports that action is being taken to form the 'Wykeham Society', and a notice in the *Tablet*, 6 (26 July 1845): 480, proves that the 'Wykeham Brotherhood' was founded by that time. The aim of the society is the 'promotion of a love for the study of ECCLESIASTICAL ART and ANTIQUITIES, and for the encouragement of the practice of ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL POINTED ARCHITECTURE'. Lord Shrewsbury is one among seven patrons, while Wiseman is the president, and Doyle, Rock, Scott Murray, and Weedall are listed as some of the vice-presidents; Stuart Knill is a secretary. In the ML file for December 1845 is a letter from a secretary of the society by the name of Clarke, who writes from Lincoln's Inn Fields to ask Hardman to make a seal for the society. In an announcement of the officers of the society printed in the *Tablet*, 7 (7 February 1846): 100, Pugin is listed as 'Consulting Architect'.

[3] The drawing for the candlestick for Kirkham survives, BMAG L306.84, dated 1845, and inscribed as Pugin relates: 'one pair of these for Lady chapel one pair for the chapel of the holy cross german silver plated & parcel gilt one pair for Lady chapel S[t] Georges London'; other inscriptions include 'gilt', written several times, 'plan of foot', 'Plan of knop', 'knop gilt', 'Engraved', 'blue', and 'Red'; there is also a sketch of a different cresting for the candlestick for the 'chapel of holy cross'.

[4] Hardman added a sacring bell to his list of estimated prices drawn up in response to Pugin's letter of perhaps 10 February 1845. The order for Kirkham entered to Sherburne at 10 April 1845 in MWDB includes '6 Plain Candlesticks' as if they were sold: costing twenty-five shillings each, they amount to £7. 10*s*.

[5] Pugin notes his charge of £1 to Hardman for the drawing of the 'Brass railing font S[t] Georges' on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845. The Metal sales ledger records a charge of £33. 15*s.* to Myers for a 'Brass Baptistery Railing for S[t] George's London' at 4 July 1846; MWDB at the same date yields the further information that it was 'in 4 Compartments, Twisted Rails & Uprights'. The bishop who orders the railing is Griffiths.

[6] The brass may be the 'new brass' alluded to in the letter which Pugin probably writes to Hardman on 25 February 1845 from London, where he could see Myers through whom the commission came. It was to commemorate Edward Wallis, who died in January 1844 at the age of seventy. Peter Kaye writes from St George's, Southwark, to Hardman on 10 March 1845; his letter, filed in ML, relays information from the donor: the memorial is 'to be placed in S[t] John's Wood's Church', and '"M[r] Pugin can make the shield in whatever shape he judges best. The arms are a red field with a silver bar across on which are five ermine tails or in heraldic style, Gules fess ermine"'. John Peter Kaye (1817–84), from Lancashire, educated at the English College in Lisbon and ordained in 1842, was a priest in London.

James O'Neal was the priest at St John's Wood; MWDB enters to him at 8 July 1845 'A Monumental Brass for E. Wallis, Esq[r]. in Black Marble Slab &c Complete', which together with the 'Fixing in S[t] John's Wood Church, London', costs £30. Heath charges £11. 6*s.* 6*d.* for work on the brass at 25 April 1845, according to the Metal purchase ledger, and the 'Black Marble slab . . . for M[r]. Wallace Monument' was supplied to Hardman on 4 July by William Cook, whose invoice for £3. 19*s.* is preserved in the bundle for July to September 1845. When it was delivered to London later in the year, O'Neal found the brass, of which a rubbing is reproduced as an illustration in *Meara*, p. [143], and in *Andrews*, p. 106, objectionable.

[7] Pugin went up to London on 24 March, Easter Monday, according to his diary, and was in Birmingham by Friday 28 March.

[8] St John's, Kirkham, was consecrated on 22 April 1845 and opened the following day.

[9] MWDB enters to Pugin at 30 May 1845 'A Looking Glass, with Brass Stand', for a charge of £3.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Sunday, 9 March 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

M[r] Sherburne wants a *brass Credence* table like those you have made—so get one in hand imedialy—indeed if I was you I would make a coupble or more.[2] 2 is there any intelligence of my missall that was to be bound.[3] I have quite Lost sight of it? you will not get the railing drawings till the post after this as I had to arrange some difficulties with M[r]. B. about it.[4] I receive the inclose note from Miss Ryland.[5] Look & see what she means about the word in the inscription.

I am driven to the Last moment.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box' and, in Hardman's hand, 'M[r] Poncia'. The letter is numbered 63 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] MWDB enters to Sherburne at 14 April 1845 a brass credence table for £7. 5*s.*

[3] 'A Missal bound in crimson velvet with supplement & Gilt & enamel[d] Nuts' is part of the order entered to Pugin in MWDB at 12 March 1845; the charge for it is £14.

[4] Mr Barry. Barry's letter to Hardman of 12 March 1845 is preserved among the Hardman papers in BCA; it encloses altered drawings for the railing, and asks Hardman to make one compartment accordingly as soon as possible and send it to Thames Bank for approval.

[5] Louisa Ryland's letter of 8 March 1845, kept in ML, is concerned that the name Sherburne be correctly spelled. Her letter supplies the date suggested for this letter.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Monday, 10 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; MR 10 1845 in Ramsgate; 11 MR 11 1845; MR 11 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I quite forgot yesterday—to send you the estimate prices of M[r]. Sherburnes things. also his Letter of *authorization* which you *better keep*.

The price of the brass for S[t] Johns wood is *altogether £30*. out of this I want £3 for the designs & Myers will want 2 for fixing.[2] I have kept the cross &[c] very simple. it is small & think with £25 clear you will do. You will perceive there is very litle detail in it & the figures are easily done.

I have only one altar bread Left. I hope you have sent me a good lot.[3] we have mass *every day* all the year round.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

have you received the iron work from Webb?[4] it is very fine & you say nothing about it.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has the number 61 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Pugin makes a memorandum of his charge of £3 to Hardman for these designs for 'brass S[t] Johns Wood' in a list on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845. The Metal sales ledger credits him with this sum for the 'Drawing of Brass for E. Wallis, Esq[r].' at 8 July 1845.

[3] The order charged to Pugin in MWDB at 12 March 1845 includes '6 doz Altar Breads' at a price of five shillings.

[4] Pugin tells Hardman about his purchase from Webb in his letter of about 3 March.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, early to mid-March 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/14[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I am anxious to have my *small* frame as soon as you can.[2]

Dear Sir

The Rev[d] M[r]. Sherburnes adress is the Willows
Kirkham
Lancashire. his christian name is Thomas. you must therefore alter the I into a T S.[3]

The name for the head of the bishop is Ceaddae.[4]

respecting the patterns.

1 I think the Black & gold Looks very well.

2 I do not like the black lines round the gold pattern in the *red* so well as the first

pattern which had a red ground & lighter Red round the pattern. I think you will understand what I mean. the black lines Look too harsh.

3[d]. the blue you have sent is not surely meant for *purple.* the church purple is deep Like purple velvet.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.
[2] The frame is for the portrait of Louisa Pugin, perhaps ordered in mid-January.
[3] Pugin superimposes one initial on the other to form a monogram of T and S.
[4] i.e., Chad.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Friday, 14 March 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; 15 MR 15 1845; MR 15 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I inclose you D[r] Wisemans Reliquary.[2] the centre cross is intended to be gold. [*Sketch: cross*]

The Large Candlesticks for Kirkham are to be *brass.*

I am anxiously looking—for the box of things.

I have never worked so hard I think in my life as at the present time. I keep at it incessantly from 7 till 10 at night. it is a great strain on the head but I keep up. I take plenty to eat. *plain* but wholesome.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

the cold is INTENSE.[3] the Reliquary Drawing is £1. 1. 0.[4] I must make everything pay something for my expenses are quite enormous. 3 times what they were.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been assigned the number 32 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.
[2] MWDB enters to Wiseman at Oscott at 12 September 1845 'A Silver Parcel Gilt, & richly engraved, & set with Stones, Pearls & Enamels, Relicquary of Holy Cross' at a cost of £35. 15*s.*, with 'A Marone Morrocco Case' costing £1. 18*s.*
[3] Pugin's diary also registers the severe weather: 'Intense cold and frost' from 9 March to 15 March, 'heavy snow' on 16 March, and 'Very cold' from 17 March to 21 March.
[4] Pugin makes a note of 'D[r] Wiseman reliquary 1. 1. 0' on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845, in a list of charges to 'J. H.' for designs.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, mid-March 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 353][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 the base of the standing candlests was made with a view to some that I expect will be wanted—soon, you can make them plain for ushaw.

2 you will not tell me anything about Nicholls—what is become of him. what will he do—is he not going on again?

3 rember my small tinned handles.

the cold is intense—it actualy froze with a fire in the room all day.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWPugin

I go on about the same.

[1] The letter is written in pencil; perhaps the ink was frozen.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, mid-March 1845?

Text: MS PC Franklin [47][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

if a cheese is sold for $2^{d}\frac{1}{2}$ a pound how much will a rood screen cost. [*Sketch: cheese with price label of '$2\frac{1}{2}$', inscribed 'observe the Prices'*] [*Sketch: screen*] [*Sketch: block of cheese marked '$2^{d}.\ \frac{1}{2}lb$'*]

New Rule of 3. Query { what is relative Value between the price of cheese at Cheadle & Elisabethan grates?[2]

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I never heard of anything so dreadful as your reducing the value of the cheadle screen by the price of *cheese*!! I have hardly got over it yet—but seriously speaking it is impossible to finish it without a carver—& it will be far more economical to get one than to have Harris spending his time over vile immitations.[3] he is a capital mechanick. in tracery &c he is excellent but he has not the Least idea of cutting folige & the cusps spandrils &c should be beautifully done. I am quite sure that the ends he cut at the hospital screen & which are very tame & bad cost in Labour far more than an expert carver would have done them for. the screen is intended to be a perfect thing of the kind & it would be completly spoilt if the carving is bad & it is the only wood carving in the whole church. I think I have found out a capital man for the painting a young artist no above such work but who understands the spirit of it well.[4]

It is too bad to blame me for *advocating* the same pattern for Sitting room & bed room ceilings. I *consented* because your Lordsip was againts stencilling & for using printed paper & I agreed to it to save a block. I really consented with the best & most *economical* intentions—therefore it is a most unfounded charge that I *recomended*

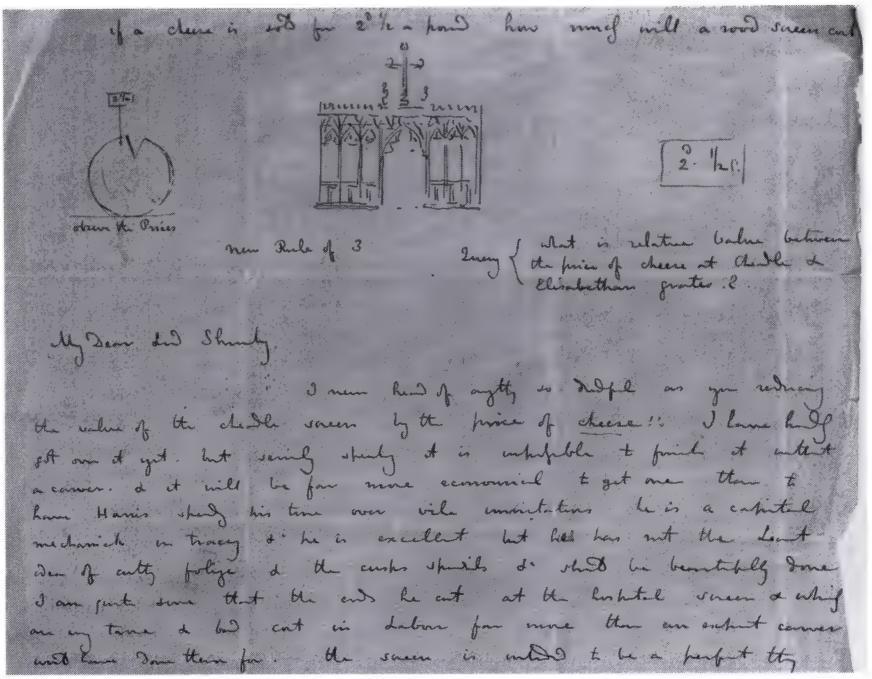

Figure 8 A joke about the price of cheese, cracked with Lord Shrewsbury perhaps in mid-March 1845

this argmnt. I was in fact betrayed by a *momentary weakness* to consent. I will never make any 2 things alike again. I am only too delighed to vary everthing. I perfectly understand all about the papers—and I expect to see M^r^. Crace early in the week.[5] I will do everything to the best of my judgment & try & combine economy with taste. what your Lordsips says about the masons is very disgusting but Denny should have told me so *at once.* hower my good intentions may go for something & I pity the wives & children. they are innocent sufferers. touching the envelopes I bought £2 worth only a short time ago & also enclosed my Letters to your Lordsip in them *fitting beautifully* but I am out & have been too busy to get any more. by next time I write I fully expect to have a supply. I am sure I do not Lose much time—& in fact the Letter was written on the Railway.

the Glass for all the north windows will be at cheadle by the early part of april & I expect some by the end of this month. the pattern for the gallery paper will Look very rich.

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips most devoted & faithful Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The opening of this letter is reproduced as Figure 8.

[2] *Fisher*, who picks up the pun on 'cheese-paring' in this elaborate joke, explains the inclusion of 'grates' as 'a reference no doubt to the Elizabethan-style chimneypiece which the earl had recently installed in the small dining room at Alton Towers . . . upon which no expense had apparently been spared' (p. 80).

[3] Another hand cancels the second 'm' of 'immitations'.

[4] This is almost without doubt an allusion to Thomas Earley. Pugin tells Hardman in his letter of 6 April how pleased he is about the arrangement Hardman has made with Earley.

[5] Pugin was in London from Monday 24 March to Thursday 27 March 1845.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS — Ramsgate, Sunday, 16 March 1845

Text: MS AAW A81/5[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Dom. in Palm. 1845[2]

My Dear Lord Bishop

It was an antient custom to perform sevice on the progress of Bishops kings &[c] & when your Lordsip comes to administer confirmation I *claim* the right of service in the way of Lodging & entertaining your Lordsips during your stay in Thanet.[3] It would really distress me if your Lordsip did not make S[t] Augustins your head quarters—*it is the only house in* the *Island fit to receive a Bishop* & I can give your Lordsip a Bed that would have done for Wykeham himself—all I beg is a notice of your Lordsips arrival that I may be in the way—I will have my children prepared for Confirmation againts the time—I am very anxious to shew your Lordsip all my arrgmts. the Land I have purchased for the church, & the plan of the buildings—your Lordsip may rely on the rubricks being fulfilled to the Letter in all the ceremonies of holy week—I have everything that is required for the solem celebration of the sacred rites and a *side chapel* for the reservation of the holy Eucharist on Maundy Thursday. I have received a complet set of ornaments for Easter Sunday—& a missall bound in gilt plate & ennameled which is magnificent. if God spares my Life & grants me means I will erect a church worthy of kent in the old time. all my means & energies will be centred on This undertaking.

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

Right Revd D[r]. Griffiths—& &[c] &[c]

[1] The MS is endorsed in an unidentified hand: 'M[r] Pugin Ramsgate annd 19 March 1845'.

[2] Latin: Dominica in Palmis; Palm Sunday.

[3] There is no record in Pugin's diaries that Griffiths visited The Grange.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 16 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins. Palm Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

I am perfectly deligted with the things that arrived here Last night. I think the missal the best thing that has been done. it is magnificent. the engraving & ennameling are perfect—you forget when you say that I am off your books that I yet want an altar cross ennameled for which I made a drawing some time ago. I am very much pleased with my hall Lamp.[2] it Looks exceedly well & simple—I am going to make a counterweight for it here. I have devised a plan for strengthing my brass bed by means of collars round the posts—for which I will send you a Drawing & the 2 ends—in a case. I shall want to get this done as I expect Bishop Griffiths will come here before Long & I must Lodge him in that bed. the cross & candlesticks for the prie Dieu are beautiful.[3] I see imense improvement in all that is done. I think M[rs] Powells needlework quite perfect in its way—I enclose a Letter for her—about some more things that I want. I will write as soon as I get the pascal. if mine Looks so well you better get Cheadle made like it.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

we had a very good function on a small scale this morning.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 67 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] Pugin waited quite some time for his hall lamp, which is first mentioned in the letter which he may have written to Hardman on 13 October 1844.

[3] 'A Pair of Silver Gilt CSticks for Prie Dieu' is entered to Pugin for £14 in MWDB at 12 March 1845.

To LORD SHREWSBURY March 1845?[1]

Text: ST, App. 6, p. 12 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

All I entreat of you is not to spoil Cheadle. It would be far better to take *another year* to finish than leave out the details of Cheadle and —— I do not see how we can do without the wood carver.[2] He left a job on purpose to come to us and it is very essential to get on with the screen or we shall never get done. Besides, he is not an expensive man.

[1] The letter seems to follow shortly after the one which Pugin may have written to Lord Shrewsbury in mid-March 1845. A date at the end of the previous year is given in ST.

[2] The long line indicates some illegibility. Perhaps this is the carver about whom Pugin tells Lord Shrewsbury that he has written to Denny, in the letter which may be dated 24 October 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Tuesday, 18 March 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Tuesday. Evening

My Dear Hardman

I am happy to say that the Candlesticks have arrived all safe. in cheadle Pascal alter the feet & make them Larger & of greater projection. I will set it out when I come. I merely mention it for they Look too small. otherwise the Candlestick is a magnificent job but it Looks top heavy—from the feet being small. There is also one other mistake in the Quatrefoil shaft peices. [*Sketch: quatrefoil*] they are too Large in Diameter. They should not be Larger than the neck A which should be the circle of which they are the quatrefoil. [*Sketch: candlestick with neck marked 'A'*] [*Sketch: quatrefoil in circle*] we must rectify this in cheadle—& then it will be very good indeed. The tenebrae Candlestic is perfect. you are a famous man & have redeemed yourself—for all past sins. I see there is to be a Dole on Good Friday at S[t] Chads.[2] you may give £1 in bread for me. I will pay it you out of my Easter Offertory. dont forget.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Powell is working at the Railing. all you object too can be rectified.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 12 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Good Friday fell on 21 March in 1845.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS Ramsgate, Wednesday, 19 March 1845

Text: MS HCRO PE1/744/9 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate.
March. 19. 1845

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I have recd a Letter from one of your churchwardens M[r]. Robinson informing me that the specification I sent with the drainage is Lost—& requesting another.[1] I cannot do this without reference to the drawing as I do not keep copies of these documents. I shall be in your neighbourhood very shortly & will come to Beverley & set all right in this respect on the spot.[2] I will give you a few days notice of my arrival that I may have the pleasure of seeing you.

I remain dear sir
with Respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] James Mowld (or Mould) Robinson (1800–75); the census of 1851 describes him as a surgeon and apothecary, chemist, druggist, wine and spirit merchant, maltster, brewer, and corn factor. Pugin writes to Sandys about the drainage of St Mary's on 18 August 1843, but matters proceeded slowly, as appears from Pugin's letter to Sandys of 28 or 29 November 1844, by which time he had sent the original specification for the drainage. The duplicate asked for here is likely to be the undated specification, MS HCRO PE1/732, of the 'work to be done in draining the north side & south side of S[t] Marys church. Beverley', written and signed by Pugin. There are variations between the original specification and this replacement, the significant one being that in the later case the drain is to be laid on the south side of the church as well as the north.

[2] Pugin next went to Beverley on 11 April, according to his diary.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Sunday, 23 March 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/2[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Easter Sunday.

Dear Sir

I expect to be at Thames bank D.V on *Monday* evening tomorrow between 5 & 6.[2] if you could meet me there we could arrange about the panels.

yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.

[2] Pugin's diary confirms that he went up to London on Monday 24 March.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 23 March 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Easter Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

My functions have gone off Gloriously. I assure you everything was really well done & we kept up the watching of the B. S. from 8 on Thursday morning till 8 Friday morning.[2] the chanting was very good considering I had to sing nearly all myself—but Powell will soon sing. I have a *beautiful organ.*[3] nothing was wanting. everything arrived in time even to the salt cellars for to Days diner which *are capital* ‡.[4] Powell Makes an admirable sacristan. no monastery could have the things in better order & in truth my chapel is splendily furnished. what a deal of real delight these great people Lose for want of coming out in good church things. the chapel is the greatest blessing. It gives quite a tone to the whole house—& now when the organ plays it sounds through the whole building. you must come this sumer.[5] it is

quite a paradise. I fully expect to be with you on Friday next by one of the morning trains.[6] I will write again.

ever your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

‡ be sure when you send anything write *goods train.* that litte box for want of that superscription cost 3 times what it would otherwise have done.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 68 has been allocated to the letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The Blessed Sacrament.

[3] Pugin's diary records that the 'Organ came' on 22 March.

[4] Pugin orders the salt cellars in his letter to Hardman of possibly 14 January 1845.

[5] An undated letter which Hardman wrote on a 'Wednesday' from Ramsgate is filed in ML August 1845; it can be assumed to have been written late in the month, for Pugin was on the Continent until 17 August and then in London from 19 August until 22 August; it is most probable that the letter was written on 27 August. In it, Hardman tells James Powell that 'The house here looks glorious'.

There is no trace in Pugin's diary of Hardman's visit. Other visitors to The Grange also are not noticed there: Francis Whitgreave tells Hardman in a letter written on the 'Octave of S[t]. Edward', 20 October 1845, and filed in ML, that he has just spent some weeks at Ramsgate and seen 'much of Pugin, and your nephew with whom I am greatly delighted'.

Others again came when Pugin was away. Pugin kept a letter written by the artist William Etty (1787–1849), noting at the top of the page that it came from 'M[r] Etty'. It is preserved in one of the *Catalogues of the Royal Academy of Arts, illustrated with Original Drawings, Autograph Letters, & Portraits*, compiled by E. B. Jupp, where it has the reference MS R.A. JU/10/65.

14, Buckingham Street
Strand London
Sunday August 3, 1845

A W. Pugin Esq
My Dear Sir

Since I last had the pleasure of seeing you I have had the pleasure of seeing your house—and tho it was a great drawback on our pleasure not to see you—yet my admiration of the whole I have not words to express—and the beautiful way you have arranged the whole, and last not least in my estimation the beautiful way you have done without that abomination, paint—and shown instead of its opacity—the natural and consequently beautiful transparency of the wood!!! we were very glad to see your dear Children all looking so well—and we met with a very civil reception—we had come from Dover by sea and making a little tour round the coast—finished by a visit to the shrine of my admired St Thomas, and glad I was that that beautiful gate of St Augustines Monastery is restoring—by M[r] Hope—which I have so long admired and deplored being a brewery[?]!—I trust you are well my dear Boy! for the sake of "The Faith of red[?]" your Country and your Friends who love you for your own sake, and for those of the foregoing Reasons—

—When you have a moment to write a line I should be glad to hear of you or see you which would be still better. May God bless you and yours

My Dear Boy
and believe as ever your attached friend
W[m] Etty

Etty's reference is to the early fourteenth-century Great or Fyndon gateway of the ancient St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. The site of the ruined abbey was bought in 1844 by A. J. Beresford-Hope (1820–87), who commissioned William Butterfield to oversee some restoration and to design St Augustine's College, where Anglican clergy would be trained for missionary work; according to the *DNB*, 'devotion to the church of England was the leading feature' of Beresford-Hope's life.

It may have been on the occasion which prompted this letter that Etty, famous for his nudes, painted the picture of which *Powell* tells the story: 'Etty came during Pugin's absence and was so enchanted with

the house that he declared it inspired him and he must paint! When in his simplicity he exhibited the result to the shocked household it was, of course, an Eve standing on a white cliff against a perfect blue Ramsgate sky. If his friend had been at home, things would have gone badly with that picture sketch' (p. 190).

[6] Pugin reached Birmingham on Friday 28 March, according to his diary; coming as he did from Bilton, he could arrive early.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — March 1845?[1]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/50 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I herewith forward you the drawings for the East wing—There are many points which I must explain to Brown & which I can do better on the spot than by Letter. excepting the window mullions & caps of small octagon the whole is to be executed in brick—if the ceiling of chantry is to be executed in red pine it will be only necessary to work the tracery panels by the machine. I shall be in London very shortly—& will see to it.

you have not sent me the height of the terrace for which you want the staircase. if you will do this I will forward you a proper drawing. the above sketch will give you an idea of the sort of thing it should be.[2]

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] This date is suggested because of the references to the ceiling of the chantry in Pugin's letters to Drummond of 5 April and 13 April 1845, but it is by no means secure; before Pugin's letter to him of perhaps 4 December 1843, Drummond was seeking to substitute red pine for the oak which Pugin wanted.

[2] There is no sketch of Pugin's with the letter; a plan of a staircase drawn on the verso of the MS is clearly not his.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — En route, Wednesday, 2 April 1845?[1]

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/16[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London & Birmingham Railway. Wednesday

My Dear Sir

1 I entreat of you not to abandon the angle turret hastily. it is the only effective feature we have in the whole design. the cloister as you propose will be a very miserable thing. of course I can do it with 2 turrets but I sure it will not be half so good. pray reconsider it before you decide.

2 I thought the other window was at Albury. I received Letter Long ago stating it was on its road. The Glass painters name is Wailes and his direction is Westgate newcastle on Tyne.

3 The words Nisi Dominus &c are to be cut in stone.[3]

4 I have several sketches of antient Bridges—& when I know the nature of the scite I can select one that would be adapted for it. stone would be far better than wood.

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert
✠A Welby Pugin

[1] The date is suggested by the subject-matter of the letter from Pugin to Drummond which can be reliably dated to 13 April 1845, and by Pugin's diary which shows that his only journey to or from Birmingham on a Wednesday before that date was made on 2 April.

[2] The letter is written in pencil.

[3] The first verse of Psalm 126 in the Vulgate: Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt qui ædificant eam. In the Authorized Version, as the first verse of Psalm 127, it reads: Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it. The verse, which is carved on a panel on the north front of his own house, The Grange, appears on various buildings with which Pugin was connected.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, about Thursday, 3 April 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/13[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

please to finish the frame & alter the red in the arms to gold & Send it to J. Herbert Esq[r] N° 1 Gloucester Road old Brompton.[2] after the exibition you will have it back to finish & to paint in the inscriptions. I think it would have looked better in oil gold. there is always a poor effect to me in mat & burnish but this we cant help—only the future I should prefer it.

yours truly
✠A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1845*'. The letter is quoted in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 233.

[2] The frame is for Herbert's portrait of Pugin, which is to be exhibited at the Royal Academy. Works for display had usually to be submitted after the end of the first week in April.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — En route, Saturday, 5 April 1845

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/4[1] *Address*: H Drummond Esq[r] / Albury house / near Guildford / Surrey *Postmark*: AP 5 1845 in Nottingham; AP 7 1845 in Guildford

✠ April 5th[2]

My Dear Sir

I have got Mr. Pratts estimate for executing all the tracery & mouldings of the chantry ceiling in seasoned oak.[3] it is £68 which is full 40 percent less than you could do it in the ordinary way. I hope you will let me get it in hand at once as I want to have it finished painted & gilt this summer & I can send you a capital man for the decoration—as soon as the roof is fixed.[4] let me hear from you as soon as convenient & direct to me at Alton Towers—Lord Shrewsburys.[5]

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.
[2] Pugin's diary records that he travelled on this day from London to Sileby, Wymeswold, and Nottingham.
[3] Pratt was a dealer in furniture and antiquities in New Bond Street, London.
[4] The 'capital man' is Earley.
[5] According to his diary, Pugin reached Alton on 14 April.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — En route, Saturday, 5 April 1845

Text: MS HCRO PE1/761/2[1] *Address*: Rev T Sandys / vicarage / Beverley *Postmark*: AP 5 1845 in Nottingham; AP 6 1845 in Beverley

✠ Midland Counties Railway[2]
Saturday

Rev & Dear Sir

I purpose coming to Beverley on Thursday next or Friday at Latest but probably Thursday the 10th.[3]

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.
[2] The Midland Counties railway, completed by June 1840, ran from Derby through Nottingham and Leicester to Rugby; in May 1844 it amalgamated with the North Midland railway and the Birmingham and Derby railway to become the Midland railway.
[3] Pugin's visit to Beverley is entered in his diary at Friday 11 April.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Nottingham, Sunday, 6 April 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esqr / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: AP 6 1845 in Nottingham; AP 7 1845 in Birmingham

✠ Nottingham Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

your attack of influenza is a sad job both for your own account & for all others. I will never seduce you out again for I dare say I came in for all the blame & I shall never face Anne after this.[2] write to me Post office Beverley. I expect to be there on Thursday. I am very glad you have arranged with Early for I think he may be a most useful man—I should like him to do S[t] Georges fields Lady chapel—for Kearns will be so busy at cheadle & it will be of great service to me—I want that done for a pattern.[3] be sure & write again imedially & Let me know how you are. between you & me I see clearly we shall have another year for the house of Lords but this is quite a secret & only my supposition but I do not think it is possible to complete it for next year.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Pray dont neglect sending off M[r] Sherburnes things.[5] I shall have a good order for M[rs]. Powell for cheadle in the linen way—albs altar cloths apparels Pall &[c].

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 31 has been given to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin was in Birmingham from 28 March to 31 March, and made a stop there on his way from Liverpool to London on 2 April, according to his diary. Anne is Hardman's wife.

[3] Filed in ML March 1845 is a letter from Earley to Hardman which makes plain that Hardman is undertaking to employ Earley for the next three years. Earley heads his letter 'Peper Harrow', and dates it 'Tuesday night'; perhaps it was on the last of the Tuesdays in March 1845, 25 March, that Earley accepted Hardman's terms; in the normal course of events, his letter would reach Birmingham on 26 March or 27 March, and Hardman could tell Pugin while he was in Birmingham about the arrangement that had been made. It is apparently the chancel of St Nicholas's church at Peper Harow that Earley is painting, to Pugin's design.

M[r]. Hardman

Sir I recieved your letter of Sunday last and I very much delighted with your kindness and return you many thanks for the great Interest you take in my welfare. I am very much pleased with the arrangements you have made with M[r]. Pugin and I am perfectly agreeable to engage myself in your service for 3 years on the terms you propose and I hope I shall in A Month or two become something like A Workman in my new occupation and if I am A little awkward at first I am sure from what knowledge I have of your kindness towards me that you will over look it. Dear Sir I am quite as Strong in health as ever I was in the whole course of my life. in fact I am A new man for I have not experienced one of those violent attacks of the Stomach since I left Birm. I must when I return endeavour to pull up for lost time in the choir but as for me again appearing in the Sanctuary as I were wont to do I feel I never can do that but in any subordinate place in the choir I will do my best to fill—and again those who taunt me with past misdeeds must do it when I am not by for I feel as if I had already suffer'd enough for that great indiscretion. I am working from 5 till 9 in order that I may return to Birmingham on the Saturday before Whit Sunday for I ardently long to get once more to St Chads a place dearer to me than all others. . . . I dare say I shall be able to get A small house somewhere near the manufactory and Church. perhaps Sir you would to me and let me know if there any place near you that might be likely to suit me. I have finish'd the Chancel Ceiling and it is the most beautiful I ever saw not because I done it but the effect of the whole place is magnificent too good for purpose it is intended for.

I remain your very humble & obedient
Servant Thomas Earley

Towards the end of this letter Earley wrote 'perhaps Sir you would write to me' but then cancelled the

word 'write'. Pugin makes a note of Earley's address at '31 Nelson Street west' in Birmingham on the page facing p. 3 in his diary for 1845.

The previous history of Thomas Earley is not known. He has lived in Birmingham, is Catholic, and does not enjoy good health; the nature of his 'great indiscretion' against Hardman is not revealed. The passage omitted from his letter concerns another painter, by the name of Jones, who left Souter's employ to work with Earley. It is possible that Earley before this time had also been employed by Souter, whom Hardman certainly contracted for some of his decorating work; Weedall, for instance, expects Souter to paint the chancel at Leamington. There is no firm evidence for this supposition but it may explain how Earley comes to be painting at Peper Harow where Pugin is in charge.

Another letter written by Earley to Hardman about this time survives, kept in ML April 1845; it is dated from Peper Harow on 'Monday Evening'.

My Dear M[r]. Hardman

I have just done work for the day and can partly see my way in the work. it is A most beautiful Ceiling and will take me at least 6 weeks if all goes on well. I saw Lord Middleton this morning and he was pleas'd that I had commenc'd right vigorously. yesterday I could not hear Mass. the distance from where I live being 14 long Miles & I being very much Tired after knocking about to get to this out of way place and walking about till near 10 O Clock on Saturday evening before I could get Lodging's will I think be sufficient excuse, Dear Sir I hope you will endeavour to arrange matters Birmingham as soon as you can as M[r] Myers intimated to me on Saturday last in St George's that I was to hold myself in Readiness for in a few days I should have to go Lynn in Norfolk to paint a Chapel so that I cannot make any definite arrangement till I hear from M[r]. Pugin. enclosed with this is the Size of the pannel for the Lamb also the size of the pannel for I H S with the size of Shield in Chantry which you will please to forward to M[r] Pugin on the first opportunity, please to write a few lines to me if have time. it will give me great consolation to hear from one I have so much unintentionally injured.

I remain Dear Sir your very
humble Servant
Thomas Earley

A 'List of Colours Brushs &c belonging to Thomas Earley purchased by M[r]. Hardman May 10[th].1845', drawn up by Earley, is kept among the Hardman invoices for April to June 1845. Earley has '4lbs of Best Pale Vermillion' worth £1. 6*s*., '$7\frac{1}{4}$ lbs of Best Ultramarine' worth £2. 11*s*. 4*d*., varnish, oil, turpentine, size, '5 Books of Gold', various tools, brushes, '1 Duster' valued at two shillings and eightpence, '2 Palate Knives', and '1 Stone Muller'. Hardman settles the account, which totals £6. 6*s*. 10*d*., on 17 May 1845.

Earley carried out the decoration of the Lady chapel at St George's later in 1845, beginning, it seems from his letter to Hardman dated 6 August, about 8 August. The reference to Lynn may indicate the church of St Mary in King's Lynn, for the painting of the chantry for Sutton is not entered in DDB until December 1846.

[4] Pugin's 'supposition' was correct: it was almost two years to the day after this letter was written that the House of Lords was opened.

[5] Hardman was prompt in despatching Sherburne's numerous 'things'. MWDB enters at 10 April 1845:

6 Small Standards for screens	4	16	
4 Large D° D°	4	4	
1 ft 9 In High to let into Stone			
A Holy Water Vat & Sprinkler	1	12	
A Small Sacrying Bell	2	2	
3 Cases for Relics		16	6
A Model Chair		3	2
A Brass Lamp	5	10	
A Counterweight—Pulley—10 yds	1	5	6
Cord—Tassel			
6 Plain Candlesticks	7	10	
4 D° D°	3	4	
2 D° Altar Crosses	4	4	

With boxes and packing, the total cost amounts to £36. 11*s*. 8*d*. These goods are followed by Sherburne's

order in MWDB at 14 April 1845: '12 Consecration Crosses & Branches' for £6. 6*s*., 'A Small Gilt Pro Cross' for £7. 10*s*., 'A Brass Rail for Pulpit' costing £9. 5*s*., another brass rail 'small & Plain' for six shillings and sixpence, and a brass 'Credence Table' at a price of £7. 5*s*. On 23 April Hardman sends 'A pair Brass Elevation Candlesticks with Corona Tops' which cost £40, and on 24 April a pair of brass processional candlesticks 'with Inscriptions in Enamel, paint &c' costing £6.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ushaw, Sunday, 13 April 1845[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/25 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Cuthberts Ushaw. 3[d] Sunday after Easter

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

I was deligted to see your hand writing for I was fearful you had quite forgotten me. if you will Let me have the form of the certificate you wish I will forward it to you imedially but as I never had anything of the kind before I am ignorant of the way in which it should be worded.

I shall be at *alton* Lord shrewsburys All next week so pray write to there.[2] I saw Bernard Smith Last week exceedinly well at Oscott. he was acting as Mitre bearer. I have been worked over hard Lately—and now I am quite alone I feel at times quite overpowered. the loss of my poor wife weighs heavier on me every day. no one can tell what I suffer. I shall be delighed beyond measure to see you at S[t] Augustins. you will find it exaclly to your mind—and were circumstances different I should enjoy it exceedly. I hope to see you at oxford before very long.

I remain ever with respect dear M[r]. Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] Pugin's diary furnishes the year.
[2] Pugin crossed to Alton on Monday 14 April; his diary does not make clear exactly when he quitted it.

To HENRY DRUMMOND — Ushaw, Sunday, 13 April 1845?

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/47 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Cuthberts Ushaw

My Dear Sir

I sent you Pratts estimate for the Ceiling *Last week* & resquested you to allow me to put it in hand at once.[1] he agrees to work the whole of the mouldings & tracery panels &[c]. *in oak* for the sum of £67.[2] if you will agree to this pray write to me at *Alton* & I will put it in hand or we shall not get done this year.

I do not think there is any hope of the Large window for 5 or 6 weeks.

I am very much grieved about the loss of the turret as it was the only thing to give a character to the building but of of course I cannot make you have it. I dont think giving up the cloister will be any improvement for then we shall have nothing at all to Look at but some square windows—the arches vanes & inscriptions would have produced some effect. I hope you will keep it.

ever with respect
your devoted sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The estimate was sent in the letter to Drummond of 5 April.
[2] The price in Pugin's letter of 5 April is £68.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Ushaw, Sunday, 13 April 1845?

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 695[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Cuthberts College. Ushaw

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

your Letter of the 3[d]. has only just reached me. I was at sileby a few days ago but had not time to go to Loughborough.[2] I was in hopes of seeing you—at the college.[3] I have been so much driven for time lately that I have been obliged to go from Place to Place without hardly stopting. I am now going to Lord Shrewsburys where I must remain the whole of next week—that is till the 20[th]. I entreat of you therefore to Let me know the nature of the comuncation you have received from Bruxelles—by sending me a letter for I shall be obliged to go direct from Lord Shrewsburys to attend a meeting of the parliament comissioners in London.[4] My Letters are not opened by anyone whatever & therefore perfectly safe. I have been very ill indeed this winter but am now thank God much better. I exert myself to the utmost but God only knows what I suffer in my mind. I feel the loss of my poor wife dreadfully & my house is most melancoly. I have great consolation in having mass everyday & I endeavour to keep up the Catholic system in my family—we had all the ceremonies of holy week very well performed & keept silence from Holy Thursday till Saturday—the dear children are very devout & seem to love their religion. Those of sufficient age have all made their confession. we have compline every night at 8. all this is most satisfactory but worn down as I am by intense application to business I feel lonely beyond description when all are gone to bed & I am left to work—& I miss my poor wife dreadfully. this of course depresses me very much—& destroys my rest. I do not complain or say anything on the subject—but I know it affects my health. I am well aware that we ought not to look for any real comfort from Eartly things, or human aid & I endeavour to reconcile my mind to everything but there are times when I feel quite overpowered. I shall be very glad indeed to hear from you & trust

you will write to me on the receipt of this—& let me know what you have received from Brussells. anxiously expecting to hear from you & beging your prayers & blessing I remain dear Father Gentili

with great respect your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

Please Direct to me at Alton Towers.

[1] The inscription '1844' in an unidentified hand at the top right of the first page of this letter is unquestionably wrong.
[2] Pugin called at Sileby on 5 April.
[3] Ratcliffe College, near Sileby.
[4] The communication from Brussels is likely to concern the Amhersts.
Barry's desk diary notes that he attended a meeting of the Commissioners of Fine Arts on 18 April 1845, at which it was decided to have stained glass in the windows of the House of Lords, but Pugin tells Gentili here that he will still be at Alton Towers on that date. Barry's diary proves that Pugin was in London on 22 April, when Barry 'Acc^{d} Pugin to Thames Bank & gave him directions as to works', and on 23 April when Barry went 'To Thames Bank with Pugin gave him instructions as to the works—For^{d} to him parcel of Drawings & letter to Ramsgate', after which 'Pugin returned to Ramsgate'.

To JOHN HARDMAN

Ushaw, Sunday, 13 April 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ushaw Sunday.

William Powell has sent me 2 cards. why does he have cards printed? it is humbug. why is his wifes card the Largest?[2] what is the symbolism of that? does he mean to go about visiting & Leave cards?!!!!

My Dear Hardman

1 you must positively have the Railing in London by *Tuesday week* or it will never be settled for then I shall have to go to Ireland & it will stand over for weeks.[3]

2. I enclose you a sketch for the Brass for M^{r}. Leigh which will be I expect just what they want.[4]

3^{d}. I intend coming to Birmingham on Monday week—when I can see about the Land.[5] I am rather sorry for this as it will stop us making a good job at the convent.

4th. I am deligted to hear you mend. I fear it was my fault drawing you out.

5. Things look very well at Ushaw. Large chasuble apparelled albs at Mass.

6th. There is another cheap candlestick maker at Newcastle. he makes your candlestics 30^{s} a pair cheaper & the only difference they say is that his are the best!!!

7 I have had a very cold journey for the Last few days.

8. you must direct to alton during the week.

9th. pray get on with cheadle things. I hope you have sent off M^{r}. Sherburnes candlesticks &^{c}.[6]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have been in a miserable state for the Last few days. I dont take the Least delight in anything.

write to me at Alton & let me know if M^r^ Sherburne has ordered branches & consecration crosses.[7]

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 33 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] William Powell married Martha Tidmarsh of Kemerton on 8 April 1845; Martha was eighty-two years old when she died in 1903.

[3] Pugin sailed for Ireland on 21 May 1845.

[4] It is not clear which of two brothers commissions this brass but MWDB charges it to J. H. Leigh of Belmont near Northwich, Cheshire, at 23 January 1846. James Heath Leigh (1796–1848) entered Lincoln's Inn in 1818 after his education at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; his brother John Leigh went up from Eton to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1815 at the age of seventeen, and served as rector of Egginton, Derbyshire, near Burton-on-Trent, from 1824 until his death in 1856; they were sons of Joseph Leigh of Belmont. The brass was a memorial to their father: when it is entered in MWDB, a space is left for a Christian name which was never inserted: 'A Monumental Brass in Black Marble Slab, for Memory of Leigh Esq^r^.' The entry in the Metal sales ledger supplies the information: the brass is laid 'to memory of Jos^h^. Leigh, Esqr., of Belmont'. The cost is £55, to which 'Setting above into Yorkshire Slab, large enough to cover Vault', adds £5. 15*s*. Heath's invoice, dated 1 November 1845, and preserved in the relevant bundle in BCA, accounts for £24. 15*s*. 9½*d*. of that sum: besides supplying the metal and the usual finishing work, including '12 Rubbings mounted', Heath engraved a 'Central Cross and 2 Coats of arms, surrounded by inscription (the letters in relief) and Evangelists at Corners'. Some correspondence in ML concerns the order; John Leigh, although he knows that the brass is 'executing', wonders in a letter from Egginton on 28 April, whether the pelican can be included in the design; he writes from Belmont on 22 July about the 'Lozenge in the second quarter'; James Leigh reports on 7 October that he likes the rubbing that has been sent but would prefer the base of the cross to be larger; on 12 October John Leigh instructs Hardman to provide the York slab and make the brass, complete with rings for lifting, as it is to cover a vault. The brass was laid in the church of St Mary at Great Budworth, about one mile from Belmont Hall; the Buildings of England volume for *Cheshire*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard (1971), remarks, in a parenthesis initialled by Hubbard, that there is 'On the floor of the nave an unusually good Victorian brass to Joseph Leigh' (p. 228), who died in 1840.

[5] Pugin's diary has no entry for Monday 21 April.

[6] Some candlesticks were part of the order for Sherburne despatched on 10 April; elevation candlesticks left Birmingham on 23 April.

[7] The 'branches & consecration crosses' are part of the order entered in MWDB at 14 April.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Alton Towers, Tuesday, 15 April 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/3 *Address*: M^r^. J. Crace Jn^r^ / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: AP 15 1845 in Cheadle; 16 AP 16 1845

✠ Alton Towers. Tuesday.

Dear Sir

do not send the shields off till my studio is finished—as I have no place to put them up. I am very much obliged to you for them.

The frame is very good but it would have been far better in oil gilding.[1] twice as good. I hope you have sent off all the Kirkham things.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The frame is for Herbert's portrait of Pugin.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Alton Towers, Wednesday, 16 April 1845

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 847[1] *Address*: Rev[d] D[r] Gentili / Catholic Chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire[2] *Postmark*: Cheadle[?]; AP 17 1845 in Loughborough

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

I received your letter this morning & Lose no time replying. I cannot tell you how astonished I am that M. should think of making such a proposition to me after all that has passed.[3] if there is a spark of truth honour or fidelity left in her she must know that she is solemnly bound to me and while I have life left I will never release her nor will I destroy a single proof of the truth of what I assert or give up these actual pledges of her *constancy* (I use the exact word) which she sent me but even a short time ago. I do not think she has stated the case truly to you & therefore I will, a few months ago about 3 she wrote to me—after a Long corespondence—to write to her in such a maner as would Lead to an explanation between her & her mother & she assured me that she should then open her mind fully to her mother. I *did as she desired* but when the time came her heart failed her & when she saw her mother was angry she *denied having given me any Encouragement* & having thus comitted herself by this falsehood she knew not how to recover herself—while I was of course exposed to the greatest insults which I have borne quite patienlly. in the midst of this she wrote to me in an *agony of distress* & to give her all possible consolation I consented to what few would have done under such circumstances. I agreed to live quietly & wait for better times provided she *remained faithful* & I gave her a solemn promise of fidelity on my part. the Letter in reply to this I could shew you. she says I have made her *perfectly happy reiterates her promises*—& *declares she is quite reconciled to everything as long as I do not forsake* her. this was the Last private comunication I recieved until your Letter of this morning—now after all that had passed I think the request that I would give her up for the sake of her peace of mind is the most monstrous instance of faithlesness on record. when in all my late misery & God only knows how heavily it still weighs on me—she promised to divote her life & energies to me. when the thoughts of her kindness litteraly kept me alive—how could I imagine that within a few Weeks she would make such a request but I declare most solemnly that nothing whatever shall induce me to relinquish her promises—& I charge her before God with the vilest perjury if she deserts me. nay more—she will bring dishonour & ruin on herself—& destruction on me but—I will never Leave her while one spark of life remains in me.

no man could have offered more than I have done to live a life of singleness for her sake till better times offered, I would have waited quietly for years. all I asked and (*mind, which she promised*) was her faithful affection—but if she attempts to cast me off, she will Rue it in a maner she litte thinks—if ever there was a human being whose ideas pertfectly coresponded with my own in all respects—who perfectly understood all the great objects to which I devote my life it was her & to imagine that after knowing her mind & character as I do—after all she has said, promised, & done that I could renounce & forget her & turn to others, is a monstrous insult—trifling with real affection is a great & crying sin & if after the conduct she has pursued, she desertts me—she is as much a murderess as if she stabbed me thgh the heart—I as you know abominate the world & fashions & the emptiness of Society. I work & study incessantly—never Leave my home & draw frequently till midnight. M. I know—& she has often assured me shares perfectly in all these feelings. she has told me she would unite in every good work & make every sacrifice for the advancement of the cause. I could have lived with her even as a sister. anything to have had her aid & support. my utter solitude overpowers me & I sink with depression, even a few lines of encouragement from her from time to time would have kept me up, but her desertion of me in this maner is monstrous. it makes me perfectly frantic & if she persists I will face her & then with the *pledges of her constancy in my hand charge* her solemnly before God of the most shameful perfidy. she cannot deny her own acts & words—& I say that she would stand before God & Man a *monster of infidelity*. I have a just cause—& I will never give it up. her burning my Letters was her own act.[4] I did not desire it. I am not ashamed of them but I will never destroy hers—do not imagine my dear Father Gentili that I allow these miseries to turn me from the great ends. I am incessant in my application hoping by the blessing of God to raise a church before I die, this is my great aim. I have purchased a splendid scite for a church at Ramsgate & if I live but a few years I trust to erect a chgh in honour of Englands apostle S^{t} Augustin close to the spot where he Landed. I allow nothing to interfere with this great object—I persevere thgh all & I hope to suceed—but I need not tell you how desperately I feel this present business. If I pretended to be entirely dead to human affairs I should be a hypocrite—& without counting or presuming too much on human means for happiness I think you must own that M is a person—to whom a christian man might be united & carry out every Law & precept of God & the Church—and receive great support & consolation. I suppose you will soon write to M. if so pray inclose the *paper I send with this*, It will inform her of my *firm & unalterable determination*. beging your prayers I remain ever dear Father Gentili

with great respect your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed: 'Lettera del *Pugin* in cui protesta altamente e appassionatamente contro la decisione di Mary Amherst di lasciarlo. Dichiara di non volere assolutamente scioglierla dagli obblighi di fidelt̀a che ella ha contratto con lui. Unisce una lettera per la medesima. Segue un biglietto in cui (dietro le esortazione del Gentili) richiama a se la lettera alla Amherst, non volendo andar contro la volontà di

Dio.' The Italian translates: 'Letter of *Pugin* in which he protests strongly and passionately against Mary Amherst's decision to leave him. He declares himself absolutely unwilling to release her from the obligations of fidelity which she has contracted to him. He encloses a letter for her. A note follows in which (in consequence of Gentili's exhortations) he asks that his letter to Mary Amherst be returned to him, not wishing to go against the will of God.' This 'note' is Pugin's letter to Gentili of 29 April 1845.

Leetham, pp. 225–7, quotes the letter in full, with some variant readings, and dates it 1845.

[2] Pugin writes 'Private & immediate' at the top left of the address panel.

[3] Mary Amherst.

[4] The initial 'b' and the final 'g' can be deciphered in the otherwise shapeless word Pugin first wrote; a second hand, perhaps his own returning, has added 'urning'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Alton Towers, Thursday, 17 April 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Thursday.

My Dear Hardman

It is quite miserable to hear of your being weak—at a time when you want all your strength. all good men are ill & fools—get strong. I am not ill except incessant headache but I have a continual depression & miserable feeling that weighs me down but I shall say no more about it. I do not like complaining.

(business.)

1. Remember. Denny makes the chains & counterweights for coronas at Cheadle & he wants the *weight* as near as you can tell.

2. you must send Lord Midletons Feretrum & the brass that was cut for him to Tattons hotel Berkeley Square London.[2] he is now regularly up & insists on having them dead or alive.

3. you must order a kitchen range like mine & yours for the hospital at alton.[3] This is the size. [*Sketch: space for range with dimensions '6.0' by '1.10½'*]

you may expect me Early on Monday Morning. I do know how or which I way I shall come but I shall shew up early at Charles Street.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 28 has been assigned to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin reminds Hardman about this commission in his letter of 22 November 1843.

[3] MWDB enters the range for St John's Hospital to Lord Shrewsbury at 9 July 1845 at a price of £19. 10*s*., with an extra charge of £3. 10*s*. for a man's travelling expenses and time to fit it. The range was bought from 'Jones & Walker, General Iron Founders', of the Phoenix foundry, Snow Hill, Birmingham; their invoice, dated 30 May 1845 and kept in the bundle for July to September 1845, describes '1 economical Cooking Apparatus fitted with 2 Ovens Wrot Iron Boiler with pipes & Brass patent Tap, the whole forming a Complete Stewing Stove & made expressly to Mr Hardmans order'; the charge to Hardman is £19. 10*s*. Denny's letter of 8 July asking for the range to be forwarded as soon as possible is held in ML 1845, as is his urgent plea of 19 July that a man be sent to assemble it.

[4] Clearly Pugin has omitted 'not' in this sentence.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT

Alton Towers, Thursday, 17 April 1845?[1]

Text: MS Penn VF Lit *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton. Thursday.

Dear Sir

I have not the dimensions of the window you mention by me but I should think filling the tracery with the 3 archangels & the spandrils with folige would cost about £8 or £10 but of course the cost—depends on the Quantity of Glass. it will be worth about 30^{s}. a foot so you can calculate yourslf.

if you decide on having it done please to send the paper templets to me at Ramsgate & I will send them with the drawings to Wailes.

ever dear sir
yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed with this date in an unidentified hand beside Pugin's day; he was at Alton on this day, according to his diary, and it was a Thursday; the subject-matter points to this year too, for Pugin is living at Ramsgate and still having glass made by Wailes.

To FREDERICK HOBSON[1]

Ramsgate, late April 1845?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/732 *Address*: F Hobson Esq^{r}. *Postmark*: none

✠ S^{t} Augustins Ramsgate

Sir

I have looked over the tenders—& they are a curious proof of very small knowledge builders in general posess of the value of work.[2] No 1 is a deal too high & No 7 rediculous below the mark. I think the job is worth about £500 if *really well done* & it is no use engaging with a man who has not a price that will ennable him to carry out the work properly. I think therefore the matter rests between No 4 & 5—both Beverley men. one is 498. the other 479. I rather incline to No 4 as he seems to write like a man who understands what is wanted but you on the spot will know which is the most respectable man of the two.

The floor of south porch may be lowered but if we find any practical difficulty in so doing we might ascend 2 steps from the outside. I think the water from the pipe on the other side of the porch might be brought down to the Eastward of it—& so obviate the necessity of taking the drain beyond or round the porch which I wish to avoid. as soon as the ground is removed I will come down & see all that will be

necessary to be done in the way of underpinning the basement which is I expect in a very bad state.

I remain sir
yours most obently[?]
✠ AWelby Pugin

F Hobson Esq[re].
vestry clerk

[1] Frederick Hobson, who died in 1899 at the age of 79, was, as Pugin indicates at the end of his letter, a vestry clerk at St Mary's, Beverley; according to a memorial plaque, he was officially connected with St Mary's for fifty-seven years. In the census of 1851 he is described as a clerk to the Commissioner of Taxes.
[2] MS HCRO PE1/783 is the advertisement calling for tenders for the drain; it is dated 15 April 1845.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, Tuesday, 29 April 1845?[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/154 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins—2 Feria of the Rogation[2]

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I am willing to undertake M[r]. Rookes church—if he wishes it & will give me a litle more time for I am so driven for the next 2 weeks that every hour is an object.[3] I am fearful of taking unecessary journeys & therefore I find it quite necessary to let people know before hand that My time is exceedinly valuable & overwhelmed as I am with business I cannot take journeys to no purpose. *twice* last year I was dragged down to remote & difficult places of acess by persons who did not contemplate doing anything particular, at a great loss of time & money.[4] I had no idea however that M[r]. Rooke was known to you—or I should have been satisfied. with the imense Quantity of detail required for the internal decorations of the Houses of Parliament you may easily imagine that my time is incessanlly occupied. I assure you for the present I have not even the relaxation of the comon labourer for I am at work before 6 & do not leave off till near 11. at night & with all this I cannot get through. you may conceive I dreaded passing a whole day on a coach under these circumstances but if you will let M[r] Rooke know that I will manage to come to him if he wishes in about *2 weeks* from the present time. pray explain to him how I am worked. perhaps I shall hear from you on the subject.

ever dear M[r] Bloxam
in haste
yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The date is indicated by Pugin's day combined with his diary, which records a visit to Rampisham in Dorset on 15 May 1845.

[2] The minor rogation days fall on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension; Ascension day, the sixth Thursday after Easter, fell on 1 May in 1845.

[3] Frederick John Rooke went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1835 at the age of seventeen; he was appointed rector of Rampisham in 1845. The 'several words crossed through' at 14 May 1845 in the transcript of Pugin's diary in *Wedgwood 1985* look like 'Rev J Rooke Rampisham'. Pugin restored the chancel of the church of St Michael at Rampisham for F. J. Rooke.

[4] One of these 'persons' is likely to be Henry Champernowne.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 29 April 1845

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 875[1] *Address*: Rev[d] Father Gentili / Catholic Chapel / Loughborough / Leicestershire *Postmark*: Addington Place; AP 29 1845 in Ramsgate; 30 AP 30 1845; AP 30 1845 in Loughborough

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

under the circumstances you mention it will be better for you to send me back my Letter & I inclose an envelope directed all ready.[2] I will say no more at present on the matter. nothing can impede the will of God & we shall see the result.

ever with great respect dear father Gentili
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The full text of the letter is quoted in *Leetham*, p. 227.

[2] Pugin asks for the return of the letter to Mary Amherst which he encloses with his letter to Gentili of 16 April.

To CHARLES BARRY — not later than April 1845

Text: *A. Barry*, pp. 55–6[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My dear Mr. Barry,—1. By to-morrow, Monday's, night coach, I will send you all the detail drawings in pencil for the three rooms you give me: general portions $1\frac{1}{2}$ scale, details real size. I hope they will be what you wish.

2. You will find a rough pattern crown in London to offer up for the west front; it was delivered to Mr. Groves, the clerk of works.[2]

3. I want another order like the last to send off with another man to squeeze.

4. I purpose coming to London next week and see after the carvers.[3]

5. I gave Wailes a good blowing up for his heavy glass and bad greens, and he has offered to finish another specimen on a different principle at his own cost, to which I have agreed. It will be well to think of some of the square badges for the river front windows.

As we have now begun in good earnest with the work, I wish to state exactly my views on the subject to prevent any misunderstanding.[4] First, for the 200*l.* a year, I agree to

furnish drawings and instructions for all the carved ornaments in wood that may be required. Secondly, that all travelling expenses whatever connected with the above work are to be paid extra to that sum. My residence being at Ramsgate, my journeys to London must be considered as travelling expenses, and paid accordingly, unless I am compelled to take the journey for other purposes not connected with the work. Thirdly, I am empowered to send persons to collect squeezes, &c., and all expenses connected with that object, or the purchase of original models, to be paid from time to time according to the accounts I will furnish you, and all journeys which I make for the purpose of finding out proper models. Fourthly, all drawings for glass, metal works, and tiles, &c., will be paid for in the estimates of the same, according to the rates we agreed. Fifthly, you must include the expense of preparing these detail drawings in the estimate of the fittings, and I will furnish you with the cost of them as you may require. Sixthly, *I am only responsible to you in all matters connected with the work. I act as your agent entirely, and have nothing to do with any other person.*

I mention these things that we may have a perfect understanding at starting, for it is a great work and will occupy the greater part of my time. There will be upwards of 1000 detail drawings of ornaments for the carvers in the House of Lords alone; but I need not speak of these matters to you, who know as well as I do what is required, only I mean to devote all my energy to the business, and, of course, it must answer my purpose. I have increased my shop at Ramsgate, so that I shall be able to have all the figures and difficult parts modelled under my own eye; this will cost me about 200*l.*, but I don't mind expense and trouble if we can obtain a good result.

I expect the railing will be in London by the time I come up, so that a compartment may be tried.

You will see in the drawings of Peers' Conference Room I have indicated stencilling in the panels of ceiling. I think you should introduce this, it is so easy and cheap, and yet so effective for inscriptions, &c. Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELBY PUGIN.

[1] *A. Barry* states that the letter has a postmark of Amiens and that it was written on a Saturday; but Pugin's text refers to tomorrow as Monday, and his diary records no visit to Amiens that corresponds with the content of the letter at all. The visit in May 1844 is too early for his collaboration with Barry, and by the time of the second recorded visit, late in March 1847, he was on his way to Italy where he spent several weeks, and the House of Lords was on the point of being opened. The internal evidence of the letter points to a time early in 1845.

[2] Frederick Humphrey Groves became, in the words of M. H. Port in *The Houses of Parliament* (New Haven, 1976), 'superintendent of the office and works at Westminster' (p. 105) for Barry in August 1839; an architect, he remained in that post, inspecting the works 'daily or even twice a day', until April 1845, when he resigned to 'set up his own surveying practice' (p. 106).

[3] Pugin notes in his diary that he 'Began carving for Palace of Westminster' on 2 February 1845.

[4] *A. Barry* does not state whether or not the italics in his transcript are copied from the MS.

To FREDERICK HOBSON — Ramsgate, Saturday, 3 May 1845

Text: MS HCRO PE1/732 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate May 3

Sir

The Tender you have selected appears very low for the Quantity of work to be done but as you know the party to be a responsible man—that is sufficient.[1]

1 The Drain constructed of common brick set in wandsworth lime & sharp sand will be quite sufficient for the Purpose.[2]

2. I think the excavation better be made by degrees carrying on the wall & drain at the same time beggining from *the lower end.*[3] what I meant in my Letter was, that would come down after the excavation was made before the *flagging* was laid.

3 The set offs must begin from the foundation of the wall but it is impossible to say the exact depth of this foundation till the ground is opened—there must be a hard sound bottom to begin upon or the wall will not stand & the set offs must be at the base of the wall.

4 I will send the pattern for pipes.

I remain your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

F Hobson Esqre

[1] The only tender for the drainage preserved in this set of MSS is that of Thomas Oxley who submits a price of £350 on 25 April 1845, MS HCRO PE1/780; perhaps Oxley's was the tender accepted, well below the estimate which Pugin makes in the letter he writes to Hobson probably late in April.

[2] Pugin's second specification for the drainage, MS HCRO PE1/732, calls for the 'mortar to be made of the best Wandsworth blue lime'.

[3] Pugin wrote 'the whole of the excavation' in point 2, then cancelled 'whole of the'.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1] — Ramsgate, Sunday, 4 May 1845

Text: *Tablet*, 6 (14 June 1845): 370[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

St. Augustine's, Sunday in the
Octave of the Ascension.

MY DEAR —— I have almost given over the hope of seeing any real good effected by the School of Design, which ought and might have been made the most powerful engine in creating a school of national artists, imbued with the love of that art which is associated with our history and customs—men who would have combined all the beauties of the old Christian artists with the encreased anatomical knowledge of our times, and who would have adapted the spirit of the ancient designs to our

present wants and necessities. I felt assured this was the only means of creating a set of *working artists* in metals, wood, glass, &c., which are so much wanted. I had hoped that the great *fundamental principle* of adapting the style of ornament and enrichment to *the nature of the material employed* would have been inculcated, and, in fine, that the exquisite productions of the gold and iron smiths, enamellers, glass-painters, carvers, &c. of the middle ages would have been placed before the students for their study and improvement; but, instead of all this, I perceive the same stale ideas are being propagated on an encreased scale, that have been in vogue for the last twenty years. I see the same Pompeian Arabesques Greek casts, and Pagan productions that have been drawn from over and over again, and have failed in producing a single artist whose ideas or designs have been adapted either to our country or our wants. They re-produce nothing but Pagan ornaments, which, however beautiful in themselves, are utterly unsuited to our purposes, and which illustrate neither our faith nor our Government. They are, in fact, mere miserable adaptations of obsolete designs, appropriate only to the nations and periods in which they were invented.

I am anxious that this very age and this country should be distinguished by a style of its own, founded in principle on the Christian schools, but carried out in all the majesty of nature. My masons and carvers work entirely from natural leaves and flowers, disposed in geometrical forms and the result is excellent, and I am quite satisfied that this was the method adopted by the old men.[3] I am also having a lay figure of natural size prepared, which I will have draped in different costumes, and shall then be able to produce the most majestic folds from reality. If all this was adopted at the school of design, and the students well instructed in *historical antiquities* connected with England, a fine class of national artists could be produced, capable of decorating our public buildings and churches, and skilful operative artists would be formed for our manufactures. I do not use too strong language when I say that the school on its present system is worse than useless, for it diffuses bad and paltry taste.

I have not seen a single piece of ornament that had anything original or national about it; nor do I see any practical *smiths*, glass-*painters*, brass-*workers*, *carvers*, &c. produced. It is in fact a mere drawing school, and does not improve the taste or knowledge of the operative in the least. I could write a volume on the subject, and only wish I had time to go more into the matter with you, but I am sure you must feel the truth of my remark. I hope soon to see you and explain my views at length.—
Yours, A. WELBY PUGIN

[1] When a letter from Pugin very similar to this is printed in the *Builder* of 2 August 1845, it is stated to have been written to J. R. Herbert.

[2] This letter is printed under the heading 'Mr. Pugin on the school of design': see *Belcher 1987*, A36. An editorial introduction praises Pugin highly and scarifies the School of Design as 'the clumsy, pampered, full-fed and full-feed establishment at Somerset House'. The national School of Design was set up by the government in 1837; the director in 1845 was Charles Heath Wilson (1809–82), who succeeded the painter William Dyce (1806–64) in 1843. Its alleged failure to produce artists was a topic of public concern at this time. The publication of Pugin's letter is said to be due to the allusion made to his opinions in a previous

issue of the paper; 'The School of Design', *Tablet*, 6 (17 May 1845): 306–7, refers to Pugin's 'deliberate condemnation of the whole proceeding hitherto adopted' (p. 307) at the school, which he is convinced is 'worse than useless'.

[3] 'My masons and carvers' are particularly the craftsmen at the government workshops at Thames Bank, employed on the new Houses of Parliament.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, early May 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you some candlesticks & a bracket & Lamp for alton Hospital.[2]

2. what have you done about the ciborium for Southport.[3] it is on my concience?

3 I dare say I shall pass thgh Birmingham the Latter part of next week.[4]

4 if you write to me on Monday or Tuesday direct to me at M[r]. Hulls 109 wardour street oxford street.[5]

I cant sleep at all even at Ramsgate.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I hope you have sent everything to Tagoat.[6]

you must let me have the cost of the brass work for Miss Rylands tomb by *Monday* in London as she is to pay on—*Tuesday*.[7]

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 3 has been allocated to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] Perhaps these are the '6 Brass Standards' for £13. 16*s*. and the 'Brass Bracket Lamp, with Solar Lamp & Glass' for £3. 6*s*. charged to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 20 November 1845.

[3] Pugin reports in his letter to Hardman perhaps written on 27 December 1844 that he sends the drawing for the ciborium for Southport.

[4] Pugin arrived in Birmingham on Saturday 17 May and left for Alton the following day.

[5] Pugin was in London on Monday 12 May and Tuesday 13 May, leaving for Bath on 14 May.

[6] The goods entered in MWDB at 13 May 1845 for the church at Tagoat, Wexford, are charged to Pugin: two brass altar crosses for four guineas, four plain brass candlesticks costing £3. 4*s*., six brass battlement candlesticks at a price of £9, and a tabernacle and cross for £21. The Metal sales ledger debits Pugin £37. 8*s*. at the same date. The new church built to Pugin's design at Tagoat was not opened until 18 June 1846.

[7] Pugin first discusses this commission in his letter to Louisa Ryland of 10 May 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 11 May 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; MY 11 1845 in Ramsgate; 12 MY 12 1845; MY 12 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I leave tomorow morning for London—& Several places.[2] I cannot tell when I shall be at Birmingham but will manage to Call somehow or other. Cope from

Manchester is here & much delighted.[3] the mass this morning was very good. we sang as far as we have got. Miss greaves plays the music you sent capitally. I shall be very glad of the rest. we shall then be able to sing a compleat mass & I wish for nothing better. remember I shall want one more pair more of the plain altar candlesticks which will make me compleat—you can send this with my glass frame & bedstead.[4] [*Sketch: candlestick*] I shall not be at home—but Powell will put it up. at present have no bed to give any body—& it is a great inconvenience. I am sure they might soon finish the altered pieces for ends of bed—I expect in about 3 months the offices &[c] will be all compleated & I shall be clear of working. the whole place looks beautiful—& in beautiful order.

I shall hope to hear from you in London. I have incessant headache which is a new thing for me. if I cant work at the pump I shall soon sink.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I inclose you a Letter I have recd about the blank profile of M[rs] Chaloner that was sent to Heath.[5] pray answer this to M[r] Dale for I dont know anything at all about it.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 54 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Pugin's diary corroborates this announcement.

[3] In a letter of 17 October 1844 held in ML, Charles H. Cope, a layman, describes himself as being, when it comes to ordering furniture for St Wilfrid's church, Hulme, 'general whipper in for the parish'. On 8 December 1844 he writes to Hardman again: 'We are now busy decorating our Chancel for which Pugin has sent us a glorious design—By this time next year there will not be a more beautiful interior in all England. By the Bye I wish you would give me Pugins exact address at Ramsgate for really his calligraphy is so eccentric we can none of us make it out and as I want to make him a remittance for his designs it will not do to trust to guess work for it.' On the front end-paper [b] of his diary for 1845 Pugin notes Cope's address at 28 Princes Street, Manchester, and on the page facing p. 3 he repeats this address and adds '2 vine Grove Greenheys'.

[4] A pair of brass candlesticks worth £1. 12*s.* is entered to Pugin in MWDB at 30 May 1845. The order includes 'A Looking Glass, with Brass Stand' for £3, and 'Bed Repaired' for which no charge is made.

[5] The letter which Pugin forwards is concerned with the memorial brass for St Oswald's, Old Swan. There was uncertainty about another element in Pugin's design for it, the Challoner coat of arms. ML May 1845 contains a letter of 17 May from a London agent of Edward Challoner's asking Hardman to send Pugin's sketch for the brass so that he can obtain from the Herald's College some information which Challoner wants. In ML July 1845 are several letters from Robert Dale, who upon occasion gives his address as Oak Hill, which is at Old Swan and is Challoner's address; Dale sends various representations of the coat of arms.

To CHARLES SCARISBRICK — Ramsgate, Sunday, 11 May 1845?

Text: MS Lancashire RO DDSc 78/4 (15)[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Ramsgate whitsunday.

My Dear Sir

Since I returned home I have been thinking over the subject of the convent drawings and I really cannot undertake the working drawings at the sum you propose.[2] it will not give me even *a decent remuneration for my* time—and as I am continually obliged to refuse business at the full comission on account of the impossibilly of getting through so much—it would be a positive loss to me if I were to agree to your proposition. I have a Large family & am advancing in life & I really must turn my knowledge to the best advantage. I have every wish to meet your intentions but I cannot afford to lose money—or work on the same terms which I did as a young man almost without expenses. if you wish me to undertake the building I must have—the usual comission 5 per cent if I superintend the work & 2½ for the drawings & my journeys expenses extra. this is what you would have to pay any other architect—& certainly I am well worth the same. indeed in buildings that have much detail I do not work for that. I think it better to be explicit on this matter. I do not work at a penny less—than the regular remuneration—& if you do not like to allow it I must relly decline the job for I cannot afford to do it at the price you mentioned.

I remain with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is transcribed in *Scarisbrick Hall: A Guide*, compiled by Rachel Hasted (Lancashire, 1987), p. 21. Pugin's address and day make the date of 4 April 1844 given there impossible; and there is a significantly different reading in the first sentence, where Hasted prints 'current drawings'.

[2] No visit to Scarisbrick Hall about this time is noted in Pugin's diary but he was in Liverpool from 31 March until 2 April and possibly saw Charles Scarisbrick then.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1] May 1845?[2]

Text: MS Penn VF Lit *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

being absent from home I cannot tell wether the ecclesiologt for May has been sent or not but but I do not imagine it has. I shall not to fail to call on you when I come thgh cambridge.

ever yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin's correspondent is not in orders, has some connection with the *Ecclesiologist*, and appears to live in Cambridge; perhaps he was John Sutton, eldest son of Richard Sutton, but there is no proof.

[2] It is impossible to be precise about the date, but perhaps the handwriting suggests 1845 or 1846. The *Ecclesiologist* for May 1845 contains uncomplimentary remarks about the designs for altar frontals in Pugin's *Glossary*.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Monday, 12 May 1845[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; MY 12 1845 in Ramsgate; 13 MY 13 1845; MY 13 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I send you a drawing of a plate for the P. at W. on a different principle—it must be cut in very strong & the coloured parts grounded out or rather hollowed out so that the red & white parts of manteling may be filled up with colour Leaving the metal fillet between them.[3] [*Sketch: section of plate*] The whole ground is an engraved diaper. I think you will understand partly what I mean. the rest I will explain when I come.[4]

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin left Ramsgate early enough on 12 May for Barry to enter 'Pugin afternoon' in his pocket diary, MS RIBA DC/Ba Fam 1(a). 6, at that date.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter carries the number 27 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[3] The Palace at Westminster.

[4] Pugin reached Birmingham on 17 May.

To ANNE PUGIN London, Wednesday, 14 May 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 250] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Tell M[r]. Powell to Send M[r] Crace up some of the arms as soon as possible.

My Dear Anne

tell M[r]. Powell to send my letters to Alton Towers
cheadle till—next Monday evening—
Write to me & let me know how all goes on—& how the evening services for the month of may answer.[1] love to all.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

I wish you to have batter puddings done under the meat. it will be a good thing for the children. you can only have them under *beef*.

[1] Pugin was at Alton from 18 May to 20 May.

To JOHN HARDMAN Liverpool, Wednesday, 21 May 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: MY 21 1845 in Liverpool; MY 22 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

1 I have arranged with the Liverpool people to have Early to do the ceiling which will take him off your hands for the next 6 weeks or so.[2] I inclose a Letter to him.

2. all the Large vanes Palace at Westminster will have to be altered & it is no use going on with the *crowns* till one of them gilt & finished has been sent up & fixed & the sooner you do this the better. it is very agravating but there is no help—the only comfort is they must pay. I am quite worn out with alterations. finish one crown & Let them have it. I suppose the railing order passes on Friday, give the inclosed to Earley. I am just going to sail—for Dublin.[3]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Direct to me—Presentation convent Waterford.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 21 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament at St Oswald's was not painted until 1846, but perhaps, if Earley went to Liverpool at this time, it was other work that he did. Hardman's DDB begins at 19 July 1845.

[3] Pugin's diary records that he sailed from 'Liverpool to Dublin at night' on Wednesday 21 May and was at Waterford from 24 May till 28 May. The convent was one place which Pugin visited in Waterford: Sister Mary de Sales Cooke assures Hardman in a letter written on 29 July 1845 and kept in ML August 1845 that 'M[r]. Pugin greatly admired' the statues of Saints Joseph, Joachim, Philip Neri, and John of Nepomuk which the convent had lately acquired from Portugal.

To ANNE PUGIN Wexford, Saturday, 24 May 1845

Text: MS PC [HLRO 305] *Address*: Miss Anne Pugin / S[t] Augustins / Ramsgate / England *Postmark*: MY 24 1845 in Wexford; MY 26 1845 in Ramsgate

Wexford Saturday.

My Dear Anne

I am safe at Wexford.[1] I will write again in a day or two. I travelled two days & nights without having my Clothes off—& I was very fatigued.

tell M[r]. Beard that the Lead on the roofs must be done in a *simple* manner & not like the ridges on the house.[2] the spouting must be plain iron spouting but he can Leave that till I come if he does not understand it.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

Send me Letters up to Friday next—Post office Dublin.[3]

[1] According to his diary, Pugin reached Wexford on 22 May; at 23 May he enters 'Enniscorthy', and at 24 May 'Tagoat and Waterford'. Presumably he made Wexford his base until he moved on to Waterford.

[2] Pugin is giving instructions for what in his letter to Hardman of 11 May he calls the 'offices' at The Grange.

[3] Pugin's diary shows that he returned to Dublin on 2 June; 'Friday next' was 30 May.

To GEORGE GOLDIE[1] — Cove of Cork, Thursday, 29 May 1845

Text: MS PC Charles W. H. Goldie[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Cove of Cork May 29.

My Dear Sir

being in Ireland your Letter has only just reached me.—The best advice I can give you respecting your son is to place him either with M[r]. Hansom of *coventry* or M[r] Hatfied of sheffield.[3] they are both catholic architects of considerable practice & work in the right direction—& your son would be enabled to get a good insight of the practise of ecclestical architecture. After all however, I need hardly say that his ultimate sucess must depend in a great measure on his own exertions & I would recomend him frequently to visit the antient buildings & to make studies of their various details—it is quite impossible for me to take any pupils as I am travelling nearly 9 months out of the 12 & when at home I require all my time for study & work.[4]

I remain dear Sir
your most devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] George Goldie (1784–1853), a doctor trained at Edinburgh and practising in York.

[2] The MS is endorsed '*May 29. 1845*' in an unidentified hand.

[3] The son was also George Goldie (1828–87). After his education at Ushaw, he became a pupil of Hadfield and in time a partner of Hadfield and Weightman in Sheffield; Matthew Ellison Hadfield (1812–85), a family connection of Hardman, and John Grey Weightman (1801–72) were in partnership from 1838 to 1858. Charles Francis Hansom (1816–88), based in Coventry at this time, was already making a name for himself as a Catholic church architect; Pugin's emphasis is deployed to distinguish him from J. A. Hansom. Goldie became known as a church architect.

[4] This is not quite such an exaggeration as might be thought: restless and unhappy, Pugin was away from home for a total of nearly twenty-six weeks in 1845.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Killarney, Friday, 30 May 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/4 *Address*: M[r]. J. Crace Jn[r] / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: MY 30 1845 in Cork; 1 JU 1 1845

✠ Killarney May 30

Dear Sir

I received a Letter of yours among a parcel I got the other day stating that you had sent the drawing of the ceiling of the Lords but as no drawing has come to me & I dont know where you have sent it I shall be glad if you will send me a Line by *return of post* directed to me Post office Dublin & Let me know where you have sent it.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

To FREDERICK HOBSON — Killarney, Saturday, 31 May 1845?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/761 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Killarney Friday. 31 May[1]

Dear Sir

owing to my absence in Ireland your Letter has only *just reached me* for I have been delayed on the road & my letters have been Lying some days at the post office.[2]

you will be obliged to keep the drain *further off the church clear of the projections* you mention. I will manage to cut down or ease the projection afterwards. I intend Coming to Beverley soon after my return.[3] in the mean time if you keep the drain further off the building all will be right.

I remain your most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Friday was 30 May; 31 May was Saturday. The day Pugin writes is not quite clear.

[2] A copy of a letter from Hobson to Pugin is filed among the documents concerning Pugin's work at Beverley, MS HCRO PE1/763; dated 29 May 1845, it conveys the desire of Sandys and the churchwardens that Pugin come at once to see to the drain and excavation round the church.

[3] Pugin was next in Beverley on 1 July 1845.

To CHARLES BARRY — En route, Saturday, 7 June 1845[1]

Text: *A. Barry*, pp. 56–7 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Morning Steamer, Saturday.

MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—Since I saw you last night, I have been informed that some most exaggerated statements respecting the nature of my employment at the Palace of Westminster have appeared in one of the papers.[2] I need not tell you how distressed and annoyed I feel at it, for I have always been most careful to prevent any

misconception on this head. I have most distinctly stated that I was engaged *by you and for you* to carry out into practical execution the minor details of the decorations according to your designs, that I did nothing *whatever on my own responsibility, that everything was submitted to be approved or altered by you;* that in fine, my occupation was simply to carry out your views in the practical execution of the internal detail.[3] I can assure you, I wish to serve you in this work with the greatest fidelity; no one can better appreciate your skill and judgment than myself, and no man has ever borne more sincere and willing testimony to them than myself. Now, if you think right, I will make a formal denial of these statements to put an end to all nonsense. I have not seen the article, but Mr. Crace told me that one of your clerks had mentioned it to him; it will therefore be easy to know when and where it appeared, and I really think it would be as well to state the real state of the case.[4] I will send you my contradiction for your approval.[5] I am sure you know me too well to imagine that such statements would give me anything but great pain and annoyance; but I should like at once to disabuse the public, and let them know the true nature of my employment at the Palace. Pray let me hear from you about this.

I sent yesterday a whole cart-load of casts from Thames Bank to the works at Westminster. I hope all these will be taken great care of, that they may be united in one great collection when they are done with, and they may form the commencement of a great national gallery of Art.[6]

Ever yours, most sincerely,
WELBY PUGIN.

I see in the 'Times' this morning that Reid and Barry (!!!) came in for their share of blame in the Lords.[7]

[1] Pugin travelled from London to Ramsgate on 7 June, according to his diary.

[2] Pugin was in London from 4 June to 7 June. Barry notes in his desk diary at 4 June that he 'Accomp[d] Pugin to Thames Bank respecting wood Carving'. Pugin's entry for 6 June states simply 'London'. The piece in the paper has not been securely identified but is likely to be the article, 'Decoration of Houses of Parliament', *Builder*, 3 (24 May 1845): 250, which claims that the 'arrangement' of 'the decorative parts of the New Houses of Parliament' has been 'intrusted' to Pugin. Pugin names the *Builder* in his next letter to Barry, of 12 June.

[3] *A. Barry* points out in a footnote that the italics in this sentence are in the original.

[4] Since the date on Pugin's letter printed in the *Builder* about his position at Westminster is 3 September, it seems that Barry deemed it unnecessary to publish a statement of clarification in June.

[5] Pugin encloses his 'contradiction' in his letter to Barry of 12 June.

[6] Pugin's hope was realized: annotating the entry at 23 April 1845 in Pugin's diary, 'Mr. Tuke 27. 8 for casts H. P.', *Wedgwood 1985* states that the collection of casts was of 'unprecedented size and complexity' (p. 92). 'It was carefully listed in June 1846 when it numbered over 3000 pieces. When the Thames Bank Workshops were closed in 1859, it was decided to offer this collection to the South Kensington Museum, the predecessor of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and it was eventually transferred there in 1863.'

[7] An untitled editorial in *The Times* (7 June 1845): p. 4 records that at a debate on Maynooth 'The house was crowded; the heat intolerable; REID and BARRY came in for much malediction and abuse; several peers are said to have suffered in their health; and the complaints have since been very loud'.

David Boswell Reid (1805–63), a teacher of chemistry in Edinburgh, was appointed in 1840 to arrange the ventilation of the new buildings at Westminster; he was dismissed in 1852.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL Ramsgate, Sunday, 8 June 1845

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: P. M Forristall Esq^{r} / N^{o} 3 New Kent Road / London *Postmark*: JU 8 1845 in Ramsgate; 9 JU 9 1845

My Dear M^{r}. Forristall

when I gave Lord Midletons donation to D^{r} Doyle I explained particularly to him that it was *given to improve the scite round the convent.*[1] of course he could use as he thought proper in the mean time—but I know Lord M. reason for *making his donation on those grounds* & these I explained to D^{r} Doyle. now your Letter of acknowledgment places the gift on other grounds & especially those which I know Lord M on private reasons wished most a avoid. now you must send another Letter to him substituting the words: *towards the funds for improving the scite of the convent.* I am sure you can perfectly understand all this—it is a matter of form but his Lordsip is particular & it is necessary to shew him that I have acted according to his instructions.

ever yours most scincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

if the tower is left another winter in its present condition it will receive *great injury.*[2] I have already warned D^{r} Doyle of this.

Lord M. address in Town is 26 upper Brook street.

[1] Pugin thanks Lord Midleton for his donation in his letter of 25 December 1844.
[2] The tower of St George's, Southwark.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 8 June 1845?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I have returned.[3]

I send you M^{r}. Leighs brass & M^{r}. Phillips.[4] the center of this Latter I cannot do till I get some more rubbings.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Can you send up the altered pieces of railing so that I may find them on *Monday week* in London.[5]

[1] The dating is uncertain. The entry for the drawings of the Leigh and Phillipps brasses in Hardman's Metal sales ledger points to May but Pugin's cryptic 'I have returned' does not.
[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 18 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.
[3] After his journey to Ireland, Pugin got home to Ramsgate on 7 June.

[4] The brass made for J. H. Leigh is first mentioned in Pugin's letter to Hardman of 13 April 1845.

The brass for Phillipps commemorates his son Reginald Bernard Lisle Phillipps, who, born in July 1839, died on 12 March 1845. A signed but undated drawing for the brass, preserved in BMAG, L162.84, shows the shields of 'Phillipps', 'Marche', 'Lisle', and 'Clifford', and a long Latin inscription in which Pugin renders the boy's name as 'Reginaldus Bernardus Maria de Insulā Phillipps'. Pugin makes a note of 'M^r. L. Brass 2. 0. 0 M^r. Phillipps 2. 0. 0' in his list of charges to Hardman for drawings on the back end-paper [g] of his diary for 1845, and the Metal sales ledger credits him £2 for each set of 'Drawings of Brass for M^r. Leigh' and 'for A. L. Phillips Esq^r.' in May 1845 but without day. Heath's invoice for the Phillipps brass, kept in the relevant bundle in BCA, is dated 20 February 1846; '43lbs Brass Plates' were used, leaving a residue of '11lbs. Scrap' for which credit is given; the engraving consists of 'Central figures of Child & Angels, Surmounted by Canopy & Cross Containing Monogram, five shields contain^g. Coats of arms with Coronet and Scrolls, the whole surrounded by an Inscription the letters in relief'; this work was followed by 'Piercing and Cutting edges with fitting and Screws, Waxing in colours and Polishing with 12 Rubs Mounted Complete'; the charge is £32. 3*s.* 5*d.* MWDB enters the brass to Phillipps at 24 February 1846, at a price of £60: 'A Monumental Brass, let into Black Marble Slab, to memory of little Boy'. *Meara* has an illustration of the brass on p. [145], which shows the fifth shield, that of 'Ducarez Marquis de Chateaunoy', and quotes on p. 144 part of a letter from Phillipps to Hardman of 27 July regarding Reginald's age and the inclusion of this fifth shield; part of Phillipps's letter is reproduced as an illustration in *Meara* on p. 146.

[5] Pugin went up to London on Monday 23 June.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 8 June 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

of all the rascally infernal jobs that ever was turned out the bedstead is the worse. now the Back wont fit the space between the posts by $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch—the shieds[?] is fixed inside out. the hooks are not Long enough to nut. the bolts were made so that they could not go in—everything wrong. I will certainly buy a sledge hammer to break up the infernal thing. the only good in it is to give a striking example of the vanity of human things & to shew the folly of the whole attempt. to compleat everything—the rings are so made that *the hooks on the curtains wont go into them.* this is the perfection of a mull—& I am actualy obliged to borrow a bedstead for M^r Wyse who is coming on Wednesday.[2] I most bitterly repent my foolish attempt at having fine things. I cant get a single thing I want. I find I must have my looking glass altered for it turns right over & wont stand. I intended the 2 pieces to act as nuts & tighten it up. [*Sketch: nut and frame of glass*] the agony I have suffered with my own complaint for the Last few days has been dreadful. I came direct from Killiney to London & I never endured so much.[3] I have serious thoughts of doing less & getting more quiet & regularity—they want me to undergo an operation but I could not survive that—I am very bad indeed.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 75 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO; it has neither salutation nor signature.

[2] Pugin writes to Wyse some time in the mid-1840s but the date of his letter is uncertain.

[3] Sailing from Killiney to Liverpool, Pugin notes in his diary that he left Dublin on 3 June and reached London on 4 June. He did not proceed to Ramsgate till Saturday 7 June.

To CHARLES BARRY Ramsgate, Thursday, 12 June 1845

Text: *A. Barry*, pp. 57–8 *Address*: none *Postmark*: '*June 12th*, 1845' in '*Ramsgate*'[1]

MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—1. I enclose you what I think will be a sufficient contradiction, and being short and simply worded is more likely to answer its object.[2]

2. I have at last succeeded to my entire satisfaction in the enamel colouring of the armorial plates; the enamel is now sunk below the surface in hollows, and the effect is very rich and good.[3] You will soon have a perfect panel up. I think we shall do this time.

3. I have found some unforeseen difficulties in setting out the full-sized drawings of the tiles according to your alteration. The double squares come in very badly when reduced to the stern reality of square, and the inscription letters, now they are enlarged, won't come in at all. I will send you all my difficulties set out. I wish Lord Brougham had to set it out himself.[4] I expect I shall hear about the stained glass windows to morrow.[5]

Ever yours, most sincerely,
WELBY PUGIN.

The 'Builder' has now a rather extended circulation, and amongst that class of people whom we would not wish to be wrongly informed on the subject.[6] But I leave the matter entirely in your hands.

There are now ten additional carvers at Thames Bank, all on the ceiling. Do you approve of the panels I last sent you?

[ENCLOSURE.]

SIR,—My attention having been drawn to an erroneous paragraph, which appeared in your journal, relative to the nature of my employment at the New Palace at Westminster, I take an early opportunity of stating that I am not engaged in any work connected with that building on my own responsibility, but am simply superintending the practical execution of the internal details and decorations of Mr. Barry's design. Nothing is done without his entire knowledge and approbation, nor is anything put into execution that has not been previously arranged and designed by himself.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,
WELBY PUGIN.

To the Editor of .[7]

[1] *A. Barry* states that this is the postmark.

[2] Pugin promises the contradiction when he writes to Barry on 7 June.

[3] Pugin sends the drawing for this plate to Hardman on 12 May 1845.

[4] The naming of Brougham is not as gratuitous as it may look, for he led a recent attack on Barry in the House of Lords, according to the report of the debate under the heading 'Parliamentary intelligence' in *The Times* (6 June 1845): p. 3. Among other remarks, Brougham is stated to have said that he did not regard the 'assurance' given by Barry about when the new house would be ready for occupation 'as worth the value of the paper on which it was written'.

Henry Peter Brougham (1778–1868), Baron Brougham and Vaux, was Lord Chancellor.

[5] It was decided at a meeting of the Commissioners of Fine Arts on 18 April that the windows in the new House of Lords should be filled with stained glass.
[6] The *Builder* began publication on 31 December 1842.
[7] A space is left for the title of the journal to which the disclaimer is to be sent.

To CHAMBERS HALL[1] Ramsgate, Thursday, 12 June 1845?

Text: MS PC Andrew Sanders[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins. June[?] 12

My Dear M[r]. Hall

I have just returned home. many thanks for your kindness in sending me the copies of your pamphlet & for the honourable mention you have made of me in it.[3] it is indeed quite time that the reviewing gentry should receive a check for as you justly remark their critisims which they would pass as oracles are most disgusting—I hope your brochure will affect some good—they will be very angry with you but for this of course you care nothing.—what can you possibly mean about Read?[4] pray let me know some particulars for I take great interest in him & cannot imagine what you can allude to. I do not exactly know when I shall be in town but I really must manage to get to You. I assure it is not for want of will that I fail to come but—I get so driven for time with my *parliamentary business.*

ever dear M[r]. Hall
yours most sincerely
in haste ✠ A Welby Pugin

C. Hall Esq[r].

[1] Chambers Hall (1786–1855), a collector of drawings, bronzes, and other works of art. According to the *DNB*, Hall was living in Bury Street, St James's, London, when he died; Pugin's diary for 1849 notes an address of 16 Bury Street, St James's, for 'C. Hall Esqr' on the front end-paper [a]. Hall's address at 3 George Street, St James's, is recorded on the front end-paper [a] of his diary for 1845.
[2] The MS is endorsed '1845' in a twentieth-century hand and as Pugin dates from St Augustine's the letter cannot be earlier than that year. The month Pugin writes seems to be June, although he returned to Ramsgate on 7 June, not later as he implies. In 1846 and 1847 he is known not to have been at home on 12 June; and the writing seems not later than that.
[3] Hall's only publication, according to the BL catalogue, is *The Picture: A Nosegay for Amateurs* . . . by C. H., 1837. The records of the Cambridge Camden Society show that Hall presented between May 1843 and May 1844 a copy of his 'A Lecture on Architecture', delivered at the British Institution; perhaps this is what he sent to Pugin.
[4] David Read, of whom the *DNB* states that Hall was a patron.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Thursday, 12 June 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / Paradise Street / Birmingham[2] *Postmark*: Addington Place; JU 12 in Ramsgate; 13 JU 13 1845; JU 13 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

The specimen piece of engraved plate has just arrived and I think it capital.[3] in fact—just the thing I wanted with the exception of the engraved lines which are hardly *strong* enough. get the whole plate done *with as litle delay as possible* & sen up to M^r^ Barry.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

I send you 2 vanes for M^r^ H Sharples to be done in copper gilt.[5] let him have them as soon as you can.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box' and, in Hardman's hand, 'Case Brass addition Price of Richmonds Brass'. The number 36 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The address panel is inscribed 'Brewood Brass Conte de Shrewsbury Insure[?] House of Mercy' in Hardman's hand.

[3] The plate for which Pugin sends Hardman a drawing on 12 May 1845. An invoice submitted to Hardman by Heath and surviving in the bundle for April to June 1845 may be relevant: it charges £5. 15*s.* for engraving the 'Earl of Shrewsbury's Arms to Gilt plate with Waxing, preparing Metal &c'. As a sequel to this, Heath sends an invoice dated 24 July 1845, kept in the bundle for July to September 1845, charging £1. 15*s.* for 'Re-engraving and Waxing to Gilt plate Earl of Shrewsbury's Arms' and fifteen shillings for 'Engraving & Waxing Small plate as Specimen of D°.'

[4] The truncated form 'sen up' is the result of a tear.

[5] The vanes are for Sharples's house, although on a drawing of the larger of them, BMAG L209.84, Pugin inscribes 'for Lodge'. Thomas Parker charges Hardman one shilling and sixpence for '1 Letter S Sawpierced' in his invoice dated 30 June 1845, presumably for Oswaldcroft; in the bundle of invoices for July to September 1845, William Wareing bills Hardman seventeen shillings on 10 July 1845 for gilding a weather-vane, and Hardman annotates the invoice 'Sharples'. On 3 July 1845 in a letter preserved in ML, Sharples writes to Hardman: 'I believe M^r^. Pugin has given you directions for two vanes for my house. I forgot to request he would have a Maltese cross put into the flag—that being our ships private signal. I shall be obliged by your putting it in for me'; he adds a sketch in illustration of his meaning. On 8 July, however, he withdraws the request, Hardman in the interval having informed him that it comes too late. MWDB enters one large copper gilt vane 'with Letter S' at a charge of £5. 18*s.* and one small one, without a letter and costing £1. 17*s.*, to Sharples at 29 August 1845.

To JOHN HARDMAN

Ramsgate, Friday, 13 June 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1° M^r^. Phillipps has written to me to introduce a Rosary in the hands of his litle boy.[2]

2. I have got the order for Miss Rylands new Brass & inclose you a cheque for the old.[3]

3^d^. you must make the railing for the house of Lords so that the candlesticks may be screwed on afterwards as they cannot make up their minds how they will light the house—you will have the formal order imedially.

4^th^. let me know what new brasses you want. if I can I will do them soon.

5° the alteration of the Great vanes will be as follows. [*Sketch: vane inscribed 'the crowns taken away & the top terminated with fleur de lis' and at foot beside brackets 'These to be taken away'*. Fig. 9] [*Sketch: fleur de lis '$\frac{1}{4}$ size' with vertical dimension of '11"' and '4' projections*] you must send up one of the altered ones *first* & one of the crowns for M^r^. B to see. of course the vanes will be paid for & alterations extra so it will be no loss to you. you better take whole top off above the collar & tap the stem to receive the new top as the crowns may be introduced in other vanes. [*Sketch: top to be removed*]

There is one point that demands great attention. the gold size must be bad for the cotton sticks to the vane & brings off the gold. in fact the gold is quite soft & rubs off with the Least touch. the size must be bad. pray look to this. I cannot find Miss Rylands account so I send you 70 & we can regulate balance.

ever your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 38 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] On the drawing for the brass for Phillipps, BMAG L162.84, sent to Hardman perhaps on 8 June, Hardman inscribes 'Introduce in childs hands a pair of beads'.

[3] Louisa Ryland's second commission was a brass in memory of John and Martha Ryland. Heath's invoice, dated 9 March 1846, includes £45. 18*s.* 7*d.* for engraving 'Arms, Crest, & Motto, with Inscription underneath in the Centre surrounded by Ornamental bordering Containing quotation from Scripture and the initial R at Corners and sides of D°', and makes a total charge of £56. 9*s.* 8*d.* The inscription is 1 Corinthians 15:20, 21, and 22; the motto is 'Not the last'; in a play on the surname, Pugin works ears of rye into the decoration. William Cook's invoice, dated 14 March 1846, charges £8. 15*s.* 6$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* for the stone slab and for bedding the plate into it. MWDB enters to Miss Ryland of The Priory, Warwick, at 11 May 1846 'A Monumental Brass, let into Grey Stone Slab, to memory of John Ryland Esq^r^' at a price of £105 'including Drawings'. Additional charges are made, in the same entry, of £7. 15*s.* for 'Alteration in Colouring above Brass &c', and of £3. 10*s.* for 'Mason's time in fixing above in Edgbaston Church'. The memorial, originally laid in the floor, is now affixed to the north wall of St Bartholomew's, the old parish church of Edgbaston, Birmingham, where John and Martha Ryland are buried.

The Metal sales ledger enters £70 to Louisa Ryland's credit at 14 June 1845; at 30 June, a sum of £3. 18*s.*, the balance of her account, is transferred to Pugin's account as a debit.

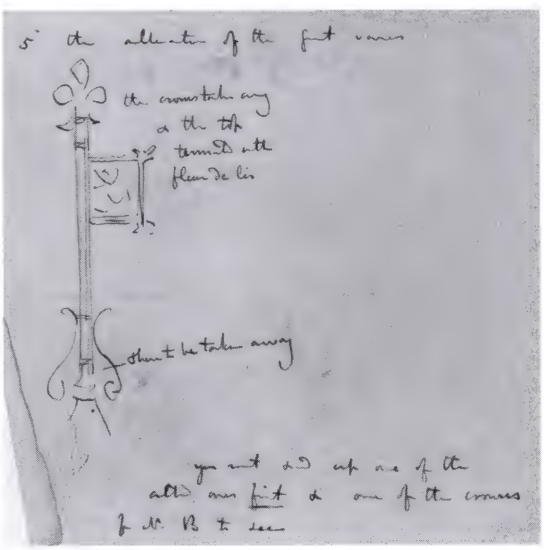
5° the alteration of the great vanes
the crowns taken away
& the top
terminated with
fleur de lis
shaft to be taken away
you must send up one of the
altered ones first & one of the crowns
for M. B to see

Figure 9 A vane for the Houses of Parliament, sketched in the letter to John Hardman perhaps of 13 June 1845

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, mid-June 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 952][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: two short, parallel, horizontal lines and, to the right of them, a diamond shape with a central mark*][2]

My Dear Hardman

I was afraid you would not come but I thought there was a chance which made me suggest it. In a few days I will send you Miss Rylands Brass which will be a good one in every respect.

I hope to have the lithograph for your ware room very soon. I think it would be best as a sheet. a view in the midle & groups of articles round & another sheet with a an alphabetical list. [*Sketch: lithograph*] which would you prefer. this or a *small book*.[3] I should like to know. The delay of the parliamentary commission is monstrous—at this moment I have *actualy expended* between 4 & 500 pounds for casts carvings &c & not received back a penny—the railing delay is scandalous & then there will be all hurry & driving—do you think your concience is clear respecting my *music*.[4] there are 2 sheets of the *credo* not arrived, I have no tones for the vespers, no magnificat, no hymn, life ebbs fast & sunday after sunday we have no solemnity. I would pay *anything for* the Vespers tones & the magnificat. surely your organist is not so rich that he would not exchange a few notes for solid coin. I am quite in despair about it for Miss Greaves is very anxious. she really plays all she has got exceedinly well & we cannot have vespers—do take my case into consideration serious consideration & get me something. I will cheerfuly pay for their being written out—I still suffer very much indeed with that horrid complaint—& still more in my mind—the unfortunate termination of that business I mentioned to you sometime ago has made me very unhappy.[5] I would not meet the bishops on any account.[6] I am reduced to a most degraded position that it is possible to conceive. I know they think me a poor weak fool & so indeed I have been—in short I am in the most contemptible situation degraded completed[?] and what is the most miserable part part of the business that I should ever have been such an infernal fool as to have been induced to have spoken at all to the Bishops—I was induced to take this course, & now I see too Late my fatal mistake, after this I can never open my mouth on anything—but keep out of everybodys way—I know in your heart you think me a great a fool as the rest but are too kind to express it. I do not blame you. I certainly may be reckoned a fool of the first class—I hope you do not want any thing of me at present. I will supply you with drawings instructions & anything but coming down but this I *will not do* except in great emergency & then on condition that do not Let anybody know of my arrival & that you will Let me off directly the business is done—if you hear anybody talk of coming to see me at Ramsgate discourage it as much as possible for I have fastened up the outer gates & no one can get in. ever dear Hardman

your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Lord Shrewsbury has written to me about the *range **for** the hospital.* you remember I gave you the size some time ago.[7] if you have Lost it I must get it for you again but it is wanted soon, (Like my range at Ramsgate). let me know what you have done about it.

[1] Hardman inscribes at the head of the letter: 'Card with address & description name over door & description of trade'.

[2] There is little doubt that the rough sketch is Pugin's but what it is meant for is not clear.

[3] The Metal sales ledger records at 22 November 1845 that Nichols is in credit to Hardman for £5. 12*s.* 6*d.* for printing two thousand copies of Hardman's inventory of 'Sacred Vessels', and £1. 17*s.* 6*d.* for five hundred copies of his 'Domestic' catalogue, both lots 'in Black Letter'. An agent by the name of David Low, of 6 Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, London, writes to Hardman on 20 August 1845, his letter being filed in ML, on behalf of an unnamed correspondent in the West Indies who wishes to have a copy of '"A Pattern Book of Catholic Church Furniture as manufactured at M[r] Hardman's Rooms in Birmingham"'. Trade cards were printed, too: Heath charges £2. 5*s.* at 6 August for copper plates for address cards, and submits an invoice dated 12 September 1845 for his work on 'Ivory Cards'. Letters from clients refer to them: in December 1845 Thomas Faulkner Lee (d.1875), from Queens' College, Cambridge, to whom C. F. Hansom recently gave one of Hardman's 'most exquisitely designed Cards', wants ten or a dozen of them to give to his friends; Harvey Eginton, architect in Worcester, writing on 26 December 1845, would like to have a card printed for himself like 'the card of S[t] Eligius'.

[4] Pugin reminds Hardman of his need for sheet music in his letter of 11 May 1845.

[5] The hope of marrying Mary Amherst.

[6] It seems to be the plural, 'bishops', that Pugin writes here as he does elsewhere but on other occasions he appears to use the singular; it may be one or both of Wiseman and Walsh to whom he spoke but his confidant or confidants cannot be securely identified.

[7] Pugin gives Hardman the size in the letter which he may have written on 17 April 1845.

To JOHN HARDMAN

Ramsgate, mid-June 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 434][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you a card & a drawing for the sign board. Powell will draw out the figure of S[t] Eligius holding a reliquary full size so that Early can trace & copy it.[2] I am afraid the street comissioners will not allow it or I should have liked[?] a Litle gable roof over the board to protect it. if you are allowed a few inches projection I would do this. [*Sketch: gable*]

2 I prefer the term Goldsmith to any other because it was formerly very comprehensive in its signification—& sounds well.[3]

3[d]. I do not exactly understand what you want about the crosses. do you want altogether new patterns.

4. Tomorow you will receive the drawings for Miss Rylands Brass. Powell has drawn it out & I assure you that I am satisfied I could have made the drawing in considerably less time than I have been shewing & correcting him. you know I always told you—that I would have no assistance & I am quite sure I ought to do everything myself—if I want to get on. Powell is naturally a scamp in drawing. he hates everything that requires mind & reflexion. he will make a very *clever artist* in the modern

acceptation of the term but I do not think he will ever have perseverance to succeed in *our branch of art.* I think he is too clever for dry work. his talent & he has great talent is for figure drawing & I have really a scruple of keeping him to druggery. I Long to get my shop finished & then I think he will make some good models. he is of an excellent disposition & really wish to do the best for him.

5 as regards myself I assure you that the business is finally & irrevocably settled. M[rs]. A would not consent.[4] she said she would much rather see her daughter dead than united to such a person as Myself and to restore peace & quietness I have Entirely renounced all further proceedings. all that makes me so frantic is that I should have been such a fool as to open my heart on the subject to the bishops. that is the devil—I can never hold up my head again as a revival man or anything else. now you may rely on it this will be my eventual ruin. I dont mean as regards money but in other matters. If I had had domestic sympathy support I should have been a fine fellow. I never had a chance of this yet, & never shall—I believe the whole idea of domestic hapiness is a delusion, & am only mad with myself that after all my experience I should be such an infernal fool as to run after it for a moment or believe in a womans promises. that makes me a still greater fool. in short you may write me down a first class fool but as I wrote to the bishop as I am not the only fool who has been deceived by a woman I hope he may find some excuse for me & so I hope you will.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

what a horrid loss of time.

[1] The MS is endorsed in another hand in pencil '24/- Firer[?] 30/-'.
[2] Eligius is the patron saint of all workers in metal. Hardman's new shop was to be identified by the sign of St Eligius.
[3] Hardman defines himself as a 'Gold Smith' in the census return of 1851.
[4] Louisa Amherst.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — mid-June 1845?[1]

Text: ST, App. 6, p. 13[2] *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

It was indispensable for me to finish all the detail drawings of Cheadle this winter for in the Spring when I worried terribly I could not give the necessary time and attention.[3] I expect the windows are arrived at Cheadle by this time.[4] The east window will be all ready. . . .

Mr. Myers would be very grateful if your Lordship could let him have some money on account of the Cheadle work. He is very poor at the moment.[5]

[1] The dating is doubtful.
[2] The two extracts run together here with the division marked by ellipsis points are separate in ST and may derive from two letters rather than one.

[3] A great many drawings for metalwork for St Giles's were made during December 1844 and January 1845.

[4] Writing to Lord Shrewsbury perhaps on 22 November 1844, Pugin states that some of the glass cannot be installed until spring; his letter to the earl of 25 July 1845 makes it clear that the glass is in place by that date.

[5] There seem to have been many moments when Myers felt 'very poor'. He sends a pitiful plea to Griffiths from 9 Laurie Terrace, Lambeth, on 7 October 1844, MS AAW W. 3/25.

My Lord

for godsake do what you Lordship Can for Me—at the moment I have not £10—in the World that I can get hold of—however I am to get over the week god only—knows—May I expect a cheque by return of post My Lord—dont take it a Miss—I Am done—I cant Pay—What I have to Pay unless I am assisted. I have Money to pay every Shilling but I cant get it. do My Lord—Send Me a Cheque—

I remain My Lord
yr Lordships
Most Humble &c
Geo Myers

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Thursday, 19 June 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/5 *Address*: M[r]. J. Crace Jn[r] / Wigmore street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; JU 19 1845 in Ramsgate; 20 JU 20 1845

Dear Sir

some time ago you painted 2 angels for cheadle.[1] I want a good many more—of the *same size* which I think was 18 inches diameter, (*but be exact in* this).[2] I think I shall want 16 but you may get on with 12 at once. I send you herewith sketches which will I think enable you to do them.[3] I have also indicated the colours. you must keep them flat in effect with brown lines to define the draperies. wherever the *feet are seen they must be uncovered naked without shoes or sandals.* Inscriptions Red on white Labels—the countenances must be very simple & devout with the eyes nearly closed. [*Sketch: countenance*] we shall want them soon. I expect to be in London on Monday—& will call.[4]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The angels are ordered in the letter which Pugin writes to Crace perhaps in mid-January 1845.

[2] According to one of Crace's statements of account with Pugin, MS RIBA PUG. 13/5, Pugin sent altogether '32 Drawings of Angels' in 1845, charging Crace five shillings each for them.

[3] *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 187, describes these sketches.

[4] Pugin's diary shows that he went up to London on Monday 23 June.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, about Friday, 20 June 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/6[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

There are 3 angels looking to the right & 14 angels Looking to the left. [*Sketch: angel facing right.* Fig. 10] [*Sketch: angel facing left.* Fig. 10] The Diameter *is 19 & $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.* mind that.

In addition to these I want

2 angels with inscriptions to face each other	1.8 Diameter
2 D^{o}	1.6 Diameter
one centre one.	2 feet diameter.

[*Sketch: arch with positions of these five angels indicated*] be sure not to put too much shadow on these—& as there are so many dont make them come too expensive. let us have them as soon as possible.

yours truly
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1845*'.

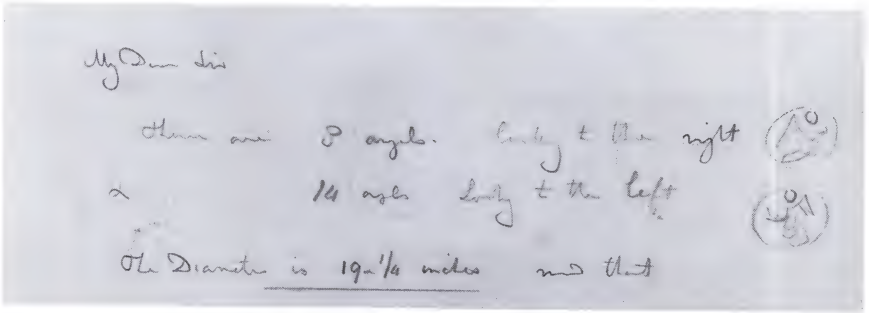

Figure 10 Angels, sketched for J. G. Crace perhaps on 20 June 1845

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Friday, 20 June 1845

Text: MS PC [HLRO 136] *Address*: John Hardman Esq^{r} / 166 great Charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; JU 20 1845 in Ramsgate; 21 JU 21 1845; JU 21 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I send you the effiy for M^{rs} Knight.[1] I had a beautiful old one for Drapery which I got Powell to copy.

Barry was obliged to go to Trentham & therefore stopted on his way back.[2] I expect to see him on monday.[3]

I will send in the estimate for the Gates.[4]

I think I shall never forgive myself for being deluded.[5] if it were possible & were it not for the children & the responsibility I feel to you to keep the concern all right at Birmingham I would retire altogether to the sea & avoid everybody. however I will not fail in my duty. I know I am done for but I will care no will shall see or know it— & you shall never want for Drawings. I have been quite upset the Last few days. however I will not worry you with a detail of absurd misery and as long as I can keep out of sight of the bishop I do not care but I shall feel like a man in debt afraid of everybody.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I am obliged to go to Norfolk next week & then I go abroad for a short time but not till I have arranged everything for you.[6]

[1] Pugin tells Hardman about the brass for Mrs Knight in the letter which may have been written on 12 February 1845.

[2] At Trentham Park, Staffordshire, Barry designed a house, built from 1833 to 1842 and since demolished, for George Granville Sutherland-Leveson-Gower (1786–1861), second Duke of Sutherland; he also designed the church of St Mary and All Saints there in 1844. The reason why Barry 'stopted' at Birmingham on his return journey is indicated in Pugin's letter to Hardman of perhaps 24 June 1845.

[3] Pugin went up from 'Ramsgate to London' on Monday 23 June, according to his diary.

[4] The gates for Westminster.

[5] That is, 'deluded' by Mary Amherst.

[6] Pugin was in Norfolk from 3 July to 7 July; some sketches that he made there are described in *Wedgwood 1977*, pp. 104–5. He made a quick trip to Ireland from 12 July to 17 July, but by 'abroad' he is more likely to mean the Continent, where he was travelling from 26 July until 17 August.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 22 June 1845

Text: MS PC [HLRO 133] *Address*: John Hardman Esq^{r} / 166. Grt Charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; JU 22 1845 in Ramsgate; 23 JU 23 1845; JU 23 1845 in Birmingham

There is no price for Miss Ryland. I told her the brass would be without drawings & about £80. Drawings £10.[1] I have had 2 journeys & lots of Letters for it.

My Dear Hardman

The arrival of the music is a real blessing. our vespers today were *manificent.* I assure you Miss Greaves is a first rate organist & takes the greatest pains. our sunday service with inscence & everything is capital. most devotional—after all as I have told you a good function is the best thing.

I inclose you a letter from the Revd M^{r}. Hutton about a brass for Lady Arundell.[2] I have sent a sketch for a cross & inscription & told him to write to you about the cost. I think £35 will do what they want. I will set Powell about the cross.

I am going abroad very soon to make some studies. my life is ebbing fast & I do nothing good—nothing fine. I assure you when I think of my age & not having accomplised a single work of fine art I feel very unhappy. I long to do something fine. If I could only life without making so many working drawings to get money I should do but what chance have I. if I could have foreseen events I would not have laid out so much money on my residence—but that cannot be helped now & I assure you I had every reason. after this I will never believe any body. (present company excepted.) if I had not the spirit of a Lion with 3 tails I never should get over all my troubles. an occupation is a great blessing—all I dread is meeting the Bishop. I will keep out of sight as much as possible.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelbyPugin

Francis Amherst at Oscott has behaved most kindly all through.[3] he has always been on my side.

by way of set off to my good vespers D[r] A. gets so cross we can do nothing with him.[4] to day he proposed a *marble* bust instead of a Brass for Lady Arundell. I am sure he does not mean to stop long.

[1] The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin £10 for the drawing of Miss Ryland's brass at 8 July 1845.

[2] Peter Hutton (1811–80), educated at Prior Park, was ordained in 1839 and served as a professor of Latin and Greek there before he travelled to Italy in 1842 and joined the Rosminians in 1843; he was appointed rector of Ratcliffe in 1844 and then, after a spell of parochial work from 1848 to 1850, mostly in the vicinity in Leicestershire, president of Ratcliffe in 1850. His letter, addressed to Pugin at Cheyne Walk and redirected to 'Rams-gate', is preserved in ML.

✠ Ratcliffe College
n[r] Loughborough
20 June 1845.

Dear Sir,

You have probably heard that the late Lady Arundell has been interred in the cloister of this house, with a view to the future translation of her body to the vaults of our new Church when built. Her brother, Lord Nugent, is particularly wishful that a slab of about 7 feet long and 3 ft wide with a brass plate upon it should be laid over the tomb, and enclosed by iron railings.—He would wish the slab to have hinges and a lock and key, in such a way that, when the corpse of his deceased Sister has to be removed to the church, it may not be necessary to use the pick-axe or any other instrument of the kind for the purpose of taking out the coffin. As we have to be at the expense of the whole, and you know how limited our means are, we should not wish to have any thing expensive—but still something decent and suitable to the purpose. You will be the best judge of what material the slab which must have inserted within it a brass plate ought to be formed, whether stone would be sufficiently proper or not. We should like the whole to be Gothic and in character with the building.

The brass plate must of course bear some inscription or other. We submit entirely to your approbation the following, with leave to make what alterations you may think best, either as to the words, form &c. Orate pro anima Mariæ Annæ Georgii de Marchionibus Buckingensibus filiæ, Jacobi Everardi Baronum Arundell de Warder X[mi] viduæ, quæ religione, pietate, sed præsertim mira in pauperes charitate conspicua, die 2 Junii anno 1845, ætatis vero suæ 58, obdormivit in Domino. R. I. P.

We should be very thankful if this humble tribute of our respect to one of dear and grateful memory should be completed with as little delay as possible. In the meanwhile, believe me to remain, Dear Sir,

Your very faithful Serv[t] in Xt,
P Hutton

Hutton's inscription can be translated as 'Pray for the soul of Mary Anne daughter of George Marquess of Buckingham, widow of James Everard tenth Baron Arundell of Wardour who, conspicuous in religion, piety, but especially in wonderful charity towards the poor, died on 2 June 1845 at the age of 58. May she rest in peace.' One of Lady Arundell's acts of piety was to bequeath certain jewels to be set in a monstrance, according to Hutton's letter of 1 December 1845, in which the order is conveyed to Hardman.

More correspondence follows, preserved in ML. On 25 June Hutton encloses to Hardman a letter he wants forwarded to Pugin and asks the price of a slab modelled according to Pugin's drawing: this is the letter which Pugin foreshadows to Hardman here. On 1 July, in a letter mistakenly filed in ML June 1845, he orders a marble slab; three weeks later, he sends an impression of Lady Arundell's arms. On 2 November he asks when the slab will be sent to Ratcliffe, and on 8 November directs that the brass be delivered there. On 1 December he reports that the brass has arrived and been laid down. Initially placed in the original chapel at the college, the brass was moved when a new chapel was built but it cannot now be traced. An unsigned, undated drawing for the brass is held in BMAG, L273.84. Heath's invoice, dated 7 November 1845, describes his work of engraving 'a Cross with inscrip^{n}. at foot and Coat of arms beneath'; his total charge is £10. 18*s.* 3*d.* MWDB enters to Hutton at 11 November 1845 'A Monumental Brass in Black Marble Slab, with Barr & Iron Rings to lift Slab up by. to memory of late Lady Arundel'; the cost is £32. At 28 July 1846 the Metal sales ledger transfers this debit from Hutton's account to that of J. B. Pagani, the provincial of the Rosminians.

[3] Frank Amherst's friendship for Pugin survived the distress of Pugin's attempt to marry his sister Mary. *Powell* remembers that 'Bishop Amherst used to come and enjoy the Catholic atmosphere of St. Augustine's and Pugin's rare books and talks with him after all the rest were gone to bed' (p. 193).

[4] Dr Acquarone.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — Ramsgate, Sunday, 22 June 1845

Text: MS HCRO PE1/761/3 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^{t} Augustins. 6 Sunday. after Pentecost

Rev & Dear Sir

M^{r}. Myers has made a mistake, for I could not be with you till the end of the week at Soonest as I do not Leave home till tomorow monday & I have a considerable road to make.[1] when I get to town I shall be able to Let you know the exact day I shall be at Beverley.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] MS HCRO PE1/762 is a letter which Myers wrote to Sandys on 18 June 1845, enclosing at Pugin's request a drawing in connection with the drainage, and stating that he and Pugin intend to be at Beverley early the following week. Pugin travelled from London to Derby, to Alton, to Wymeswold and Hull, before visiting Beverley on 1 July. Myers's account, MS HCRO PE1/747, dated 1 April 1846, lists his visits paid on 11 June 1845 to make arrangements, on 4 July 1845 to start his men working, and on 4 September 1845 and 30 March 1846 to superintend the work.

To JOHN HARDMAN London, Tuesday, 24 June 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 300] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: chain*]
My Dear Hardman

1. The panel is sent back for the folling alteration.[1] all the black lines want Double strength especially the ground. I send you a painted panel of the right strength of lines.

2. in the mantling the wants a strong black line *in* the middle of *the gold veins* on the white. [*Sketch: leaf inscribed 'strong black line'*] The panel will then do & the others may be made on the same principle as fast as I can give you drawings.

3 The Great & small vanes are finally passed. only 1 The fleur de lis at top of the great vane must be made precisely the same as the small & the collar in the middle of the great vane made Larger. [*Sketch: fleur de lis*] The crown[?] will be settled tomorow with a Litle alteration but M^r^. B wishes to proceed with the great & vanes as fast as possible & mind *the gilding*.[2]

he was deligted with your place.[3] he says the you are the only man & yours the only place—Messenger wished him to see some beastly Cast gates & disgusted him beyond measure.[4]

I am now preparing to model the Great Brass gates & I shall want to know how much I am to allow for *contraction* in the patterns—The delay about the order for these & the railing is purely official. it has to pass through so many offices & they are included in the £40000 for the decoration of the house of Lords but as far as human things are certain there is no doubt—you are all right.

I am likely to have a Large *Protestant*!! job in Ireland in the way of a house that may be a good thing but we shall see.[5]

dont be uneasy about me. I am quite reconciled. I am *done* & there an end of it. it shall never be said that one or 20 women have upset me. I would not have what mary has on her concience for the world. she is without principle, with all her religion. if I had been a weak fellow in all things I should have been broke up but I will stand anything. it is a bad job but I shall survive it. could you not come over & meet me at *Cheadle*. it would be better than coming to London & you could return the same day. I expect to be at Alton on Thursday.[6] send me a line there.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

The worst thing I have to contend against is this dreaful disorder. the agony is sometimes past bearing.

[1] All the early part of this letter is concerned with work for Westminster.

[2] Mr Barry. Pugin cautions Hardman about the gilding in his letter of perhaps 13 June 1845.

[3] Barry's desk diary records that he was in Birmingham on 16 June 1845 and 'Called on M^r^ Hodson Messr^s^ Messenger M^r^ Hardman & co'; he 'Returned to London by the 4 oClock train'. It seems that Barry was particularly interested in deciding by whom the 'Great Brass gates' of Pugin's next paragraph should be made.

[4] Messenger and Sons, a firm of metalworkers of Broad Street, Birmingham; they are described in Wrightson and Webb's *Directory of Birmingham* for 1835 as 'manufacturers of chandeliers, candelabras, tripods, lamps, and ornamental work in bronze and or-molu'.
[5] The '*Protestant*!! job' has not been identified.
[6] Pugin reached Alton on Thursday 26 June.

To JOHN HARDMAN — En route, Wednesday, 25 June 1845

Text: MS PC [HLRO 125][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I remain at Alton till Monday morning & then go to Beverley.[2] matters seem very satisfactory at the house of Lords. altogether I manage very well at Present. I am now on my road to Alton.[3] I sleep or rather *lie* at Derby to night for my complaint has come on so bad since I left home that I have been in dreadful agony. I did not get to sleep till past 2 this morning. I am always worse in London. The Bishop does not write to me but he has written a sharp Letter to Myers complaining of the dearness of my buildings compared with those at *Coventry*.[4] this letter is dated *Fieldgate house Kenilworth* so the reason is plain.[5] I expected this & therefore it does not surprise me. you will see I shall be at a Large discount, but I am steeled to everything now. I had a specimen of what I might expect yesterday (in London) but I shall advise them not to go too far or talk about presumption & want of principle as I have some documents that would bring Pride to the dust.[6] I think I can make out the best case now but I am quite quiet at present. I am willing to own I have been duped like a fool but I am no rogue neither am I a man *devoid of all principle*, mark that. it takes all my practical Catholism to keep in sometimes, I have succeeded capitally as yet. I know you think me an infernal fool but certainly I am not a rogue & you that as well as the others. perhaps you might have been done brown yourself under such circumstances.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil. The date 'July 26. 1845' inscribed by another hand is wrong.
[2] Pugin's diary shows that he left Alton on Monday 30 June.
[3] Pugin travelled from London to Derby on 25 June and on to Alton the following day.
[4] By 'The Bishop' Pugin may mean Wiseman. The allusion is to C. F. Hansom, who was based in Coventry at this time.
[5] Fieldgate House was the home of the Amherst family.
[6] The 'documents' are likely to be letters from Mary Amherst.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS — En route, Thursday, 26 June 1845?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/761/6[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I purpose being with you on Tuesday morning next & will bring M[r]. Myers with me.[2] I hope we shall get the *doors* settled as they will take sometime making & you must rember that if the seats are to be a good job they cannot be cut out too Long before they are made.[3]

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed in an unidentified hand 'June 26 1845', and an endorsement gives the same date. The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin promises in his letter of 22 June to inform Sandys of this intention. His diary corroborates the visit to Beverley on Tuesday 1 July.

[3] The entry for 1 July in Pugin's diary for 1845 begins 'Doors ordered Beverley'. Myers's account, MS HCRO PE1/747, dated 1 April 1846, includes a sum of £46 for three ornamental oak benches.

To LUIGI GENTILI — Alton Towers, Sunday, 29 June 1845[1]

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 936 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Sunday.

Rev[d] & Dear Father Gentili

your Letter owing to my being here has only just reached me—If mary had written me anything like a kind Letter when she renounced me the other day I should at once have sent her *all* her Letters but a more brutal epistle as a sequel to all her affectionate Letters cannot be conceived. she wrote as if she scarcely had known me & in the most cold, cutting, way possible. I have every reason to believe that her mother has accused me of *forging* the Letters & that they were not written by Mary at all—& therefore I kept 3 as a *protection* to myself to prove my case if necessary—but after what you say I will at once consent to give them up—that is the moment I return home for they are in my iron chest of which I have the key & I cannot send anyone to it & I will either send them to you or her as you may wish. I shall not reach Ramsgate till next week probly saturday week & *then I will send them—imedially.*[2] I would not have it on my concience to prevent anyone from folling their vocation. I have been completedy deceived by Mary—it is only a few weeks ago she was making the most solemn promises of affection & constancy. then she writes me a most *cruel letter* and *at the same time dancing all night* with different men at a Ball—altgh she actualy won my affections by her professed hatred of such matters & her love of better things. I was so much attached to her because I conceived her to be so far superior to other women—in religion charity & love of everything fine & Glorious & connected with the revival of ecclesital Glory. it was not likely I could be intimately acquainted with she a person & not feel great affection for her & great

admiration of her qualities. when I became a widower I very naturally[?] turned my ideas towards her for a companion in life as being both already united in ideas & pursuits as I said before she more than met my wishes & yet how has she turned out, why—she deceived her mother, she has deceived me, and had not even the good feeling to break her word in a kind manner but must add insult to injury as her own Letter will shew, however I have done with the whole business. I do not bear her any ill will, her mother is doing all she can to injure me in every way but All these attempts fail and will draw forth no retaliation on my part. when I have given up the 3 Letters you wish which are all I have—I shall have done all in my power to restore her peace of mind. fortunately I have a strong mind & plenty to do & occupy meself—or my might have compleally upset me by her conduct—as it is it has made me very ill indeed & deprived me of all rest.[3] It will be a very good thing if Mary really takes to the relgious state for she may keep her vows to God—& she would make any man miserable through her vaccilating disposition.[4] I am truly grateful to you my dear Father Gentili for all your kindness—& I cannot give you a better proof of it than by acting as you wish & sending you the Letters which you may be sure I will *do—as soon as I return home. I most faithfuly promise you.*

I remain ever with great respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] *Leetham*, who quotes a great deal of this letter, gives this date.
[2] As things turned out, Pugin did not return home, according to his diary, until Friday 18 July.
[3] Pugin means 'or Mary might'.
[4] Mary Amherst later entered the convent at Loughborough, where, as Sister Mary Agnes, she became Superior.

July to December 1845

To JOHN HARDMAN London, Wednesday, 9 July 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 301] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Government works. West[minst]

My Dear Hardman

There has been an alteration since I left town & all the engraved panels for the house of Lords have been done away with.[1] from what I can see the order for the fittings will not pass the treasury this month to come.

I am still harassed to Death with this wretched business. I had a very distressing Letter to me from Father gentili who declares I spoilt her vocation so I get nothing but reproaches on all sides. D[r] W. is incensed against me I fully expect for he told myers Last week that every body says I am an *expensive man.*[2] now my dear Friend it is painful to talk of ones own actions but you know something of what I have done in the way of donations to the district. not even to go further than Birmingham I can make out between *4 & five hundred pounds*!! in hard money. at Nottingham I put in some £350 above all agreed for. at Derby about £400. not to speak of the quantity of things I have presented to oscott from time to time in vestments altar of side chapel my whole collection & even at this moment I have designed their Sanctuary free of all cost & obtained the paintings for it. then again I may safely say I have obtained *thousands* for the district as you well know in other ways & now you see men who have small pretension to ability none to originalty & have neither the means or disposition to advance the interests of religion are considered better & more honourable, I rely on you not to take any notice to any one of what I say but you may clearly see what I may expect.

had I looked out for myself I might have been a rich man. I am much better pleased things are as they are—but all these things are very hard to bear. I assure you I am quite broken down internally & they may come & give me a kick all round without ressistance. I think marys conduct monstrous—it is quite wonderful what these religious people Can do. for my part I see litle difference between saintly peoples and regular rascals except one is better prepared for the former than the latter. you need not answer this. I dare say I shall be away when you receive it.[3] I will if I can as soon as I have setled with Early at M[r]. Drumonds.[4] I have 2 Large jobs come in unexpectedly Last week which I will tell you more about by & bye.

ever your devoted friend

✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin reached London from Yarmouth on 7 July and may have written this letter on Tuesday 8 July, but Barry's desk diary states that it was on Wednesday 9 July that he 'Accomp[d] Pugin to Thames Bank the House of Lords &[c]'.

[2] This may be Dr Wiseman.

[3] Pugin's hope of going abroad was deferred by the need to go to Ireland, as he explains to Gentili in his letter of 12 July.

[4] It is on 10 July that Pugin goes down to Drummond's, according to his diary. Hardman's DDB enters the cost, £3. 10s., of Earley's travelling expenses to Albury and back at 19 July 1845. Exactly when Earley began work on the decoration of the chantry there is not clear but he soon encountered an obstacle. A letter written on 'Monday Morning' from Shere and preserved in ML August 1845 carries his report to Hardman of Drummond's intervention; other correspondence suggests that the date may be 4 August. 'In consequence of M[r]. Wailes not sending the Stain'd Glass for his Chantry he will not have any more painting done till the Glass is put in, for fear of the wetness of the weather spoiling it.' When Earley pointed to the additional cost that would be incurred were the workmen to leave and then have to return, Drummond 'said he did not care for the expense providing the work was done well'. On 'Wednesday night Aug 6[th]', in a letter erroneously filed in April 1845, Earley acknowledges Hardman's letter 'most thankfully as I was very much put about till I heard from you. I saw M[r] Drummond since I wrote to you, and I wish'd him to close the Window Temporarily but he said he was determin'd nothing more should be done till he had got the glass from M Wailes—and he considers himself unhandsomely treat'd by him and says he is A very false man, and not to be depended upon at all. I think it is a question whether he will have it, the Glass when it is finish'd. he is a very Strange Gentleman indeed. I have had Jones and the Lads finishing the walls with the first Coat also the Nich windows Arch and Altar Tomb. I have been getting ready the patterns and letters for Inscriptions.' James Jones was one of Earley's assistants. A formal statement from G. Souter and Son under a date of 6 May 1845 vouches that Jones is 'now free from us' and has 'always served us faithfully'; filed in ML, the statement is rather in the nature of a character reference. An undated letter preserved in ML August 1845 and written after the birth of Hardman's son on 7 August expresses Earley's glad relief at Hardman's approval of the way in which he 'got through that perplexing affair of M[r] Drummonds'; by this time, Earley is working at St George's, Southwark.

To LUIGI GENTILI

Dublin, Saturday, 12 July 1845

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 1110[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dublin Saturday

Rev[d] an& Dear Father Gentili

just at the moment I was returning home I received an order to go off to Ireland—but I expect to return in a few days & I will then send you the letters *Directed to Loughborough.*[2] I can assure you this business has compleatly upset me. I have scarcely spirit for anything. she might have given way to her mother & yet treated me with some kindness. however I will say no more for I cannot bear to think of her conduct.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Instead of returning briefly to Ramsgate and then setting off for the Continent as he intended, Pugin went up to Birkenhead on 11 July and 'Crossed to Dublin' on 12 July, according to his diary. The reason for his journey was the matter of rebuilding St Patrick's College, Maynooth, near Dublin, the principal

Catholic seminary in Ireland. Pugin received this commission from the government in London, 'possibly', *Wedgwood 1985* suggests, 'on the advice of Barry' (p. 93). A design for the college, signed and dated 1845, is described in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 71.

Lord Shrewsbury was doing what he could to ensure the engagement of Pugin. A letter which the earl wrote 'To his Grace the Primate of Ireland' is preserved among the archives of the diocese of Down and Connor, MS C.45/9; the primate was William Crolly (1780–1849), who was appointed Bishop of Down and Connor in 1825 and Archbishop of Armagh in 1835. Lord Shrewsbury writes from Alton Towers on 5 July 1845.

My Lord ArchBishop

Understanding that your Grace is one of the Commissioners for the building of the new College of Maynooth, may I take the liberty of naming M^r^. Pugin as a Candidate for the undertaking. There is certainly no one so capable of carrying out the wishes & intentions of the Commissioners, to have a real, good, effective College—perfect in all it's parts & arrangements. He is intimately acquainted with all the colleges at our English universities, as well as elsewhere, & knows & feels the requirements of a perfect Collegiate Establishment better than any other—Being of the religion of the people & Priesthood of Ireland Seems to identify him with that country, while he is even now actively employed in the erection of several beautiful & interesting Structures both in Kerry, Waterford, Wexford &c—Were there any native Architect of equal merit,—but which I do not apprehend there is, for Pugin himself has only acquired his present skill, by very great study & experience added to an extraordinary intuitive faculty for the art,—I should not have thought of taking this liberty. Under Pugin, one is *sure* of having everything that could be desired, without any mistake or disappointment, & I am confident that neither y^r^. Grace, nor the other commissioners, would desire to see the very liberal grant which has been made spent in a manner unworthy of it, & I have also every reason to Believe that the Government would be glad to see Pugin employed, as his Reputation now stands so high.

I have the honour to remain
My Lord ArchBishop
Your Grace's most obedient, humble Servant
Shrewsbury

Pugin undertakes in his letter to Gentili of 29 June to send him the few letters from Mary Amherst which are still in his possession.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Dublin, Monday, 14 July 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/26 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dublin Monday.

Revd & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

it seems an age since I heard from you. I am at present in Dublin where I have been sent by Governtment on the Manooth business. it is very probable that I shall execute the new buildings at the college—this will be a grand step towards the revival of ecclestical architure in Ireland. I have been so much hurried lately I have hardly had a moment. pray send me a line. I shall hope to see you at S^t^ Augustins this Autumn.[1] you would be deligted—I am sure—& I need not say what Pleasure it would give me to see you there.

ever with respect dear M^r^. Bloxam
your devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] There is no record of Bloxam visiting St Augustine's at any time.

To HENRY DRUMMOND Dublin, Monday, 14 July 1845

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/62[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dublin. Monday.

My Dear Sir

not having gone into the expenditure of your buildings I do not know how we stand, but I shall feel obliged if you would order £50 to be paid to my account at Western Branch of the London Joint stock bank in the course of this month.

I have arrived safe in Ireland—& hope to get all right.

I remain with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed, in what may be Drummond's hand, '£50 26 July 1845'.

To EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY Dublin, Monday, 14 July 1845

Text: MS Pusey House Pusey Papers 21/30[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Dublin Monday.

at S[t] Patricks cathedral to day I saw the *comunion table* & the *space within the rails* covered over with a *net* like a fruit tree. on asking the reason of the verger he told him it was to prevent people sitting in there!!! [*Sketch: 'net' over altar*]

Revd & Dear Sir

I saw M[r]. Oconnor in London on Friday & finding he was about to prepare the groups I think it is highly desirable that you send him to Rouen to see the glass in the different churches there.[2] his journey by Rail to southampton & thence by boat to Rouen would be attended with litte expense & I think the greatest benefit to the window. he could then take pieces of glass with him & compare the tints. I merely sugest the propriety of this for I am very anxious about the execution of this window. it ought to be a very fine thing. if you approve of this when I go back to London which I hope will be next week I could give M[r]. Oconnor full instructions respecting the best windows for him to examine.[3]

I remain dear sir with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I am at present in Ireland on the Manooth College business. it is very probable I shall have the building. if so the regeneration of ecclestical architure in Ireland is certain.

[1] The MS is endorsed '?1845' in one unidentified hand and 'July 45 See letter to Todd' in another.

[2] O'Connor was making the window to Pugin's design which Pusey commissioned for the church of St Saviour, Leeds.

[3] Pugin returned to London on 18 July but only to pass through, for he travelled all the way from Liverpool to Ramsgate on that day.

To THOMAS DOYLE — Dublin, Tuesday, 15 July 1845

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: Rev[d] D[r] Doyle / Chapel house / London Road / Lambeth / London *Postmark*: JY 15 45; 17 JY 17 1845

✠ Dublin July. 15

Rev[d] & Dear Sir

I have recd the inclosed account from Wailes with a most piteous letter for payment. will you be so good as to forward him the amount at your earliest convenience—his direction is Westgate

Newcastle on Tyne.

I hope you do not forget what I wrote to you about the tower—I am quite satisfied £100 will not repair the injury of another winter with its present covering.[1] it should be Leaded with a preparation for the Scaffolding.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The tower of St George's, Southwark.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Dublin, Tuesday, 15 July 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / 166 Great Charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: JY 15 45

My Dear Hardman

I herewith send you the Drawing for Lady Arundels Brass. £1. 1.[2] you have the arms & the inscription.[3] if the Lozenge is not Large enough for the arms you can increase it. [*Sketch: lozenge*] of this you must judge. I am still in this horrid place but have some glimerings of a release. I assure you the Last 2 days are worth the whole of the comission on the building.

I think I shall be with you on Friday. if so at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1.[4]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter, which has been assigned the number 76 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO, is written in pencil.

[2] In his diary for 1845 Pugin makes a note of 'J H Drawings Lady A brass 1. 1. 0' on the back end-paper [e].

[3] The Arundell coat of arms is sable with six swallows argent; by way of the French 'hirondelle', the swallow is a play on Arundell.

[4] Pugin's diary shows that he passed through Birmingham as he journeyed from Liverpool to Ramsgate on Friday 18 July.

To JOHN ROGERS HERBERT[1] July 1845?

Text: 'Mr. Pugin on Christian art', *Builder*, 3 (2 August 1845): 367[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

MY DEAR HERBERT,—I have almost given up my hope of seeing any real good effected by the School of Design, which ought and which (I feel assured) might be made the most powerful and effective means of creating a school of *national artists*, not mere imitators of any style, but men imbued with a thorough knowledge of the history, wants, climate, and customs of our country; who would combine all the spirit of the medieval architects and the beauties of the old Christian artists, with the practical improvements of our times and our increased anatomical knowledge; we should then create a school founded on the old principles, and yet a true expression of our period. I must own I have long entertained a most sanguine hope that Christian art and architecture may be carried to a far higher degree of perfection than they ever attained during the middle ages. The real source of art is *nature*, and the best artists of every nation and period have taken it as their standard, and represented it under the peculiar aspect of their locality and period.

It is absurd to talk of Gothic leaves or Gothic figures; the types of the foliage introduced in the decoration of the first medieval buildings are all to be found in nature; and any garden and field can supply beautiful models for the sculptor. I am now preparing a work on vegetable and floral ornament, in which, by disposing natural leaves and flowers in geometrical forms, the most exquisite combinations are produced, and of precisely the same character as those found in the illuminations—stained glass, incised plates, &c., of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[3] As regards images, no reasonable man would think of altering the proportions of the human frame, so beautifully and wisely ordained by the Creator; but it is by the disposition and draping of the figure that the Christian artist obtains his effect. The sublime repose of the ancient statues, and the majestic simplicity of the folds of their drapery, are the true characteristics of the old sculptors, and not any affected quaintness of outline. By draping a lay figure of natural proportions in stuff and vestments which were in use during the middle ages, the identical folds and forms are produced in reality which we see represented in a greater or less degree of perfection in the ancient works. *The first productions of Christian art are the closest approximations to nature, and when they failed in proportion and anatomy, it was not a defect of principle, but of execution.* If the students of the School of Design were trained in this manner, we should get splendid designers for stained glass, frescos, and brasses; and sculptors who would not represent departed Christians

under the guise of dying gladiators, nor statesmen and ecclesiastics as half denuded maniacs.

But the school should be also a place for the formation of *operative* as well as designing artists: we want artist smiths in silver and iron, artist chasers in metals, artist glass painters, artist engravers for enriched plates, artists for the manufacture of stuffs and the production of embroidery; and these should be well grounded in the fundamental principle of adapting the style and working of its ornament, not only to the purpose, but the *material* in which it is to be produced. Wood, stone, glass, silk, and metal, require totally different treatment in their enrichment, suited to their separate properties: the same leaf would be produced in a totally different manner if wrought in metal or carved in wood, and the practical knowledge of these matters is indispensable for the revival of true taste in manufactures. Now the School of Design in its present form, so far from tending to promote any of the ends and principles which I have mentioned, is in fact a hinderance to the revival of true taste and feeling, for the minds of the students are perverted, by copying the same stale models that have been used for years, without producing a single artist capable of designing any thing original or appropriate. I see nothing but Pompeian arabesques, Greek friezes, and capitals—works certainly good in their kind—excellent illustrations of the opinions and principles of the nation which produced them, but *more than useless* when employed to form a school of English artists; they lead to a miserable system of adaptation of obsolete symbols and designs, appropriate only to times and people from whom they originated; and while this system is pursued, the school cannot produce one man fit to be employed in our national works, and at the present time I am actually driven to seek efficient assistance from the Flemish and German operatives.[4]

It is misnamed a *School of Design;* it is a mere *drawing school*, and a drawing school for bad models; that is to say, models which must fail in generating original artists, and which can only form bad copyists and adapters. Now, I do feel anxious that this period and this country should be distinguished by a new school of art, which should combine all the excellencies of the old men with the greatest purity of drawing and proportion, and the admirable execution of the ancient operatives, with any improvement of science and mechanical skill; then, indeed, we might produce a class of artists that would be capable of decorating our churches and public buildings, and skilful operatives for manufactures. England might then be distinguished by a national school of art, which would illustrate its history, and produce objects suited to our present wants and circumstances. This is merely a rough outline of my views on the subject, but it is one of such importance, and things are going on so badly, that I could no longer refrain from sending them to you even in this crude and imperfect state.—My dear Herbert, yours, &c.,

A. WELBY PUGIN.

[1] Herbert was a master at the School of Design.

[2] This letter is similar to but not identical with the letter to an unidentified correspondent of 4 May

1845: see *Belcher 1987*, A35. The *Builder* began considering the School of Design in its issue of 7 June and the discussion continued well into July.

[3] Pugin's book *Floriated Ornament* was not published until 1849, but he was contemplating it from before the time of this letter to Herbert. A letter which Henry Bohn, eventual publisher of *Floriated Ornament*, wrote him on 13 January 1845 is preserved in the Franklin collection, with the number [306] in the microfilm of that collection; in it, Bohn assures Pugin that he will 'most willingly' publish his book on 'floriated crosses'; if the plates are to be coloured like those in the *Glossary*, 'it cannot be a cheap book'. 'The Glossary', he continues, 'will be out of print before we can get out a new edition, as there are not 50 copies on hand. Please tell me whether you have any corrections & additions for the next ed^{n}. as otherwise I should put it to press immediately. A country correspondent (a Books^{r}. at Leamington, I believe Catholic) recommended me to get up a Glossary on a more comprehensive plan, to include Fonts, Bells, Rood-lofts, &c. &c.—can you make it convenient to include these in your next.

I shall be glad of some more Cathedrals when you find time.' This is apparently an allusion to the project about which Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of 28 April 1842.

[4] It was often held against Pugin in the public press at the time that he engaged foreign workers, alleged to be Catholic, rather than English ones. When his letter of 3 September 1845 is printed in the *Builder*, it is followed immediately by a letter from Crace stating 'distinctly, that not one single foreigner is, or has been engaged upon the decorations of the New House of Lords' (p. 426); 'after receiving the sketches from Mr. Barry', Crace continues, 'I have drawn them out full size with my own hands'.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, about Sunday, 20 July 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/10[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I am much obliged to you for writing but M^{r} Barry had written to me the day before wishing me to send you a design for the panels you speak off. I belive he has now resolved on having them carved but if not the accompaning sketch will enable you to understand what is meant. [*Sketch: panel of arms.* Fig. 11] you will of course preserve the same character as the enamels but placing the supporters beneath—& the shield enlarged.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 20 July 1845?[1]

Text: MS PC [HLRO 129] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Sunday.

My Dear Hardman

I have written for the plan of gallery for you. I got home last night.[2] I am (au desespoir). D^{r}. A. has behaved in so extraordinary a maner during my absence that I

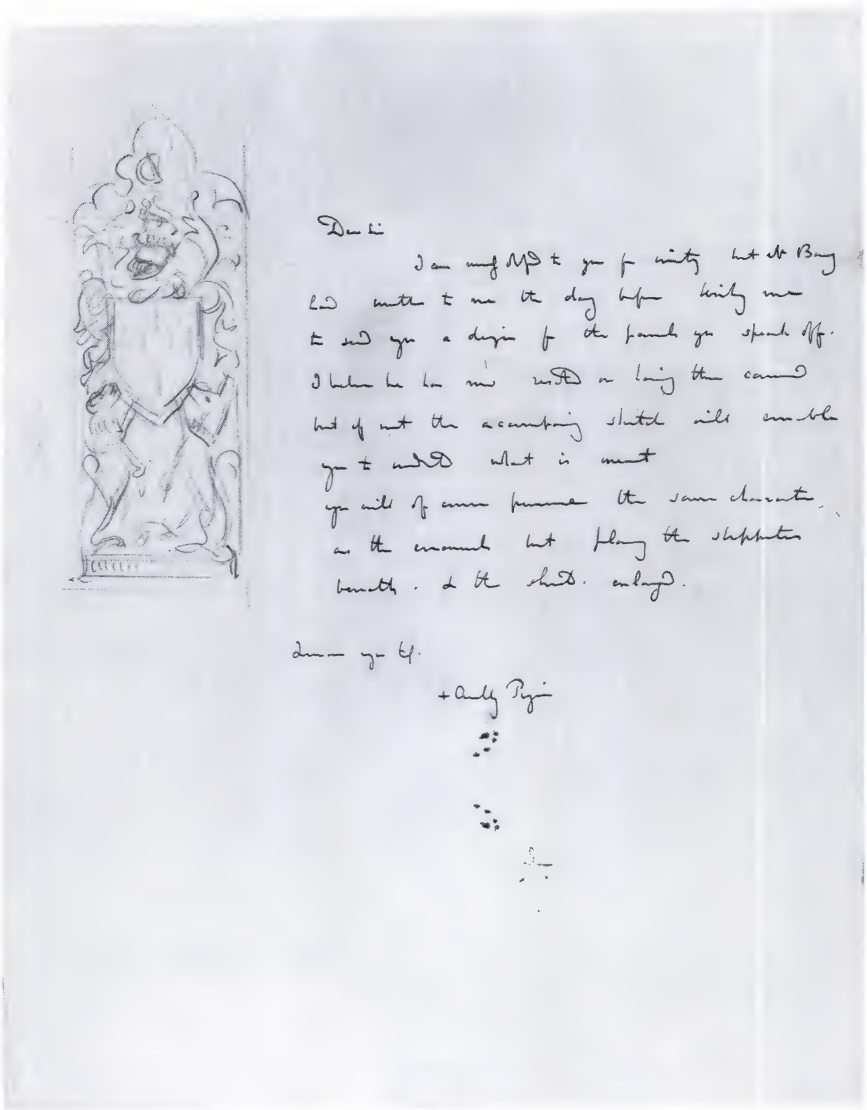

Figure 11 A panel of arms for the House of Lords, drawn in the letter to J. G. Crace perhaps sent about 20 July 1845

must put an end to the whole thing as speedily as possible.[3] this afternoon he positively insulted me in the very chapel. I am so sick of everything that I am determined no ecclestick shall ever live in my house again. I would rather go 20 miles to mass. no man could do more than I have done & no man could have had a worse result. my

only object now is to get rid of him quietly. I shall buy him out. he has forbidden poor Miss Greaves to assist at Vespers by singing a litte, never was a better sould. she will soon be received in the church & she exerts herself to the utmost for the chapel.[4] so my organ is useless. a *viler tyrant* if he Could be, I believe never existed. I have tried the experiment & the result is wretched—so I give up. I have now compleatly failed in all my hopes. I am done double brown. I am happy to give you a good acount of Powell. since I have left he has worked very well & on an improved scale. his drawing of S[t] Eligius for the Sign will be sent off tomorow.[5] My workshop is beautiful if I have heart enough left to work in it. do send some rubbings to
Dawson Turner Es[qr].
Gt Yarmouth.
I have written to him about them.

[1] The date is suggested by Pugin's letter to Dawson Turner of 22 July 1845.
[2] Pugin's diary records that he reached home on 18 July.
[3] Dr Acquarone.
[4] Pugin tells Hardman in his letter of 9 October 1845 that Miss Greaves has just made her conversion.
[5] The sign for Hardman's new premises in Great Charles Street.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Sunday, 20 July 1845?

Text: *Ferrey*, pp. 131–2 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I have just returned from Ireland, and to all appearances, everything is arranged about Maynooth, but, after the great experience I have had of the uncertainty of human affairs, I shall not calculate on it till we have actually begun. I was very kindly received both by the authorities of the colleges and the Lord Lieutenant, *who invited me to a grand state dinner on Tuesday.*[1]

[1] The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was Lord Heytesbury. William A'Court (1779–1860), created Baron Heytesbury of Heytesbury in 1828, served as viceroy of Ireland from July 1844 to July 1846. Pugin records in his diary that he saw him on 14 July and dined with him on 15 July.

To DAWSON TURNER — Ramsgate, Tuesday, 22 July 1845

Text: MS TCC DT 0 14 39, fol. 19 *Address*: Dawson Turner Esq[r] / Gt Yarmouth *Postmark*: Addington Place; JY 21 1845 in Ramsgate; 22 JY 22 1845; JY 23 1845 in Yarmouth Norf[k]

Ramsgate July 22 1845[1]

Dear Sir
I send you Letters from D[r] Pusey—Revd M[r] Ward Revd M[r] Oakley, Revd M[r] Wackerbarth—Rev D[r] Routh the venerable president of Magdalene Coll.[2] M[r].

Howard of Corby MP.[3] Dr Wareing the Bishop—John Talbot of wexford & a very interesting Letter of Good Lord Shrewsburys—relating to my Late severe affliction.[4] I will soon send you more. I have directed Mr. Hardman to send you several Rubs of *new brasses.*[5] I shall be very anxious to hear what you think of them.

ever with respect
in haste
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

D. Turner Esqr

[1] There is no doubt about the postmarks; either Pugin or the post office servant in Ramsgate made a mistake.

[2] Perhaps Pugin sends the letters because of their seals. Inside the boards, back and front, of the volumes in which Turner's collection of letters is bound, rectangles have been cut out to form a well, which is covered again by the cut-out board re-affixed by ribbon hinges. In these protective wells, Turner's collection of wax seals is housed, neatly ranged in rows, often with a label bearing the name to which the seal belongs. Two different seals of Pugin's are thus mounted in the volume for the first half of 1844; and examples of other seals made to his design can be found elsewhere, for instance, the seal of John Allcard.

Pugin probably means W. G. Ward, and certainly means Frederick Oakeley. F. D. Wackerbarth he had known since June 1841; he makes a note of Wackerbarth's address in his diary for 1845 on the page facing page 2: '10. Staple inn London.' Pugin may have found Wackerbarth's taste sympathetic; in a letter to Hardman of 18 February 1845 preserved in ML, Wackerbarth describes large French Renaissance candlesticks he has seen on an altar as standing 'like a row of poplars in front of a cockney's house'; when he made a gift of candlesticks of Pugin's design to replace them, the priest of the church, Dr Angelo M. Baldacconi (1793–1868), conceded to Hardman, on 22 April 1845, that the '*articles* are indeed *splendid*' but condemned them notwithstanding as '*too small*'.

[3] Philip Henry Howard (1801–83), son of Henry Howard of Corby Castle, was MP for Carlisle from 1830 to 1847 and from 1848 to 1852.

[4] William Wareing was appointed vicar apostolic of the eastern district in 1840. The 'Late severe affliction' is presumably the death of Louisa.

[5] Pugin asks Hardman to send the rubbings in his letter perhaps of 20 July 1845.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Thursday, 24 July 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/27 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ St Augustins Thursday

Revd & Dear Mr. Bloxam

a gentleman called this afternoon whom I have since found to have been your Brother in Law & left word that you intended coming to Ramsgate next week. nothing can be more unfortunate as far as I am concerned for I am obliged to start tomorow for Germany & shall be absent about 2 weeks—I could not possibly defer my journey on account of my various Later engagements & I need not say how truly sorry I am to miss you but at all events you will find a most hearty welcome from

Miss Greaves—who will be deligted to shew you everything—& I *beg* of you to *use my Library as you* would your *own.*[1] the modern rooms at Ramsgate are odious to us & I am sure you will delight in the atmosphere of my house so come & sit there as often and as long as you like—ever dear Mr Bloxam with respect

your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin set off for Germany, according to his diary, on Friday 25 July and returned home, more than three weeks later, on 17 August.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Friday, 25 July 1845

Text: MS PC Franklin [74] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate feast of St James.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am just on the point of starting for a short tour to get some sketches in Germany—very shortly after my return I will come down to Alton but it is of course impossible for me to be there at the same time as the Phillipps for which I am very sorry—but if I miss this oppunity of going abroad—I shall be done for the year.[1]

I am sure the spire at cheadle will have a glorious effect we the scaffolding is removed. I cannot conceive why the East window does not harmonize with the rest. I shall see. it ought to be very good. I long to have the screen up. I sent the casts for the stringcourse in Lieu of the angels some time ago. I will write from the continent if I see anything very fine

& remain ever dear Lord Shrewsbury—with great respect
your most devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Perhaps the reading near the beginning of the sentence should be 'a short time'. A number of sketches made on this journey are catalogued in *Wedgwood 1977*, pp. 100–4 and pp. 107–9. Pugin returned from this trip on 17 August but did not go to Alton till 5 September.

To CHARLES BARRY — Basle, Friday, 1 August 1845

Text: *A. Barry*, p. 54 *Address*: none *Postmark*: '5 August 1845'[1]

Basel, August 1.

There is nothing I have seen to compare with Basel, except Nuremburg. Lots of fine iron work—such clocks in leaden turrets! Do not you envy me?

MY DEAR MR. BARRY,—I have arrived safe at Basel, and begin to return on Saturday.[2] I have seen a great deal in a little time, and much that will be applicable to the great work.[3] After all there will be nothing like it, for the largest of the old works are small in comparison, and not half so well carried out; and *I must own that I think you are right in the principle of repetition of bays.* All the great town-halls are certainly so, and I have paid particular attention to this point. *You know I never hold out after I am convinced, and now I can advocate it conscientiously.* The best modern architecture I have seen is the railway from Mannheim to Strasbourg.[4] The stations are beautiful—all constructive principle. If the roofs had a higher pitch, they would be almost perfect. I have seen some splendid metal-work in brass and iron, and have taken a fresh supply from the fountain of medieval antiquity; you ought really to be forced away for two weeks to this country, it would do you a world of good, and you would fetch up the actual time afterwards. Remember life ebbs away, and every year some fine old thing is destroyed. You ought, as a positive duty, come to these countries now and then. I am so up to everything that I could give you such directions that would enable you to see a vast deal even in two weeks. I expect to be back about the 19th of this month, and I shall come direct to you.[5] I left them plenty of work at Thames Bank well explained, so I think they will get on well till I return. If you decide on the upper tracery panels it will make a deal of work both for joiners and carvers. I thought you would be glad to know where I was, and therefore I have sent you these few lines, and I only wish I could persuade you to follow my example. There is a great deal of fine old heraldry about the buildings in Basel and in Alsace. I see so much that I did not know of at all, that it really appears as if we know less the longer one studies; and I suppose, by the time one is very knowing indeed, we shall be almost past profiting by the knowledge.

Am yours most sincerely,
A. WELBY PUGIN.

[1] This postmark is given by *A. Barry.*
[2] Pugin reached Basle on 31 July and left there on Saturday 2 August for Schaffhausen.
[3] The new Houses of Parliament.
[4] Pugin travelled from Mannheim to Strasbourg on 31 July, on his way to Basle.
[5] After he returned to England on 17 August, Pugin went up to London on 19 August.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Basle, Saturday, 2 August 1845

Text: *Ferrey*, pp. 130–1 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Hotel des Trois Rois, Basle;
October 2nd.[1]

MY DEAR LORD SHREWSBURY,

I have arrived safe at Basle, and never was better repaid by a journey. I think this is one of the most interesting places I have seen next to Nuremburg. I wonder your

lordship did not recommend me to come here before. There are several exquisite things, especially in lead work, and everything is so picturesque. I feel a great deal better than I have done for some time; the journey has done me good in every way. I shall return laden with treasures of detail. It is wonderful to find so much that is new even to me, and I have had dreadful weather all the time, but I have managed, by working in doors during the worst rain, to get on. I arrived here in a dreadful thunderstorm, and we have another to-night. I never saw heavier rain, and those who had any luggage got it soaked; thanks to my large pockets and mackintosh I escaped dry. It is quite delightful to travel without incumbrances. I care nothing for custom houses and baggage offices. *I have everything about me, and cannot leave anything, it is the only way to travel with comfort.* I met two Oscott students with six large packages, out for three weeks' tour!!! It is quite a duty to sketch all the fine old places, for they are modernizing in every direction, and in a few years we shall have nothing left. Mayence is utterly ruined, nothing but modern streets and great square houses. I begin to return on Monday, and purpose coming down to Alton soon after my arrival in England.[2] As soon as I get back I will write again to your lordship, but I thought you would be glad to hear that I was well, and had accomplished the object of my journey.

Ever, dear Lord Shrewsbury,
With great respect,
Your most devoted and faithful servant,
A. W. PUGIN.

[1] This date cannot be right for Pugin was then at Alton Towers.
[2] On Monday 4 August Pugin travelled from Schaffhausen to Fribourg. He returned to England on 17 August but did not visit Alton till 5 September.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Monday, 18 August 1845[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I go up to London Tomorow.

if you could let me off till the 2^{d} of sep^{r}. I could bring you lots of Drawings &^{c} with me.[3] pray do if possible for I have all my Maynooth plans to prepare & only a few days for them.[4]

My Dear Hardman

I have just got home & found your Letter.

respecting Lady arundels arms it is quite impossible to get them into the Lozenge so we must introduce an A instead & have a Large shield on the stem of the cross.[5] [*Sketch: 'A' in lozenge.* Fig. 12] [*Sketch: cross with lozenge and shield.* Fig. 12] by these means all the Quarterings will come in.

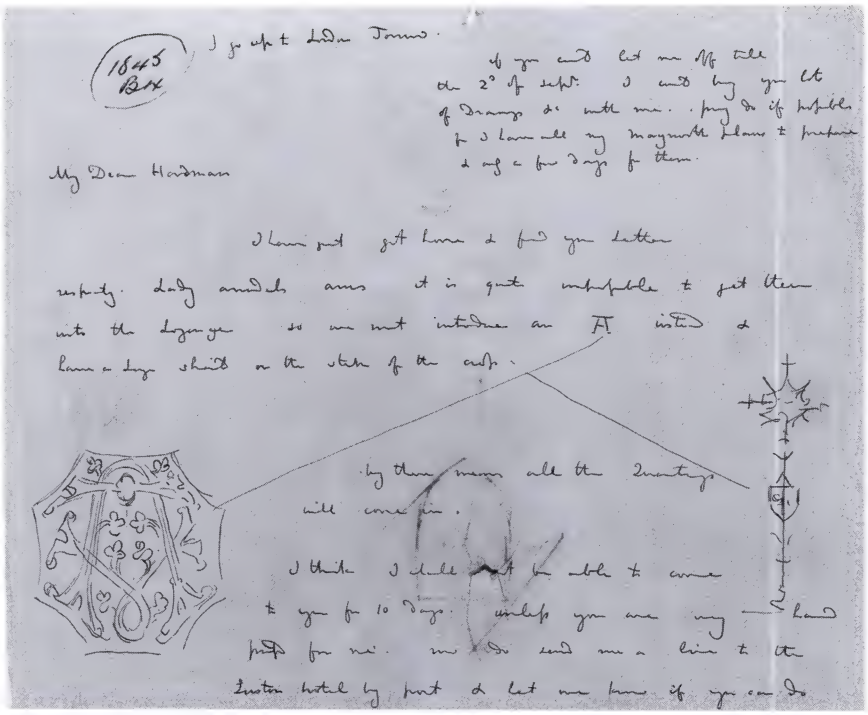

Figure 12 An initial for Lady Arundell's brass, sketched for John Hardman on 18 August 1845

I think I shall not be able to come to you for 10 days—unless you are very hard pressed for me. now do send me a line to the Euston hotel by post & let me know if you can do without me for a short time longer. if you are hard up I will come but I am so behind with drawings that a few day's would be a real grace.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I was delighted to hear of your new son & that all is going on well.[6] I know you have been very anxious.

[1] Since Pugin says that he has 'just got home', this letter may have been written on Sunday 17 August; but he also says that he goes to London 'Tomorow', and he left Ramsgate on Tuesday 19 August, according to his diary.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter carries the number 35 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[3] Pugin travelled to Birmingham on Wednesday 3 September, according to his diary.

[4] Pugin notes in his diary at 25 August that he 'Began the Maynooth drawings'.

[5] The arms are to be represented on the brass commemorating Lady Arundell.

[6] James Mary Hardman was born on 7 August 1845; the baptismal register at St Chad's records his baptism on 9 August. His life was brief: MWDB charges to Hardman at 1 July 1847 'A Small Coffin' costing

nine shillings and sixpence, four brass coffin handles at a price of £1. 10*s*., and 'A White Metal Coffin Plate to memory of James M. Hardman' which costs fifteen shillings and sixpence. At 18 October 1847 there is a further entry charging £1 for 'A Small Oak Coffin, for James Hardman', and two shillings and sixpence for 'Opening Vault at S[t] Chads &c'.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Ramsgate, Monday, 18 August 1845?

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/28 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S Augustins Monday

My dear Lord Shrewsbury

conceiving your Lordsip had returned to alton I address a Letter there immedialy on my return from Germany—but by mere accident I learnt this morning that you were still in town, will you kindly send me a line to let me know how long your Lordsip purposes remaining in town—as I am I coming up very shortly & would not on account miss seeing your Lordsip if you had not left.

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your devoted & faihful sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

I presume my other Letter will reach London from Alton tomorrow.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Tuesday, 19 August 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 869] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I think you ought to have some more money on the railing—they are the worst pay at the houses of any I have yet met with—I expect to with you next week but when I do not know—perhaps Tuesday but it is quite uncertain.[1] ever your devoted friend

✠ AWelby Pugin

They must send you the brass gates. you say nothing about the lock for the house I sent you.[2] you better not write here again in answer to this as I shall probably have left home. I shall see Early in London.[3]

[1] Pugin's payment for his work for the Palace of Westminster is one subject in a letter written by Barry on 25 November 1845, which is printed in *EWP*, pp. 36–7.

Dear Pugin,—I have ordered £100 to be paid to your account at the London and Westminster Bank, according to your wish; but verily you are a man of little faith.

Know you not that I am well aware that your remuneration hitherto has been altogether inadequate to your deserts, and that the *Fat* is yet to come. You say I am a reasonable man, and so I am, and it shall not be my fault if your remuneration ultimately is not all that you can wish; but I will not do you the injustice to believe that filthy lucre only is the main spring of all your efforts on behalf of the great work, but that like myself you are prepared to make a sacrifice for the glory of making it the means of establishing for the future what you believe the one and only true style of art. When, however, we meet again, we shall talk over this matter, and I have no doubt I shall be able to appease your mind and put it in a fit state to enable you to proceed with your holy work at Ramsgate with fitting composure and christian resignation.

The proportion and size of the figure, together with the canopy and base, will do admirably, therefore let Oliphant proceed. The details of the pannelling (with the trifling exception of the form of the arched heads to the principal pannel, which I have corrected in pencil), and also the proposed decoration of it will also do very well, but I should like to see the detailed drawings of the carvings before they are sent to Thames Bank. I have no objection to the proposition of the common pannels at the back of the Throne being sown with lions.

I have made application in the proper quarter for the orders of the Queen, the Prince of Wales's Arms, and the badges appertaining to him as Duke of Cornwall, &c.

Be not sceptical but ever believe me, &c., &c.

Pugin is not known to have banked with the London and Westminster Bank. Francis Wilson Oliphant (1818–59), husband of the novelist Margaret Oliphant, was an artist who exhibited at the Royal Academy and designed stained glass; he worked for Wailes for a time but left him late in 1845 and set up on his own account in London. Pugin employed him often to draw the figures for his windows. The earliest known letter from Pugin to Oliphant appears to have been written in 1846.

Pugin did not go to Birmingham until 3 September 1845.

[2] This may be the order entered in MWDB at 8 October 1845 where Pugin is charged £5. 7*s.* for '6 Sets of Lock Furn^e.' and other locks, 'Knobs & Roses'.

[3] Earley was painting the Lady chapel of St George's, where he began after his dismissal from Albury. His letters to Hardman in ML August 1845 document progress: the scaffold is up, according to the earliest of them, and later he has put four coats on the ceiling, the plasterer has just finished, the masons are working the piscina. On a 'Thursday Evening' which Pugin's diary suggests must be that of 21 August, he has seen Pugin who 'appears perfectly satisfied of the Course I adopted at M^r. Drummonds' and spent 'the whole of this afternoon giving me designs and instructions how to proceed with the work'. Earley saw Pugin again, apparently on the morning of 16 September: his letter is dated 16 August but that is clearly an error since Pugin was in Calais on that date; Pugin was 'very much pleas'd with the work and was perfectly satisfied as to the quantity of Gold' used by Earley; he instructed Earley to proceed to Albury as soon as he finished at St George's, which Earley hopes to do on the following Tuesday, 23 September. Hardman's DDB notes an expenditure of £66. 17*s.* 11*d.* on St George's at 29 September 1845. MWDB gives more details in an entry dated 11 October:

Travelling Expenses of Men & Boys to London	4	5	-
Time. 2 Men & 2 Boys, at painting &c.	29	5	9
Materials used in Painting &c.	33	7	2

As well as seeing Earley on 21 August, Pugin spent time with Barry, whose desk diary records that he went 'with Pugin to Thames Bank' on that day.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — London, Thursday, 21 August 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 3/2[1] *Address*: M^r. John Crace Jn^r / Wigmore street / Cavendish Square[2] *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

The bearer of this is a painter who I employ to execute ceilings &c for me in churches.[3] I do not think he is in a good way of getting his colours. will you be So kind as to recomend to a good place both as regards Quality & price.

ever yours most Sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845'.

[2] Pugin sketches on the address panel a map, with compass, showing 'oxford street', Cavendish Square and the position of Crace's shop in Wigmore Street.

[3] The painter is likely to be Earley, whose work at St George's, Southwark, Pugin inspected on 21 August.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — En route, Friday, 22 August 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/39[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Octave of the assumption

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have just returned from Germany. I heard you had been at Bruges & were staying at Dover but not knowing your address I send this to oxford. I remain at home till next Friday & it would give me the greatest delight to see you.[2] it would distress me very much to think of your having been in my neighbourhood without seeing me. I cannot tell you how sorry I am at not seeing your sister but it was the very day of my departure when they called and as I had an immense deal to Leave straight before I went I gave strict orders not to disturb me & it was not till some time after they had gone, that I knew who had been.[3] so far from being at dinner I got no dinner at all—nothing could be more unfortunate & I have been very much distressed about it. I quite long to see you. the present state of things is quite wonderful. I have ceased to be astonished at anything or Wards case would have astonished me.[4] I shall hope to see him soon—I have not even heard from him for Months. I am busier than ever—the Maynooth College is a great work & I am to build a collegiate church for D[r] Griffiths at old hall which will do immense good & introduce a true spirit of ecclestical architecture in the London district.[5] I have now a mass of work to get through this week that would frighten anyone but me but I can put on a great pressure of steam & I am thank God better than I have been for some time. pray send me a line & if you can come over & see me it will be deligful.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam with respect
yours most Sincerely ✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil, and in a corner of what would be the address panel on the verso Pugin jots 'Rd J. B' lightly in pencil. Perhaps the letter was written at Ramsgate, which Pugin gives as his address,

but ink could be expected if he were at home. On Friday 22 August he returned from 'London to Ramsgate', according to his diary, and the use of pencil suggests that he wrote during his journey.

[2] It was not until 2 September, Tuesday, that Pugin 'Left Ramsgate for London', according to his diary.

[3] Bloxam's brother-in-law called at The Grange on 24 July, as Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of that date.

[4] W. G. Ward.

[5] Pugin designed the chapel of St Edmund's College, Old Hall Green, Ware, the seminary for the London district, of which Griffiths, a former president of the college, was bishop. *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 59, describes two designs for the chapel.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — En route, Friday, 22 August 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/7[1] *Address*: M[r]. J. Crace Jn[r] / wigmore street / Cavendish Square / London *Postmark*: Addington Place; AU 22 1845 in Ramsgate; 23 AU 23 1845

✠ Ramsgate Friday

My Dear Sir

M[r]. Barry has given me a plan of the Lords ceiling for me to arrange the bosses—but the number you have written out is not correct & there are some emblems such as the gate & Portcullis—the orb &[c] which you have not set down at all. I therefore send you the pieces of Paper to make out the correct number *72*. then please to send them down to me & I will give you sketches of the appropriate ornaments for the panels & the arrangement of the various emblems.[2] I was very glad to see the ceiling so far advanced.

I do not expect any further obstacles. I want you to finish my picture frame & when I hear from herbert I will get you to send for it.[3] Let me have a correct list of the carved bosses & I will arrange them at once. I send you the peices of paper to compleat.

you will be glad to hear the Manooth job is settled. I have 3 other Large buildings since I saw you—one of this will I hope turn up something for you.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

M[r] Barry tells me you propose to paint the panels on canvass & fix them up. this is a plan but all we have to fear will be the expansion & contraction of the panels.

[1] The letter is written in pencil. Perhaps this too, like the letter to Bloxam of the same date, was written en route, ready to be posted once Pugin reached Ramsgate.

[2] Various sketches and designs, not all in Pugin's hand, for decorating the panels of the ceiling in the chamber of the House of Lords are described in *Wedgwood 1985*, pp. 204–5.

[3] Herbert's portrait of Pugin, hung at the summer exhibition of the Royal Academy. By tradition, the exhibition closed on the last Saturday of July; in 1845 that was 26 July.

A letter from Herbert to Pugin, probably written on Thursday 23 October 1845, makes incidental mention of the frame for the portrait; the MS is held in the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York.

Thursday Oct. 1845

My dear Pugin

I heard you were in Town and went to the Euston Hotel but you had left. I assure you I shall be right glad to take advantage of your kind invitation to myself & my wife to your fire side, we were thinking of making a Journey to Italy but it is too late and much as I should like the South I believe I shall be fifty times more at home and happy with you & the capital things about you than any thing else where.

Herring rather wished to have your Portrait Lithographed on different stones but I feared it would not come out well—& it should be *first rate* or not engraved, he has commissioned me to make a finished etching of it somewhat in the manner of those of Van Dyk. I propose to myself if agreeable to you to bring your Picture with me to Ramsgate & to do it while there. I will send the frame to Crace's (next week). I have no doubt I shall be able to do something with this etching which will please the admirers of the true thing. I am going to Manchester on monday & shall be a fortnight before I can Journey in the direction of Ramsgate but pray let me know *when* you are a fixture. I look forward with great pleasure to the happy mixture of fine Art and Jollity which I shall be sure to find at your house.

My wife desires her kind remembrances.

Believe me
My dear Pugin
Ever & always your faithful friend
J R Herbert

A W. Pugin Esq[r].

Pugin's diary shows that he was 'At London' on Thursday 23 October 1845. Herbert's wife, whom he married between 1830 and 1833, was Kezia Mary (1809 or 1810–90); the spelling of her maiden name is uncertain but it was probably Doolman. H. Hering was a partner in the firm of Hering and Remington of Regent Street, London, which published Herbert's engraving of his portrait of Pugin.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Friday, 22 August 1845?

Text: MS V & A PD D.800–1908[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

[*Sketch: 'Lion passant'*]

Dear Sir

I herewith send you the ceiling & will endeavour to explain the idea which M[r]. Barry wished to be carried out.[2]

1. the Red border round all the panels
2. Blue ground.
3. Crowns in all the angles. [*Sketch: crown in angle*]

There are 24 sorts of Devices for the angles.

1. 4 Labels with the motto Ich Dien—for Prince of wals[3]
2. 4 D° - - - Dieu & Mon Droit—for her majesty
3. 4 D° Treu und fest Prince Albert[4]
4. 4 letter W.
5.
6. 52 lions passant.
7. 8 Roses & crowns
8. 4 Thistles & D°
9. 4 shamrocks & D°
10. 36 VR.
17. 6 arms of kent
18. 6 D° East angles
19. 6 D° East saxons
20. 6 D° Mercians
21. 6 D° Northumberand

11	16 crosses & Mitres	22	6	D°	D°
12	12 fleur de lis	23.	6	D°	South saxons
13	12 Portcullises	24	6	D°	West saxons
14	12 Roses same as N° 7				
15	12 Pomgranites				
16	24 Rose shamrock & Thistle united				

I have written on the Plan where all these come & I think you will understand w I mean.[5]

I can come to you early on *nday* Morning next *probably before breakfast.*[6] could you have some of these badges drawn *out only in charcoal* for me to see. it would advance things very much.

I think you will understand my sketches but I can correct anything if you will get the panels sketched in full size.

ever yours truly
✠ A Welby Pugin

you may make a capital thing of the Lion passant.

[1] The letter is quoted in *Wedgwood 1985*, p. 204.
[2] The ceiling is for the chamber of the House of Lords.
[3] The German motto of the Prince of Wales, 'I serve'.
[4] Prince Albert's German motto, meaning 'loyal and steadfast'.
[5] The paper has been cut and 'what' in this sentence and 'Monday' in the next have been spoiled.
[6] Pugin has to postpone this call, notifying Crace of the change to his plan in his next two letters.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Sunday, 24 August 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/8[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Sunday.

Dear Sir

I wrote a Long Letter to you on Friday respecting the ceiling of the House of Lords & you do not allude to this in your note of this morning, it must surely have reach you. let me hear from you imedialy—my only chance of seeing you will be on Monday evening the 1st of September.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845 Aug[t].'

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Ramsgate, about Friday, 29 August 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/9[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I cannot arrive in London till Tuesday afternoon the 2[d] of September.[2] I expect to be at the palace Westm[r]. on the afternoon of that day about 5.[3] if I do not see you I will call at wigmore street in the evening or the morning or the morning of Wednesday the 3[d]. early.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845 *Aug*[st]'.

[2] The entries for September in Pugin's diary for 1845 are not clearly linked to the printed dates, and the correspondence modifies the transcript in *Wedgwood 1985*.

[3] Barry's desk diary records that on 3 September he went 'To Thames Bank with Pugin'.

To THE EDITOR OF THE *BUILDER*[1] London, Wednesday, 3 September 1845

Text: *Builder*, 3 (6 September 1845): 426[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

SIR,—As it appears by an article in the last number of "THE BUILDER," as well as in notices contained of late in other periodicals, that a misconception prevails as to the nature of my employment in the works of the new palace at Westminster, I think it incumbent on me, in justice to Mr. Barry, to state that I am engaged by him, and by him alone, with the approval of the Government, to assist in preparing working drawings and models from his designs of all the wood carvings and other details of the internal decorations; and to procure models and drawings of the best examples of ancient decorative art of the proper kind, wherever they are to be found, as specimens for the guidance of the workmen in respect of the taste and feeling to be imitated; to engage with artists, and the most skilful workmen that can be procured in every branch of decorative art, and to superintend personally the practical execution of the works upon the most economical terms compatible with the nature of it, and its most perfect performance.[3] In fulfilling the duties of my office, I do not do any thing whatever on my own responsibility; all models and working drawings being prepared from Mr. Barry's designs, and submitted to him for his approval or alteration previous to their being carried into effect; in fine, my occupation is simply to assist in carrying out practically Mr. Barry's own designs and views in all respects.

Trusting to your fairness in giving insertion to this letter in your next number,

I am, Sir, &c., ✠ A. WELBY PUGIN.

London, Sept. 3rd, 1845.

[1] Alfred Bartholomew (1801–45) succeeded J. A. Hansom as editor of the *Builder* in 1843, and was followed in 1844 or 1845 by George Godwin (1815–88).

[2] Pugin's letter is printed under the heading 'Decorations of the new House of Lords'; see *Belcher 1987*, A34.

[3] 'English decorators and the new House of Lords', *Builder*, 3 (30 August 1845): 416, is the first article to which Pugin refers; the *Artizan* and the *Spectator* are other periodicals that circulate the 'misconception' which Pugin seeks here to dispel. Pugin's disclaimer was widely disbelieved.

To JOHN HARDMAN — En route, Friday, 5 September 1845?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

Minton says that you cannot have the tiles for 2 weeks. he he promises them for that time.[3] he has made a capital holy water stoup in ware from my design. I have told him to send you some for sale & arrange so that you both sell at the same price.[4] I think you will sell a great many. they are very good.

I have travelled to day with the Revd M^r^. Mitchell of Chipping norton I think the most prejudiced & determined opponent I have ever met.[5] he was full against me you & myers—told me the old story about your things being so dear & said he was going to Coventry where D^r^ Ullathorne had got his candlesticks at half price—he also says he is building a church like one myers built for *half price* but this is not finished so we shall see.[6] he says as soon as it is done he is going to make Myers prices public. he says he bougt an oil stock of you & that it Leaked from the first day. I told him I was sure that if that was the case you would retify it or give him another. he said he would call at Charles Street. I do not know weth I have done him any good but he abused everything & said I had done a deal of mischief by offending people. I told I had done some good too. he said D^r^ R. complains that I had taken all my Glossary from him & that he intended to do it himself (what next).[7] in fact he run us all down to nothing. I said a great deal. I hope it will do him good.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

now I must blow you up yourself. you have never sent the pastoral staves in copper gilt that I ordered a long while ago for the images of Bishops at cheadle.[8] do send them for all that part is finished—also the *hinges*.[9] take the patterns first.

[1] Pugin travelled from Derby to Alton on this day, making a call at Cheadle on his way, according to his diary.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter, identified as number 47 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO, is written in pencil.

[3] A letter from Minton's firm in Stoke, dated 10 September 1845 and filed in ML, tells Hardman that 'Mr. Pugin called here a few days since, and made inquiry respecting your Tiles. We can now inform you that all are made, and we expect the whole will be ready in ten or twelve days from this date.' The tiles were for St Chad's, as appears from Minton's letter of 6 October 1845, which reports that, while 130 tiles can be sent in a fortnight's time, the remainder of the order will, because of an accident, take five weeks longer.

[4] The letter from Minton's to Hardman about the 'holy water pots' is dated 13 September 1845. They are 'not quite ready for sale at present. We have only got up two or three rich samples but will put others in hand, and send you with prices as early as possible.' Their letter of 6 October bears the news that there will be despatched the following day '3 Holy Water Fonts, the first we have sent out with the exception of one for M[r] Pugin & one for Lord Shrewsbury'. The wholesale price is twenty-five shillings, retail thirty-one shillings and sixpence. The Metal purchase ledger records these holy-water vessels at 7 October 1845 and stoups from Minton at 19 November 1845.

[5] John Mitchell (1810–99), ordained in 1837, was priest of Holy Trinity church in Chipping Norton. MWDB proves that he was an occasional customer of Hardman.

[6] William Bernard Ullathorne (1806–89) was in charge of the Benedictine mission at Coventry from 1841 until 1846.

[7] Dr Rock.

[8] The '4 Pastoral Staves in Copper gilded for Figures, Cheadle', are entered to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 23 September 1845, where their price is four guineas.

[9] Pugin writes to Hardman about the hinges in the letter which may be dated 28 December 1844.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Alton Towers, Friday, 5 September 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

Lord Shrewsbury is quite satisfied about the Derby business & will write to M[r]. Sing to night.[2] you better speak to him yourself. I would not let such a thing pass.— I have arranged with the Bishop about the convent at Nottingham.[3] you never told me what you did with Tyler about the laces in London?[4] let me know.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

you must positively send the hinges to cheadle for the Lady chapel screen. I mean the old ones. they are fixing it & are stopped.

[1] The number 96 has been assigned to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin spent the night of 4 September in Derby, where Sing was priest of St Mary's.

[3] Nottingham being in the midland district, Pugin means by 'the Bishop' either Walsh or, less probably, Wiseman. He paid a visit to Nottingham on 4 September. The entry in his diary for a date that is more likely to be 11 September than the 9 September of the transcript in *Wedgwood 1985* probably reads 'Convent Drawings Nottingham'. A group of Sisters of Mercy began their work in temporary accommodation in Nottingham in February 1844. Built from November 1845 onwards on a site by St Barnabas's, the convent constructed to Pugin's design was ready for the community to occupy in October 1846.

[4] It seems that Hardman may not yet have done anything with E. Tyler of Lonsdale and Tyler, the London firm of 'lacemen' which Pugin patronized. Pugin inquires again when he writes to Hardman perhaps on 24 September.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Liverpool, Monday, 15 September 1845

Text: MS PC Franklin [73][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Liverpool Monday evening

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have arrived safe in England—I have been to Jenkinstown—& seen Col. Bryans Place.[2] he has been compleatly robbed by an unprincipled & ignorant man. every bit of the new & old work must come down & he must start de novo. I think he sees this himself and has agreed to do so as soon as he has Legally settled with the cork man.

The Bishops were unanimous in approving of my design for maynooth—& so were the government comissioners.[3] the only difficulty now is the money. out of the 30000 £18500 is required for furniture & necessary expenses—& the balance of course is utterly insufficient for the new buildings.[4] the only chance is reserving a portion of the annual grant till the buildings are finished. this is what the trustees propose. we shall see.

M^{r} Scarisbrick is really going to build a convent & hospital.[5] I have just seen him & he has ordered me to make the plans. I am now going all night to London.[6] I purpose reaching alton on Wednesday week. I shall then have been to Ushaw Beverley &^{c} & can remain quiet & arrange everything. I shall be obliged to travel 3 nights this week. I purpose reaching alton on the 24th.

M^{r} Phillipps Father is going to make an addition to GraceDieu & I must go to arrange it.[7]

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Another hand pencils a long bracket to the left of Pugin's paragraph about Maynooth.

[2] Jenkinstown Castle at Ballyragget in County Kilkenny, described by Jeremy Williams in *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland, 1837–1921* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1994), as 'pasteboard Gothic' (p. 242), was designed about 1820 for the Bellew family by William Robertson; by the 1830s, the structure was already giving trouble, and some rebuilding was begun about 1840 under the direction of the architect Charles Frederick Anderson.

Pugin notes 'Col. Bryans' in his diary at 8 September 1845. Lady Shrewsbury's sister Margaret married in 1820 Major George Bryan of Jenkinstown; perhaps he or a member of his family is Colonel Bryan.

[3] The entries in Pugin's diary 'Went to Maynooth to meet the Bishops' and 'Went to Maynooth with Commissioner' should be dated 12 September and 13 September respectively. The Minute Book number 46 of the governmental Board of Works in Dublin, preserved in the National Archives of Ireland, deals with Maynooth during the period from 12 July to 14 October 1845. It records that Pugin met the commissioners for the college on 11 September at noon, apparently a time which Pugin himself appointed in a letter to the board probably written on 8 September. The commissioner with whom he went to Maynooth on 13 September was John Radcliff; the entry for 20 September in the Minute Book notes Radcliff's finding on that occasion that Pugin 'had on a former visit, to this country, before the Board of Works had been instructed to communicate with him, ascertained from the heads of the College, and from some of the Trustees, what was likely to be required, and in consequence came prepared with an outline Plan of his proposed arrangements—that the design appeared to have been made considering the character of the Institution, on a moderate scale, with reference to Architectural ornament—that his rough Estimate (no details being given) for the cost of erecting the *new* buildings, was at least £20,000—not calculating therein many matters indispensably necessary to perfect the arrangements'.

[4] An amount of £30,000 was voted by the government in London for the rebuilding of St Patrick's College at Maynooth. Of this sum, the entry for 20 September in the Minute Book records that £5,000 was set aside for repairs, and £8,580 to cover the estimate for furniture; the balance of £16,420 would have to pay for alterations and other repairs to existing buildings and some other work in addition to the new buildings.

[5] Pugin's diary shows that he visited Scarisbrick Hall on 15 September 1845. This commission had long been talked about, for Pugin mentions the hospital in the letter he writes to Lord Shrewsbury probably on 10 December 1844; presumably Scarisbrick accepted the terms for which Pugin stands out in his letter of 11 May 1845 about the convent, but Pugin's conviction that the job would now go ahead was apparently unfounded.

[6] Pugin notes in his diary that from Scarisbrick he journeyed 'on at night for London'. The plan for future travel which he goes on to outline here is confirmed by the diary: he reached Alton on Wednesday 24 September after visits to Ushaw from 20 September to 21 September and to Beverley on 22 September.

[7] A. L. Phillipps's father was Charles March Phillipps (1779–1862). Pugin was at Grace Dieu from 23 September to 24 September 1845; on 23 September, 'Mr Pugin arrived at 7 to make out the plans for New Offices', according to Laura Phillipps's diary, and on 24 September 'Ambrose walked with Pugin to mark the spot for the little chapel for statues from Munich'. Pugin makes a note of 'alterations at Grace Dieu' (fol. 27) in a list of his work in his account book, MS V & A L.50–1982/3.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS — En route, Friday, 19 September 1845

Text: MS AAW A81/6[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Midland Counties Railway Friday[2]

My Dear Lord Bishop

I went to S[t] Edmunds on Wednesday & set out the church—with M[r]. Myers.[3] I find the fall of the ground to the eastward so very great that I have ventured to make an alteration. I have suppressed the lead in the walls which will be useless as the level is so high up—& in Lieu thereof—1 increased the thickness of Eastern gable 9 inches in the whole hight. 2 added a fresh buttress under the East window at S & 3[d] increased the width of each side buttress from 2 feet to 2 feet 5 inches. [*Sketch: eastern end of chapel with buttress marked* 'S']

These are important alterations & are in a manner rendered necessary by the increased height at the Eastern end—& as by supressing the lead in the walls they can be accomplished without addional expense—I trust your Lordsip will approve of what I have done.

I am preparing the specification & contract

& remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin's diary shows that he travelled from 'London to Wymeswold, Nottingham and York' on this day.

[3] Pugin notes in his diary at 17 September 1845 that he 'Went to St. Edmunds and set out church'.

To JOHN HARDMAN

Ushaw, Saturday, 20 September 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Cuthberts. Saturday

My Dear Hardman

you may expect me on *Monday* night by the *Derby* train that gets in at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 so of course I shall come to you—at Handsworth so dont go to bed till I get there.[2]

I am almost worn out.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

what a flat you were not to tell Lord Shrewsbury you could not stop the cheadle things.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 46 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Pugin's diary corroborates his arrival in Birmingham on 22 September.

To WILLIAM TRAVIS SANDYS

En route, about Saturday, 20 September 1845?

Text: MS HCRO PE1/744/8[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev & Dear Sir

I find I can be with you earlier than I expected on Monday.[2] I fully expect to arrive before 10. all I want is to get away from Hull by the 3 oclock afternoon train.

I expect I shall have to give an order for some Money for M[r]. Myers on acount. I am afraid we shall some trouble with the other man.[3] I thought his price was too low to do what was intended.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil. The MS is endorsed 'W[m]. Fisher Kirk either Excise or Customs'.

[2] Pugin visited Beverley on 22 September, according to his diary.

[3] The 'other man' may be Thomas Oxley.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM

En route, Monday, 22 September 1845[1]

Text: MS MCO 528/34[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Midland Counties Railway
Monday.

Rev & Dear M[r] Bloxam

I expect to go down by the great western in the course of 2 weeks & if you are likely to be at oxford about that time I would come over to have the pleasure of a few hours conversation with you.[3] it seems an age since we met. I am as usual full of business & thank God in far better heatlh than I have enjoyed for some time. I am just starting my church at Ramsgate which I trust by the blessing of God to compleat in a few years.[4] it is small but *very solid* & will be well finished with altars windows &[c]. I propose a one aile building with centre tower Lady chapel south of chancel & a chantry for myself in the South transept with a small set of cloisters on the north side. [*Sketch: plan inscribed 'cloister', 'cloister' and 'chantry & tomb'*. Fig. 13] if I live to accomplish this I shall be indeed grateful for it will be most solemn & devotional & a great consolation to me. I forbear coments on the extraordinary passing events till I have the pleasure of seeing you. pray send me a line Directed to Alton Towers— & believe me with great respect

your devoted & faitful sert
✠ A Welby Pugin[5]

[1] The MS is inscribed by Bloxam 'Sept. 22[d]. 1845' below Pugin's date.
[2] The letter is written in pencil.
[3] Pugin first wrote 'Rev & Dear Sir', then superimposed the less distant personal name over 'Sir'. No visit to Oxford is recorded in Pugin's diary during the rest of 1845.

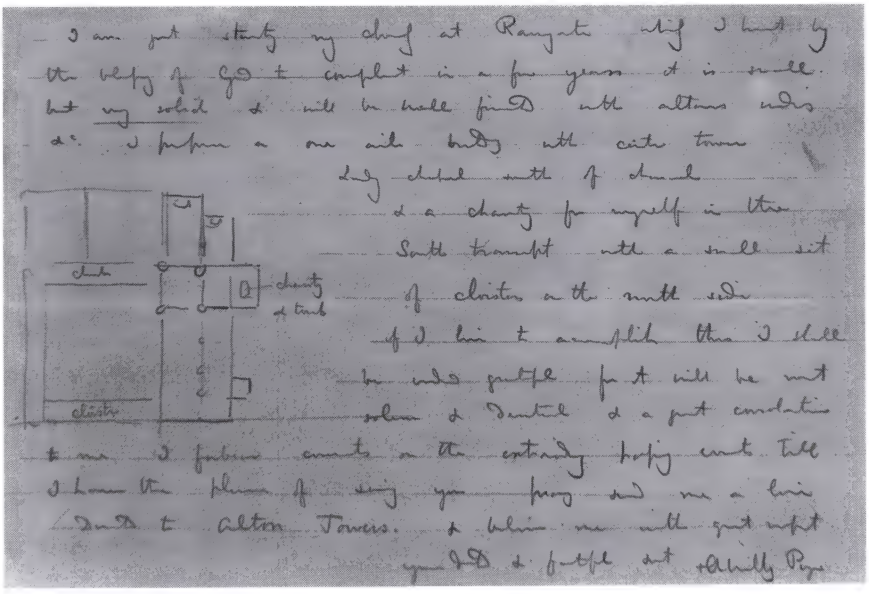

Figure 13 A plan of St Augustine's church, sent to J. R. Bloxam on 22 September 1845

[4] Pugin records 'Set out the ground for Church at Ramsgate' in his diary at 12 November 1845. St Augustine's was sufficiently advanced to be opened for worship in the summer of 1850 but it was not fully finished to Pugin's plan in his lifetime nor has the outstanding work of constructing the spire been carried out since.

[5] Pugin stayed at Alton Towers from 24 September until 3 October.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — En route, Wednesday, 24 September 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/11[1] *Address*: M[r]. J. Crace Jnr / wigmore Street / Cavendish square / London *Postmark*: SP 24 1845 in Ashby de la Zouch; 25 SP 25 1845

Dear sir

The ornament I mentioned to you as appropriate to Prince Albert is this. [*Sketch: stem, inscribed 'white', with leaves, 'vert'*] like a horn with Leaves sprouting from it.

I expect to be in London again in a few days & will call.[2]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter is written in pencil.

[2] Pugin was not in London again until 6 October.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Alton Towers, Thursday, 25 and Friday, 26 September 1845?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Thursday. Ev

My Dear Hardman

I said yesterday you were a humbug but I had not time to give the reason.[3] Lord Shrewsbury tells me that when he stated the opening of Cheadle was put off *you* ***suggested*** that the fine *work better be put on one side*—so far from urging the necessity of keeping on—it made me look like a humbug myself when I told him so. why said his Lordsip I have just seen hardman & he says quite the contrary. you are just Like Myers. you leave me to get all the money & fight out everything & never speak yourself. it was the finest opportunity in the world to have told L S. the real state of the case. I must do something to cut down the expense of the tabernacle or I fear it will end in a row.[4] I am sure I have put down too much for the brass shafts for the screens & the bratishing of Lady chapel screen, they cannot cost so much as I put down & that ought to cover the great screens a litle. do send me a list of the probable cost of everything for I begin to be afraid—when I told Lord S. you must have some money he was very vexed indeed & said he could not possibly pay any till Xmas. I have urged it very hard—& I hope I shall succeed but I am quite frightened

about this tabernacle. he has had a very bad year & young Talbots illness has distressed him very much.[5] if I can cut down the things I will to help out the screen or I shall get in great trouble. I am sure you can tell the probable cost of everything now—& I can compare it with the estimate.

I hope I shall get you some money but it will go very hard & you *have not written.* it makes me look as if I got it for *myself.* for goodness sake do write & state the case.[6] pray ease me a litte & I will second it.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

Friday
I see a better prospect of getting the £500. you do not know what hard work it is. you are a regular humbug. you shove me in the *fire* to get at the *chesnuts.* . . .

There is a strange report current about you that a Priest went to your factory & asked for some *Colours* which you sold him & he then went into the town & found out the man *who supplied* you & he sold him so more at *half price.* This will will go with M[r] Sings. I think there must be a book published. the reminiscences of Gt Charles Street. ha ha ha.

In the ushaw windows[?] introduce occasionally *brilliant* pieces of ruby.[7] [*Sketch: window*]

Dont make the 6 standards for the rood. now the screen is up I see we must have something different.

[1] This letter is placed before the next one to Hardman, with the suggested date of 28 September, because of the story of the colours in both of them, but the references to the Ushaw windows and to Earley call for a reversed order.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 44 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[3] There is no surviving letter to correspond with this statement. Pugin calls Hardman a 'flat' in his note from Ushaw of probably 20 September.

[4] It is the cost of the metalwork for St Giles's, Cheadle, which agitates Pugin. Lord Shrewsbury is charged £75 for the tabernacle in MWDB at 22 August 1846: 'A Iron Tabernacle, with richly Gilt Plate inlaid with Enamels, Border set with Chrystals & Gilt Figure on Plate.' Other items are estimated in the list which Pugin sends to Hardman with his letter perhaps of 28 December 1844.

[5] This may be Bertram Arthur Talbot (1832–56), son of C. T. Talbot, who died in April 1838, and his wife, Julia, subsequently Mrs Washington Hibbert, who later became heir to the earldom of Shrewsbury, but it is more likely to be John Talbot, who died in 1846.

[6] It is apparent from Pugin's next letter to Hardman, perhaps of 28 September, that Hardman wrote to Lord Shrewsbury as Pugin wishes.

[7] Pugin was at Ushaw on 20 September and 21 September. Either this sentence or the first point in Pugin's letter to Hardman perhaps written on 28 September is the earliest evidence afforded by the surviving correspondence that Hardman is making up Pugin's designs for stained glass. Inquiries were made in summer: a note in Hardman's hand survives in ML, recording 'Hartley & Co Sunderland Glass Stainers Written to—July 2. 1845'. An invoice in the bundle of glass invoices for 1845–6 shows that Hardman paid £10 for easels, stools, colours, and a drawing board bought from the 'Glass, China, and Earthenware Establishment' of A. Henderson of New Street, Birmingham, on 19 July 1845. Henry Alford's letter to Hardman of 20 August 1845 reveals that he knows of the commencement of Hardman's operation: 'Hearing that you have taken Henderson's glass works I wish to ask if you have any fragments of coloured glass to dispose of, for the Glazier to work up in tracery &c.—as I have obtained such from M[r]

Henderson at a trifling cost per pound: and as Myers's glazier is now here—he might make a good job of some for us, in windows where we cannot afford better.'

Windows for Ushaw are the first to be entered in SGDB when it opens at 24 November 1845: five small and two large windows, each of two lights with tracery, and one small one the same for the end of the cloister, are entered to Charles Newsham at a total cost of £47.

To JOHN HARDMAN Alton Towers, Sunday, 28 September 1845?[1]

Text: MS BCA[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

There is a point I am very anxious to have arranged. that is my stock of laces in London & you do not say anything about it.[3] I always forget when I am with you.

My Dear Hardman

1. I send you the drawings for the ushaw cloister windows which I think you will understand.[4]

2. The Mantling for the shield of the Brass plate.

3. The working drawing & inscription for the Brass for M[r] Moris of Wymeswold.[5] it is very simple—he cannot afford more than about £20.

I am working very hard but I cant keep down the work at all. I expect to be with you next Saturday—but this is yet uncertain.[6]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I have just got your Letter.

1. you have not inclosed the size of the iron tabernacle which is a bad job for me as we are wanting to set out the reredos—& I was to have arranged all tomorow.[7] too bad, too bad,

2. if you *look* at the drawing of the chresting you will see $1\frac{1}{2}$ to a foot & a drawing of the scale *marked on* it. } too bad

3 I have written to Early to come home at once.[8] I have written a very serious letter to M[r]. Drumond.[9] I am extremely offended—at his conduct & will have nothing more to do with him. I think you should employ early at Glass painting. he would do Quarries & borders exceedinly well & it would fill up time between job. I do not know what you will do with the other men.

4 you better take the windows for S[t] Wilfrids.[10]

5. I am glad you are going to take warning at Last & not let people impose on you. the story about the colours—was told me in a *friendly* way by M[r] Fairfax—who said it was circulating generally & M[r]. Dunn told me that there was a determination amongst a certain Party to put you down if possible so be on your guard & refuse to Let anybody have things either as patterns—or goods you do not sell.[11]

6 Lord Shrewsbury desires me to tell you that he has received your letter & will arrange the £500 for you.[12] I have worked well. I am as good as a father to you.

7. I think we shall pull through with all the cheadle things without alteration except the tabernacle. I will look at the drawing again & if I can make any reduction without material injury to the effect I will do so. all the rest may proceed.

8 I find I was mistaken about the Bratishing of Lady Chapel screen. pray send me the size of the Tabenacle.[13]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[*Sketch: diamond-shaped quarry with dimensions of '3' and '5'*] 3×5 is a very good size for Quaries but you better divide the lights *between the borders* into 3—make them proportionaly high. [*Sketch: light with divisions '1', '2', and '3'*]

[1] It is possible that this letter to Hardman was written before that which may be dated 25 September and 26 September 1845.

[2] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been numbered 45 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[3] Pugin asks Hardman what is being done about the laces in the letter from Alton perhaps written on 5 September. Hardman appears to have made inquiries of Tyler, whose reply is filed in ML 1845; he writes from 26 Bedford Street, Covent Garden, on 25 September. 'In accordance with the request of our Esteemd friend M[r] Pugin we beg to hand you particulars of the remaining Stock of Church Laces &c and anxious to meet your Views on promoting Sale of the Articles we are willing to make a considerable sacrifice for the entire stock and trust the deductions we have stated will meet your approval.' Tyler goes on to mention 'The Brocades' which were 'an especial & recent order from M[r] Pugin'. The intention appears to be to transfer to Lucy Powell the business which Pugin formerly conducted with Tyler. Whereas in the London *Post Office Directory* for 1842 the firm is listed as Lonsdale and Tyler, 'gold lacemen & embroiderers to her Majesty', in the *Directory* for 1846 it has become Tyler and Rogers; perhaps the change in the composition of the firm has something to do with the rearrangement contemplated here.

[4] Either this point or the sentence about the Ushaw windows in the letter to Hardman probably written on 25 September and 26 September is the earliest evidence afforded by the surviving correspondence that Hardman is making up Pugin's designs for stained glass.

[5] Pugin called at Wymeswold on 19 September and perhaps received this commission then. John Morris (1826–93), born in India and educated in England, was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1844. Received into the Catholic Church in 1846, he was ordained in Rome in 1849 and served for a time as priest of the church built to Pugin's design at Marlow. He joined the Jesuit order in 1867. Morris spent time at Wymeswold reading with Alford before commencing his formal studies at Cambridge, where he did not matriculate until Trinity term 1845.

The brass, to be laid in the church at Wymeswold, is entered to Morris of Trinity College in MWDB at 3 January 1846: 'A Monumental Brass to memory of John & Sarah Morris, let into Marble Slab', at a cost of £22. The Metal sales ledger describes it as made 'to memory of Children'. A rubbing of the brass, which commemorates Rosa Sarah Morris (d.1828) and Frederick Western Morris (d.1831), is reproduced in *Andrews*, p. 107.

[6] Pugin arrived in Birmingham on Friday 3 October, according to his diary.

[7] The work is for St Giles's, Cheadle.

[8] The reason for Pugin's abrupt recall of Earley and his displeasure with Drummond is disclosed by the letter which the painter sent to Hardman from Albury on 25 September, filed in ML.

In according to the instructions I recieved from you to go to M[r]. Drummond as soon as I had finish'd at S[t] George's I did so and found the Stain'd Glass there but M[r]. Drummond will not allow it to be put in or any painting done this year. he left positive orders with M[r]. Clark his Bailiff not to allow any work to be done until he had his orders for it. he will not give me the key of the Chantry nor allow any thing at all to be done. I have shown him your letter of instructs to me and told him if the work was not done now it might be some time before he could have it done. I have written to M[r]. Pugin to state the case to him and I shall not be able to leave here until such time as I recieve instructions and some Money from you for I

have not got but 5 Shillings with me. I would not send for money sooner in consequence of what you told me at Coventry. we are standing still here and shall be till we know what to do. please to write as soon as you can.

I remain Dear Sir your Obedient
Servant T Earley

please to direct To T Earley at M^r^. Webbs Shere near Guildford Surry.

Anthony Browne's notebook mentions that George Clarke was employed by Drummond as a steward for a time.

Hardman's DDB enters a charge to Drummond at 29 September 1845 for the travelling expenses of four persons going to Albury and back; Earley was paid six shillings a day for his seventeen days of work there, while the 'man' who assisted him for thirteen days received four shillings and twopence daily; with the wages of the two 'boys' who helped, also for thirteen days, and the cost of materials, the total account comes to £29. 16*s*. 1*d*. The same sum is entered in MWDB at 11 October 1845; travelling expenses come to £10. 2*s*., time accounts for £9. 2*s*. 9*d*., and materials amount to £10. 11*s*. 4*d*. The work done at this time was the preparation of the surface; the decoration of the chantry was not completed until early in the summer of 1847.

[9] Pugin's indignant letter to Drummond is not in the Alnwick deposit.

[10] The church built to Pugin's design in Hulme, Manchester. There is no obvious record in SGDB of glass made by Hardman for this church.

[11] Francis Fairfax was still priest at Cheadle, and 'M^r^. Dunn' is likely to be John Keon Dunne (1803–82), an Irishman educated at Oscott and priest at Cresswell, Staffordshire.

[12] Lord Shrewsbury wrote to assure Hardman of his payment; his letter dated from Alton Towers on 29 September is held in ML 1845.

Sir

I shall have pleasure in complying with y^r^. request, & will take care that you have the money before we start on the 7^th^.

It is now clear that we cannot open the Church before the first week in Sep^t^. next, as it is absolutely necessary to finish the schools & the Presbytery before we can begin to work the Church—There will therefore be abundance of time.

Y^r^. ob^t^. Ser^t^.
Shrewsbury

The Metal ledger records the payment of Lord Shrewsbury's £500 'By Cheque, per A. W. Pugin, Esq^r^.' at 7 October 1845.

[13] Pugin writes this entire sentence in a script three or four sizes larger than usual.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Alton Towers, Tuesday, 30 September 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq^r^ / 166 great Charles Street / Birmingham
Postmark: SP 30 1845 in Cheadle; OC 1 1845 in Birmingham

mind I most solemnly deny omitting to send the herse top.[2] I can *positively swear* inserting it in the letter—& no mistake.

My Dear Hardman

1 you may expect either on *Friday* evening or Saturday morning very Early & I will remain with you till the mail train on Sunday night—that will do for you.[3]

2. you have lost the chresting. I send you another sketch.

3[d] I return you tylers letter.[4] we must talk it over as you say when we meet. I see that I Shall lose a deal of Money.

4 I cant make any drawings till I get to you. I have so many things to do.

5 you should reckon £2 a foot for the very best glass so will know what to tell M[r]. Whitaker.[5]

6. The brass for Wymeswold is so simple I am sure you can do it well.[6] there is really no urgency about it. you can make the crosses smaller if you like. it may be £22 or so. we are not tied to a pound.

7 it is a capital idea to send Early to oscott.[7] you better write to D[r] Wiseman & tell him *a chance now offers* & not to lose the opportunity of having his ceiling done.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been numbered 42 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Perhaps this detail is needed for the hearse about which James Wilkinson writes to Hardman from 'St Mary's Presbytery St Pauls Square Liverpool' on 7 October 1845, his letter being filed in ML.

Dear Sir

When M[r] Pugin was last in Liverpool I gave him an order for a *Herse* for All *Souls* day. M[rs]. Powell is making what will be required in her line & I suppose M[r] Pugin has given you orders for the rest. He thought the framework might be made in Liverpool but I wrote to him the other day to desire that the whole might be made in Birmingham. as however I have not heard from him since I fear he has not received my letter. May I desire you to look to it & if M[r] Pugin has not ordered the framework to get it made also. I think I told you that I should like a better Processional Cross than the one you sent us.

I am dear Sir
Yours truly
J Wilkinson

There appears to be no record of this hearse in MWDB. Perhaps the 'chresting' of Pugin's point 2 was for the hearse.

[3] Pugin's diary shows that he arrived in Birmingham on Friday 3 October.

[4] Apparently Hardman sent Tyler's letter to Pugin after Pugin inquires about his laces in the letter perhaps written on 28 September.

[5] An undated letter from J. F. Whitaker, priest at St Wilfrid's, Hulme, is preserved in ML September 1845; he was sorry to miss Hardman when he was in Birmingham recently, for he wanted to see him 'about several things stained glass amongst the rest'. There is no record in SGDB of glass made by Hardman for Whitaker.

[6] The brass for John Morris.

[7] Hardman acted promptly. A letter from George Mann, described in the *Catholic Directory* as 'Procurator' at Oscott, is filed in ML 1845; writing on Thursday 2 October, Mann thanks Hardman for his 'Kind offer'; Earley should come on Friday and then suggestions could be offered to Pugin on Saturday; Mann is sure some of the boys would subscribe to the cost of painting the ceiling if their arms were included in the decoration. Mann's interest in having the decoration carried out was long-standing: in a letter dated 12 March 1845, which is erroneously filed in ML January 1845, he informs Hardman that he thinks of having Kearns to paint at Oscott 'as he understands M[r]. Pugin's work so well', but he cautions Hardman against mentioning the hope to Souter, who might be 'displeased'. When the work at Oscott is entered in DDB at 24 January 1846, the cost for Earley, who is paid £2 a week, and others who were employed, is £131. 0*s*. 9*d*. MWDB records at 6 February 1846 a charge of £22. 16*s*. 9*d*. for 'Materials used painting &c at Oscott Chapel', £31. 10*s*. more for size and gold, £71. 18*s*. 6*d*. for the time worked by 'Earley, Men & Boys', and £4. 15*s*. 6*d*. for scaffolding, while 'Designs, Drawings &c' amount to £38. 19*s*. 3*d*. The grand total is £170. The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin £19. 9*s*. 7½*d*. at 6 February 1846 'By ½ profit on Painting Chapel at S[t] Marie's College, Oscott. Estimate £170 : 0 : 0.'

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE Alton Towers, Wednesday, 1 October 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/1[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton Wednesday

My Dear Sir

M[r]. Hardman has written to me to say you wish to see me.[2] I shall be at Thames Bank D. V all day on *Monday* the 6[th]. at Least after 12 oclock—so let me either see or hear from you.[3]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed '1845' in one hand and, surely erroneously, 'Jan. 1[st.]' in another.
[2] Pugin confirms to Hardman that he has written to Crace in his letter perhaps of the same date.
[3] Pugin's diary states simply that he was in 'London' on this day.

To JOHN HARDMAN Alton Towers, Wednesday, 1 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

dont shirk writing about the money for the parliament house things & then cry out. *write at once*—& dont mince the matter. state you must have regular payments during the *progress of the work* as other contractors do or you cant go on. remember I am cleaned out now.[2]

My Dear Hardman

1. I know you will have your £500 but it is me that has got to find it & when I have given you the Cheque which I will do on *Saturday* I must live on fresh air during the winter.[3] everything falls on me. I shant get a shilling for the S[t] Georges chapel for a year at least. by George if the concern does not bring in me something in spring I shall be done up altogether.[4]

2. I would not advise you to have any stair carpet like me. it costs too much.

3 I have written to crace.[5]

4 I will about the carpet when I go to London.[6]

over

I am glad to find you are well off enough to buy one—I have found money till I can do so no longer—I am obigled to pull out £1500 at once for Cheadle—so much for fine work—& Myers has sent a bill A regular choker for the Reredos & Roddis for the font. by george everydy gets by the things but me & I only get the blowing up, the designer, & have to find the tin.

I expect to be with you on Friday night.[7]

Now mind *you must write to M[r]. Barry* ***yourself*** *in time about* the payment—dont

throw it all on me.[8] tell him you must have the money. if I have to ask everbody it looks as if it was for myself.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

you must send off the *brass handles* for my doors to Ramsgate imedially before the *Joiner leaves* as I have given *him notice to quit*—so pray dont delay but send them off for him to fix.[9] I shall not have a shilling for anything of the kind.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter is identified as number 22 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] It may be 'cleared out' that Pugin writes. Both expressions are classed as slang by the *OED*, which gives a date of 1812 for the first use of 'clean out', deprive of cash, and cites W. M. Thackeray's *Pendennis*, which did not begin publication until 1848, for 'clear out', rid of cash.

[3] The payment of £500 comes from Lord Shrewsbury.

[4] Pugin was paid a percentage on the goods Hardman made to his design. The Metal sales ledger at 31 December 1845 credits him with a sum of £344. 9*s*. 6*d*., being 'Premium of 10 p Cent on Amount of £3444:15:2—for 1845 year'.

[5] The letter of the same date.

[6] It was on 5 October that Pugin left Birmingham and went 'on to London at night', according to his diary.

[7] Pugin's diary confirms that he travelled to Birmingham on Friday 3 October.

[8] Barry was about to visit Alton Towers. Pugin notes in his diary that on 2 October he went to Stoke and 'Mr. Barry came'; Barry, in his desk diary, records that he was at Stoke and 'Met Pugin at Mintons & settled as to tiles for NHP—acc^{d} P to Cheadle New Church S^{t} Johns Hospital and Alton Towers—Dined with L^{d} & Lady Shrewsbury & slept at the Towers'; on the following day he 'Quitted Alton Towers with Pugin for Cheadle', after which each went his separate way.

[9] Probably the locks ordered before Pugin writes his letter to Hardman of possibly 19 August 1845.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Alton Towers, Friday, 3 October 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/29 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Alton. Friday[1]

Rev^{d} & Dear M^{r}. Bloxam

I am very glad you wrote to me or I should have been at oxford next week & I would not *miss you on any account*—so I will defer my visit till you return.

respecting the figure of S^{t} John—the moment I get home I have *plenty of authorities* & some beautiful ones that I have got in my Late journey so If think well of it I will prepare a design for wailes of the whole window with the *back* ground & *the border* which should be in character with the figure. if you can Let me know the size of the figure I will do this at once—please direct to Ramsgate.

ever with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed in Bloxam's hand 'Sept. 3. 1845.'; 3 September was a Wednesday in 1845 and Pugin was not at Alton.

To JOHN HARDMAN London, Monday, 6 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I have purchased 2 objects of great interest.[2]

1. the head of a silver monstrance which you have only to Look at to appreciate. it knocks our piercing to nothing. it will serve 1° as a pattern & then fit up with a foot. price £10.

a piece of stained glass *perfectly beautiful* in tone & colour. match these colours if possible & let it be put in a strong frame & hung up to animate the men.[3] price £3. 3. you must credit me £13. 3. 0.

your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The letter has been given the number 95 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO. The text of the letter is quoted in *GP*, p. 102, with some variant readings.

[2] The Metal sales ledger credits Pugin at 7 October 1845 with £10 for the 'Head of Monstrance for Pattern' and £3. 3s. for the 'Piece of Pattern Glass, Stained'.

[3] Hardman's Stained glass ledger enters to Pugin without charge at 30 December 1845 'A Frame of Glass Specimens of Colours'.

To JOHN HARDMAN London, about Monday, 6 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I am at length ennabled to send you the order for the crowns.[2] they will be the same as the one you Last sent up but with a new support of which I send you a full sized drawing which I think you will understand—I also send you the finials for the chresting—to be made in Copper with a screw for which you must send a pattern tap for the people here to tap the holes in which they go. [*Sketch: finial*] the rest of the chresting will be done in Iron & by the roof people. you will now have enough to get on with—the 4 Leaves will be in stout sheet Copper.[3]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 13 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] 'Making 3 Pattern Crowns' is one item in a cumulative entry to Barry in MWDB at 7 October 1845.

[3] A line is drawn to link the word 'Leaves' with the sketch.

To LORD SHREWSBURY London, Tuesday, 7 October 1845?

Text: MS PC Franklin [75][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Tuesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

My cold is so bad that I have determined on going home this afternoon which I can do by the train.[2] I hope it is only a cold which I can get rid of in a few days but I felt my head so heavy & painful Last night that I was fearful it would be one of my old rheumatic attacks—I am truly sorry not to be in town on your Lordsips arrival but I am sure in your kindness you would not wish to stop & indeed I ought to go to bed for a day.[3] I did not improve myself yesterday at the workshops Thames bank which are full of drafts. I belive I mentioned to your Lordship in my Last that I had arranged all the money matters—so your Lordsip may rely on my attending to everything.[4] I have just purchased a Manuscript for *60 guineas*!! which is the finest *thing I have ever seen.* amongst the rest the *life of* ***S^t Giles***—in subjects. I have 2 blank spaces at cheadle where this will just come in 4 compartments. I could not possibly resist this book if I had even sold my spoons to buy it. it contains hundreds of illuminations beautifu exquisite marvellous. now I shall be able to make glass. please god to give me heath & strengh I shall make some fine stained glass. I have arranged to have my glass $\frac{1}{8}$ *thick* & no less—everyday we improve—if I was well enough I would come over to folkstone to see your Lordsip there—perhaps I may be better after a night or so home—& I would come over—perhaps your Lordsip will send me a line from London.—I am going down by the $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 train.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Ser^t
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is endorsed by Lord Shrewsbury 'Croix de Malta Berthe[?]'.

[2] Pugin's diary records that he went 'on to Ramsgate by $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 train' on 7 October.

[3] Lord Shrewsbury tells Hardman in his letter of 29 September that he and Lady Shrewsbury intend to leave Alton Towers on 7 October.

[4] Notes of a number of financial transactions are jotted in Pugin's diary while he is in London on 6 October and 7 October.

To LORD SHREWSBURY Ramsgate, Wednesday, 8 October 1845?

Text: MS PC Franklin [11] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Wednesday.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have returned home. my cold is still very bad but it is *only* a cold—so I hope to right again very soon. my principal object in writing is to let your Lordsip know that the Bologne boats sail from Folkstone—on Thursday at 4 Friday at 5—Saturday at 6 Evening. this seems very late as it will be quite dark before you get over—& with a strong SW. wind it would be very unpleasant.[1] I belive the Bologne boats go at *6 in* the morning on Saturday *from Dover* which would be better—but I am not quite sure of this. the most correct information is to be obtained at the Terminus of the Dover Railway London Bridge.

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your devoted & faitful Sert.
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Lord Shrewsbury was leaving England to spend the winter in Sicily.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Thursday, 9 October 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / 166 great Charles / Birmingham[2] *Postmark*: Addington Place; OC 9 1845 in Ramsgate; 10 OC 10 1845; OC 10 1845 in Birmingham

✠ Ramsgate. Thursday.

My Dear Hardman

I have got home regularly done up with cold—I was obiged to get back as fast as I could to nurse myself. no *handles arrived for my doors* & the joiner going away, too bad, too bad, I thought you would have sent me a line on the receipt of that fine Monstrance.[3] I asked Bohn about your botanical dictionary. he says I should allow you £10—& if you had the last 4 vols. it would be worth £7 more. only think in spite of my poverty I have been forced to give *60 guineas*!!!!! for a small manuscript about 8 inches × 6. I was obigled to buy it. if you knew what it contained, you would start off here to see it. it is the *finest I have ever seen.* you will be deligted to hear that Miss Greaves has made her profession of faith & received the holy communion. Deo gratias.[4] Send me my lock handles you vagabond—I have orders for 2 more windows for you wanted directly. simple design. just the thing. I am very bad.

your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

I am very much pleased with J. Powell. he has done some capital things since I have been away—he is sending you the 4 evangelists for the processional cross, of which you will of course prepare Dies. he is doing the 4 doctors for the reverse.[5]

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 66 has been assigned to the letter in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] There are financial calculations in what may be Hardman's hand on the address panel.

[3] Pugin asks for the handles in his letter to Hardman of perhaps 1 October, and reports the purchase of the monstrance in the letter of probably 6 October.

[4] Latin: Thanks be to God.

[5] Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome were the original four outstanding theologians to whom the title 'Doctors of the Church' was given.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Friday, 10 October 1845?

Text: MS V & A L.525–1965/30 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Friday Morning

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I have sent this by coach as the post would only deliver it tomorow morning. my cold is better but it has been very severe—& might have made me quite ill if I had not come home & nursed myself. I would have come over to Dover but I have been keeping myself warm & close for the Last 2 days & the weather is very bad. I have inclosed a short List of remarkable things to see on the Road as far as I know. pray Let me have a line from your Lordsip when you are safe over.

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Saturday, 11 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Wymeswold Windows[2]

I send you 2 windows for Wymeswold.

the south one—	3 lighhts without tracery	£15. 0. 0	full price allowed
the N W one	3 lights & tracery.	20. 0. 0	by M[r]. Alford

I have drawn a pattern on the Quarries but I think you *better omit it* & make them rough thick glass *plain*. I think you will understand them. Of course you will get the lead work carfully set out. I have neither time nor patience for it but I have marked everything & the colours. you will of course use our new colours. you better if you find any difficulty set out the Lead work on *thin* paper & send them to me to see by post.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 53 has been allocated to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] In what is probably Alford's *History and Description of the Restored Parish Church of Saint Mary, Wymeswold*, Appendix II states on an unnumbered page that 'The whole of the figures in the stained glass windows, were executed by Mr. Wailes, of Newcastle, from drawings by Mr. Pugin; the emblematical work in the north aisle, and south-west window of south aisle, by Mr. Hardman, of Birmingham'. SGDB enters one three-light window for the south aisle at £15, another for the north-west aisle at £20, and some tracery to Alford at 15 December 1845; the total cost is £58. 7*s*. 6*d*. The Stained glass ledger also refers to the 'North West Aisle'. In the section of the Stained glass ledger headed 'Cartoon Account' Hardman records at 15 December 1845 a credit to Pugin of £4 for these windows for Wymeswold. Pugin's diary records 'Sent Wailes Wymeswold window £12. 0. 0' at 20 October 1845.

That several of the windows were in place by the end of 1845 is made clear by a letter written by Alford from Wymeswold on the 'Feast of the Circumcision', 1 January 1846, which, though now held in ML, was apparently addressed to Pugin.

My dear Sir

I wrote some time since respecting the E window of the North aisle, which a friend of mine has offered to give—and as he seems willing to give *more* if required, we should have *figures*, by all means. I send a suggestion for the same.—The East window is now in, and we like it very much indeed. The colours are paler and more brilliant than any modern window I have seen—and the figures beautifully designed. It is by far the best thing we have. The tracery heads which Hardman has done we very much like: but *not so* the two whole windows. They are altogether a very inferior job, and I must confess I do not like to see them in the Church at all: so much so that I have determined to appropriate the donation which furnished one of them to another purpose, and bear the expense myself, for I am sure the donor will be disappointed. He has made the lights of plain transparent glass instead of flowered or figures quarries as the tower window is done—and this gives them a mean & hall staircase sort of look. Can we by sending them back have the plain glass altered?

We are still in an unfinished state, owing to the number of quarries tiles ordered for the chancel being 360 short, so that only half of it is paved, and the steps & plinth of the stall seats cannot be finished. This has thrown us out in our Christmas arrangements, and keeps the church still dirty & comfortless.

Shall we see you again before our opening?

The Bible is very splendid, and delights everybody.

I am my dear Sir
faithfully yours
Henry Alford

In his second paragraph, Alford writes the word 'tiles' above 'quarries' as an afterthought when he realizes the need to indicate that he is no longer referring to glass 'quarries'.

The 'Bible' is indeed 'splendid'—and very heavy. Nichols charges £5. 10*s*. for binding it in 'Polished Oak Boards & Hog Skin Back' with 'Corners &c', according to the entry in the Metal sales ledger at 23 December 1845; MWDB enters to Alford at the same date 'A Large Bible bound in Oak with Large Brass Engrav'd Book Corners & Clasps &c.' at a cost of £10. 5*s*.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS — Ramsgate, Sunday, 12 October 1845?[1]

Text: MS AAW A81/7 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

S[t] Augustins Ramsgate.
22 Sunday after Pent

My Dear Lord Bishop

I am anxious to know when it is probable that I shall have the honour of receiving your Lordsip at Ramsgate as I will make my arrgmts to suit your Lordsips

convenice—& I am obliged to go up to London every 2 or 3 weeks about the works at the new Palace at Westminster.[2] I fear there is litte chance—of purchasing the *additional* Land at present—for the owners demand an exorbitant price but one of them looks very ill which may perhaps—lead to better terms by & bye. hoping to hear shortly from your Lorship

I remain with great respect
your devoted & faitful Sert
✠A Welby Pugin

[1] The MS carries inscriptions of '12 Oct. 45?' and '1845?', and an endorsement of 'Oct 1845', all in unidentified hands. Given the reference to the work at Westminster, which Pugin is more likely to mention while his engagement there is still fresh than later when it is generally known, perhaps there is a case for 1844; in that year he bought some more land at Ramsgate in September, but there was still a strip further again to the east which he did not secure until 1849.

[2] Pugin first expresses his hope that Griffiths will visit him at Ramsgate in his letter of 27 October 1844.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Monday, 13 October 1845

Text: MS MCO 528/159[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate feast of S[t] Edward

Rev[d] & Dear M[r] Bloxam

1 I am so very busy that I cannot move from home at present. I am quite behind hand with my work & lots of drawings of all kinds to do. Much as I regret it I shall not be able to see you till you return from Lincolnshire.

2 I will send you a sketch for S[t] John.

3. I will get the money from Toovey & pay it you back.

I have just heard of M[r] Newmans reconciliation.[2] of course I am rejoiced at it beyond measure as it seems almost hopeless to carry out anything like good things under the present system. I long to talk over all these matters but have not time to write.

ever dear M[r] Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] An unidentified hand, not Bloxam's, inscribes '20 Nov. 1845' below Pugin's date; Pugin's writing being what it is, 'Edmund', whose feast day is 20 November, is a possible reading but Pugin was in London on that day.

[2] J. H. Newman was received into the Catholic Church at Littlemore on 9 October 1845.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Monday, 13 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 nothing could be more simple than the tracery. [*Sketch: tracery*] I never saw anything like you all making a difficully of it.

2. The Glass seems very good.

3. The lead is very good as far as it goes but I do not think it will take our very thick glass—you will see.

4 you must send *me by post* the exact copy of the *direction* of the box with the *handles* the *carriers receipt* & then I will institute a regular inquiry & you must do so at your end—for it is *evidently lost*—for we can hear nothing about it & I am actually paying the joiner to stop to fix them. it is a bad job.

5. tell what sort of triptyck & praing desk I am to make for a Lady. about what price am I do for?

6 I have got an order to design a *very fine brass* for M[r]. Jones of Wymeswold.[2]

I am dying to get *hold* of my *handles.*

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 29 has been assigned to the letter in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] Herbert Walsingham Jones (1826–89) went up from Eton to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1845; he took orders and served as rector of Sculthorpe from 1859 to 1889. Like Morris, Jones read with Alford before entering upon formal study at the university. In October, November, and December 1845, he writes a number of letters to Hardman from Cambridge, which are preserved in ML, mostly about what he calls 'a sort of travelling oratory', the back of which is to be 'diapered in one of M[r]. Pugin's designs'. MWDB enters to him at 23 December 1845 'An Oak Box, with Holy Water Stoup & Bottle, ½ lb Wax Candles &c, Box diapered & painted with name plate & 2 Gothic Keys', at a cost of £6. 18*s.*, and 'A pair of Richly gilt & Engraved Candlesticks to suit tryptick', at a cost of £7. At 27 December 1845 Heath submits an invoice charging seven shillings for work on two brass plates, six inches by one and a half, for Jones. On 28 November Jones notifies Hardman that he is 'going to stay with M[r]. Pugin for a few days': Herbert Walsingham Jones is the 'Mr. H. Jones' whose arrival Pugin notes in his diary at 13 December 1845, and the 'young Cambridge student, who is just about to enter the Catholic Church' (p. 822) whom Jauch notices in the account of his visit to Ramsgate in the *Tablet*, to which Pugin objects in his letter to the editor of 28 December 1845. On 21 December, by which time he is staying with his mother, Lady Jones, at Pittville, Cheltenham, Jones orders a little bottle of holy water from Hardman: 'I got some at M[r]. Pugin's & forgot to bring it away with me.'

It is not clear that the '*very fine brass*' was executed. It is perhaps possible that Pugin's visit to Cheltenham on 18 November and 19 November, noted in his diary, concerned this brass as well as the possible commission from William Leigh suggested in *Wedgwood 1985*. More than two years later, at 19 January 1848, MWDB records 'A Gilt & Engraved Monumental Plate, to memory of Sir John Thomas Jones of Cheltenham'; the charge is made to Myers, and the cost is no more than £35. 10*s.* The Christian names in the entry are a correction; the name 'Willoughby' was written first, then cancelled. H. W. Jones was a son of Sir John Thomas Jones (1783–1843), first baronet, and Catherine Maria, daughter of Effingham Lawrence; their home was Cranmer Hall, Norfolk. Willoughby Jones (1820–84) was their second son and succeeded to the baronetcy in November 1845 when the first son, Lawrence, was murdered by brigands in Turkey. Perhaps the entry in Pugin's diary at 24 October 1845, 'Saw Col. Jones London', is connected with this commission.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Tuesday, 14 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Drummond has agreed to go on with his job in *March*.[2]

I want 12 escutcheons of Brass of the inclosed pattern.[3]

My Dear Hardman

1 The handles arrived last night. now I am going to have a regular investigation of the Cause of the delay for we were better off under the *broad wheel* waggon system. 2. I only want *one* escutcheon & *one* lock plate.[4]

3. you know I am the most moderate man in the world but all I want is a trifling return for the cost of modelling—which will now take up the whole of Powell times. *he has not touched a pencil* since *I left home* & he has lots to do yet—& you know the sums I have paid & still pay for the old figures coins[?] authorities &c. The folling is a list of what he has done & what I think of the prices.[5]

Lamb & banner. chalice & vine Leaf. cheadle screen.	1. 0. 0
Large & small lion	1. 5. 0
6 images of our Lord.	6. 0. 0
2 sets of evangelists. 10s each.	4. 0. 0
	£12. 5. 0

out of this I shall have to pay at Least £2 for carriage wax &c. &c. so I think I am very moderate but I Leave it as the coachman[?] said to your *generosity*.[6]

of course you have heard of Newmans reception. Deo gratias.

I send you more windows for Wymeswold.

I have lots of orders. *trade freshens.*

ever your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

how many casements are you making for the ushaw cloister windows. there must be—*one* for the 2 Large windows & 2 for the small ones. 3 in all. dont forget this. I have great expectations of our glass.

as usual the handles are a mull. just $\frac{1}{16}\frac{1}{2}$ too short for the Doors. [*Sketch: handle with rabbet marked 'A' and shank marked 'c' and 'c'*] the beads wont let the flat part go home at the Rabbate A so there is a vacuum which makes the shank c c too short by a litle better a 16th. it will take an immense trouble to alter. if you had looked at the old shank you would have seen it. I am monument to all rash men who have things made.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 17 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] Drummond did not in the event 'go on with his job' of painting the chantry at Albury until well into 1847.

[3] The escutcheons are part of the order charged to Pugin in MWDB at 11 November 1845.

[4] The order for Pugin in MWDB at 11 November 1845 includes a lock plate and escutcheon, iron tinned, with bolts and screws, at a cost of fourteen shillings and sixpence.

[5] The Metal sales ledger enters as a credit to Pugin at 20 October 1845 models of 'Lamb & Banner, Chalice & Vine Leaf', 'Large & Small Lions', apparently for a paschal candlestick, '6 Figures of our Lord', and '2 Sets of Evangelists'; the amounts of money are exactly those of Pugin's letter.

[6] The allusion has not been traced; if 'coachman' is the correct reading, it need not be literary. By October 1847, if not earlier, it seems that Hardman himself enjoyed such a retainer, for MWDB enters a six-shilling cross to 'M[r] Hardman's Coachman'.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 15 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

The Quaries for Wymeswold though plain will be *square* or they would not come in to the pattern.

My Dear Hardman

I am truly sorry to hear of D[r] Wisemans accident—but I am not surprised at the upset. nothing can induce me to travel by diligence again on that line of Road. they *upset constanlly* & nothing can be more desperate or dangerous than the way in which they travel. I have written to him by this post.

2. nothing can be simpler than this brass question.[2] *IF* the Revd M[r] ONeil ***told*** *myers* before *the brass* was *begun* that the slab was to be *white* & the stone to *fit an arch* then Myers must be made to pay for Letting the brass into a slab of that his description. [*Sketch: arch*] he is the most stupid blundering man in some things though so clever in others that I ever knew. I return you the letter & ascertain from Myers about it.

3. you must order a Large arnott stove for *wymeswold* & & then send the *size to Myers* who is preparing a railing to go round it according to a drawing I have sent him which will be regulated by the *size* of the stove.[3]

ever your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter is numbered 37 in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The Wallis brass, ordered by 9 March and entered in MWDB at 8 July 1845, was a source of trouble from the moment that it was delivered to the church of Our Lady in St John's Wood. Myers reports to Hardman on 14 July, his letter surviving in ML.

I was at St johns wood with a man & unpack[d] the monument for Mr Wallis—as soon as the Re[d] O Neil so it *he said* I will not allow that monument to go up—Nor will he allow any one that as black marble ground to be fixed in his church—I tried always to get him to allow it to be fix[d] but all in vain—So we box[d] it up safe & left it there—he also says that if it as a white ground he will have a *gothic* Moulding round it—not knowing what I could do further thought it best to acquaint you—as you most likely will see Mr Pugin & Manage Some Plan.

On 15 July Peter Kaye writes to Hardman about the brass; O'Neal, to whom he talked yesterday about it, is 'one of the uniformity school, & must have all things exactly alike in his church'. Just what 'Plan' was

devised is not clear, but the dispute was not resolved swiftly. Myers writes again, on 20 October, perhaps in answer to the letter which Pugin here recommends Hardman to write: 'I can assure you that Rev[d] *Mr ONeil* told me it was to be in White Marble—& I assure also that I told Mr Pugin this at the time (Mind) this—all took place before the Brass was desig[d].' On 24 November Myers informs Hardman, in a letter mistakenly filed in ML December 1845, that he hopes to 'get Settled to day or to Morrow about the Brass St Johns Wood'. The brass was never installed and was eventually broken up. *Meara* prints a rubbing on p. [143].

[3] In a document filed in ML, Smith and Hawkes notify Hardman on 16 December 1845 that on that day they send the stove to Loughborough station for Myers to collect. MWDB enters to Alford at 19 December 1845 'An Arnott Stove 2ft 6In Square & 4ft 6In high' for £20, '1 Extra Sett of Linings' for £1. 14*s.* 3*d.*, and '1 Extra Bottom Grate' for four shillings and fivepence.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Thursday, 16 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

we have not got the right sort of slab for the brasses. we ought to have *blue* stones.[2]

My Dear Hardman

make the casements 2 feet high out to out of the Iron but either way would have done.[3] of course you will make them to *lift up*.

It is a very bad look out about somervilles glass not arriving.[4] I shall be very uneasy till I hear he has suceeded.

ever your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 52 has been allocated to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The brass for Mrs Knight, entered in MWDB at 10 September 1845, is set in a blue stone slab but in most cases up to this time black marble was used. Perhaps Pugin's thought is provoked by the dispute about the Wallis brass.

[3] Perhaps the casements for Ushaw, mentioned in the letter which Pugin may have written to Hardman on 14 October. In a letter to Hardman written on 19 October, which is kept in ML, Myers notes that Hardman is to make the casements for Ushaw.

[4] By 'somerville' Pugin probably means Summerfield. Lloyd and Summerfield are described in the *Post Office Directory* of 1845 as 'cut & plain flint glass & coloured window & optical sheet glass manuftrs', of Birmingham Heath. Invoices preserved in BCA show that they were supplying Hardman with what seem to be sample pieces of 'Ruby' from their 'Park Glass Works' in July 1845. An acknowledgement from them of the balance of their account for 'Ruby' on 17 November 1845 is filed in ML.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, Saturday, 18 October 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/37 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins feast of S[t] Luke

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

your note of *Thursday* only came this morning. I could not therefore possibly send you the image by the time you wished but I now inclose it.[1] it is from a fine example.

I shall only be too happy to make the designs you wish but why should *you* pay for them?[2] you know they would have to pay the same as I charge to the most wretched modern architect—& therefore they may as well have good things—& consider the expense as part of the cost of their building.

ever dear M[r]. Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] The 'image' may be the 'figure of S[t] John' referred to in the letter to Bloxam perhaps written on 3 October.

[2] It is possible that the designs may be for a parsonage at Camelford which Pugin certainly discusses in his letter to Bloxam of 11 November 1845, or for the rectory at Rampisham, but it may be some quite different project that Pugin has in mind. Perhaps it is in this connection that Myers writes a letter dated 14 October 1845 and preserved as MS MCO 743/96: 'I shall be very glad to Build the house or any other work that you may be Pleased to recomend me—at or in any Part of the country.'

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Saturday, 18 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I have recd the inclosed rigmarole about that wretched brass.[2] it appears that that Humbug myers forgot all about the marble & the shape of the head when he told me about the brass & the only way to do is to get a new slab & let it in & I must share the loss with you—it will be lesson to me for the future. I am furious. I feel half inclined to kick the thing up & lose the whole.

I am sure M[r] Longman cannot afford to pay for a good window.[3] you better tell him you have so much work on hand you dare not undertake it.

what you say about the glass is very discouraging.[4] cannot you get him to rectify it. the colour seems just the thing.

will you ask Nicholls when I shall have my *chapel* books.[5] I do not see your advertisement about the altar cards. where is another proof sheet of the inventory.

I work incessantly but cant get on half fast enough.

ever your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

I hope you have not Sold that monstrance *too cheap*—let me know for I consider it

very valuable & be sure to *have a correct copy of* it.[6] I have no faith in you in these matters. you will send it away in a hurry & then ask me for a drawing—as you did with the pinnacle. if you let this go without a *facsimile* I *will never forgive you.*

respecting the stuff I have made some corrections in the tracery part. [*Sketch: tracery*] I suppose this is not meant to go the whole width but 2 or 3 in the width. [*Sketch: tracery pattern*] pray see to this. if it was *enlarged* it *would be horrible.* when finished, the pattern should be as near as possible the size of that of the *original stuff*—pray see to this.

I am working early & late. you shall have all your things as soon as possible. misere mei.

D^r^ Baggs decease was very sudden.[7] I fear they Will have another—Bishop D^r^ Bridle just as bad.[8] that place is rotten. it produces nothing but greek fungus & should be *rooted up altogether.*

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. In the microfilm of this collection in HLRO, the letter has been allotted the number 70.

[2] The Wallis brass.

[3] He could not: there is no record of glass made for Longman in SGDB. Thomas Tucker Longman (1820–92), educated at Oscott and ordained in 1845, was a priest in Wolverhampton.

[4] Perhaps the glass obtained from Summerfield.

[5] A letter from Richard Nichols held in ML October 1845 promises that '***All*** M^r^. Ps Books will be finished the latter End of this Week'; Nichols could not bind them sooner because Dolman was reprinting them. The Metal sales ledger records at 27 September 1845 that Pugin owes £10 'to M^r^ Hardman for Books'; at 29 September 'A Brass Book Mark, with Shield & S. A. cut upon it' is entered to him in the same ledger for £1. 10*s.*; and at 22 November 1845 Hardman is to be reimbursed £14. 2*s.* for 'Cash paid to Rich^d^. Nichols for Binding Books'.

[6] Perhaps the article which Pugin tells Hardman he has purchased in the letter which may have been written on 6 October 1845.

[7] Baggs died on 16 October 1845.

[8] Thomas Brindle (1791–1871), DD, ordained in 1815 after an education at Ampleforth, left the Benedictine order in 1830; he accompanied Baines from Ampleforth to Prior Park; the *Catholic Directory* for 1846 describes Monsignor Brindle as Regent of Prior Park. Baggs was succeeded as vicar apostolic of the western district by Ullathorne.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Monday, 20 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

pray tell me what on Earth it is that causes such a loss to you. I am dying to know. I hope to goodness it will not go on at the same rate—pray let me *know by post* what it is—& all about it.

The 2 side pieces of tracery for Wymeswold are the same *as the top which I have drawn.*

all the tracery for the liverpool trefoils will be the same but I am not quite satisfied about the templets they have Sent.[2] I think you better write to Myers & tell him to get you an accurate set. he has men at work there.

I am sorry to trouble you about a litte job of mine but I suffer so misery from my *wretched candlestick* that I can bear it no longer. you must get me a new *double branch* to travel on the upright bar according to the drawing I send you & then the candles will stand upright.[3] [*Sketch: candlestick*] at present they fall over & burn the top shades. pray do this. let me hear from you. ever dear Hardman

your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

you are as much down as I am somettimes. things will be better soon.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. In the microfilm of this set in HLRO, the letter has been given the number 50.

[2] The earliest glass for Liverpool recorded in SGDB is a two-light window, with tracery and costing £28, for the orphanage run by the sisters of Mercy, charged to J. V. Gibson, Hardman's brother-in-law, at 4 April 1846. On 7 April a five-light window with tracery for the south aisle of St Mary's, Edmund Street, is charged to him also, the price being £65. In the 'Cartoon Account' kept in the Stained glass ledger, Hardman notes on fol. 40 a charge of £6 for the former window and £15 for the latter.

[3] MWBD enters to Pugin at 11 November 1845 'A Double Brass Branch to Reading Lamp', at a cost of seventeen shillings and sixpence.

To JOHN HARDMAN — London, Wednesday, 22 October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I am up in London on the usual business—

first. There are a lot more vanes wanted for the Palace at Westminster.[2]

12 vanes.	$\frac{2}{5}$ths	less than the small ones
12 D°.	$\frac{3}{5}$ths	less D°
4 D°	$\frac{1}{5}$th.	less D°.[3]

if you cannot reduce these send me the Drawing & I will set them out for you. it will save you a deal of time as I can keep the proportions.

2[d] I expect very shortly to send you the order for all the Door hinges.

3. respecting the Cambridge order for M[r] Morris you know the value of the curtain rods.[4] he must have shieds at the ends—with initials.

as regards The hangings we ought to get up a *wollen* pattern at about 7[s] a yard—for this sort of thing of the manufacture as the moreen damask.

The carpet should be small *turkey* about £5.

The praing desk about £15.[5] we should make about 4 at once & then they would come reasonable.

The crucifix & cross about £5.

The lectern will be worth about 15 to 20.

The oak writing table 10 to 12.

of course the price varies with the work. the more he allows the better they will be. explain this to him.

do write yourself to M^r^. Hall about the glass.[6] his patron saint in the centre light with himself kneeling—under. his initials in the Quaries. rich borders & emblems in the side lights. worth about 25^s^. a foot Atogether.

I long to see the evgelists—you speak of.

I send you the sketch for the seal.

ever your devoted friend
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 25 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Barry's desk diary records that on 22 October 1845 he was 'advising with Pugin as to Carvings &^c^', and that on 23 October he 'Attended at Thames Bank for several hours with Pugin to arrange Designs for Carvings &c &c'.

[3] These vanes are entered in MWDB at 30 December 1845: twelve small ones costing £23. 8*s*., twelve more at £27. 12*s*., and four costing £11. 3*s*. 3½*d*.

[4] The letter from Morris upon which Pugin comments is preserved in ML. Written on mourning paper from Trinity College, Cambridge, on 19 October 1845, it is addressed to Hardman, who has sent it on to Pugin.

Sir,

I shall feel obliged if you will send me an account of the cost of the following:

1. Three brass rods, each 6 feet 6 in: in length, with, at one end of each, some ornamental termination.
2. Hangings of simple handsome patterns: of M^r^. Pugin's designing, how much a yard, and how wide?
3. Carpet of Ecclesiastical pattern, 18 square feet, how much?
4. A Praying Desk similar to one figured in the frontispiece to M^r^. Pugin's 'True Principles' &c, with the exception of the carving below, and the pictures in the triptych.
5. A Crucifix in the same, what price the different sizes?
6. What the cost would be of a Lettern like the one figured in the same, with the exception of the Angel; what with it?
7. The cost of the carved oak writing Table, in the same drawing?

I shall be glad to hear what the cost of each of these things would be.

I should also be obliged if you would tell me when you write how the little Brass that M^r^. Pugin has designed for me is getting on, and how long it will be before it will be ready to be laid down in Wymeswold Church: and also when you will be able to send me the seal and the design for books (a copperplate, I think) both of which M^r^. Pugin told me you were doing for me. I should be much obliged if you could send me the design of the two last things mentioned to see. What will be about their expense?

I am, Sir,
Yours obediently
John Morris

On the evidence of MWDB, Morris is a purchaser of small items only from Hardman: 'An Ebony Cross & Figure with Metal Ends', for instance, at 12 November 1845 at a cost of £1. 10*s*.

[5] Almost a year earlier, on 15 November 1844, Morris writes to Hardman saying that 'M^r^. Pugin has recommended me to apply to you concerning a praying desk'; Hardman annotates the letter, which is preserved in ML, '£20—with german lithograph'. Morris writes again on 26 November 1844 to postpone the 'praying desk'.

[6] John Hall, priest of St Alban's, Macclesfield. Hall's comments to Hardman on the design suggested here by Pugin provoked further comments from Pugin in his letter to Hardman of probably 2 November 1845.

To THOMAS GRIFFITHS London, Thursday, 23 October 1845

Text: MS AAW A81/8 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

London. Thursday eving

My Dear Lord Bishop

not being fortunate enough to find your Lordsip in town I inclose a plan of what I propose to do for Guernsy—by which arrgmt I get a church house offices & schools on the ground already purchased.[1]

I also inclose a perspective view from the Road. I am about to forward the plans to the Revd M^{r}. Conatty.[2]

2^{d}. I Learnt from your Lordsips secretary that the function of Laing the first stone at S^{t} Edmunds is fixed for Tuesday.[3] I am exceedinly mortified at not being able to assist but at the present time 3 days next week would complelly upset me—as I must return by the Late train tomorow eving & work early & Late. I have however given every necessary direction to M^{r} Myers—& I feel assured your Lordsip will find every thing in perfect order for the solemnity—I mean if possible to dash off an interior & exterior view of the church & send them off to S^{t} Edmunds from Ramsgate by the Sunday nights post which will give a perfect idea of the effect of the building compleated & open the hearts & purses of the faitful.[4]

3. I am exceedinly anxious to know when your Lordsips engaments will permit you to honour me with the promised progress to Ramsgate as I will my own arrgmts for going away subservient to your Lordsips time. a Line about this will greatly oblige me.

4th I cannot bear the idea of *hot water pipes* at S^{t} Edmunds. steam & gass in churches are abominations & I decidly protest against pipes *above the level* of the floor. is flue is *the most simple* & therefore the best means of warming a church. I will write more at Length on the subject but I entreat of your Lordsip not to decide prematurely in favour of hot water. I believe it is an admirable invention for hot houses but a miserable addition to an ecclestical structure. the hot water at Derby was a nuisance but there was plenty of *hot* water there both above & below the floor. trusting to hear shortly from your Lordsip

I remain with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faiful Sert
✠AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin was in London from 22 October to 25 October.

Pugin designed a new church, of Saints Joseph and Mary, at Cordier Hill, St Peter Port, Guernsey. He writes a note of 'church Guernsey' (fol. 28) in a list of commissions in his account book, MS V & A L.50–1982/3. He 'Sent off Guernsey' plans, according to his diary, on 31 October 1845. A design for the altar of this church is described in *Wedgwood 1977*, p. 73. *Andrews*, pp. 183–5, describes and illustrates a set of unexecuted drawings for Guernsey.

[2] Eugene Connaty was the priest at St Peter Port. Pugin notes his address at 4 Evelyn Place, Grove Lane, Deptford, London, on the back end-paper [i] of his diary for 1845. The foundation-stone of the new church was laid on 'Ascension Thursday', 21 May 1846, according to a letter Connaty wrote to Griffiths which is preserved in AAW in a box of material concerning building and expansion in the London

district from about 1837 to the mid-1840s. His letter is dated 8 June 1846 from Guernsey. He grumbles that 'Not *one Guernsey* Mason or Carpenter has yet offered to work at the building, all our tradesmen are English'; he wants £100; and he will 'write by tomorrow's Post to M^r^. Pugin to call on Lordship for his £50, although his plan is almost useless. I repeatedly stated that I wanted the plan of a church to contain at least 500 persons, & according to his plan it would contain at most, 300. I should however wish very much to see him if he be in London & consult him on the changes we are obliged to make.' Another letter from Connaty, dated 6 August 1846 and kept in the same box, proves that payment of £50 was made to Pugin but does not reveal when.

[3] According to the *Catholic Directory* for 1845, George Evison (1809–77), of 35 Golden Square, acted as Griffiths's secretary; he was ordained in 1845 after his education at St Edmund's College, Ware.

Pugin makes a note of this ceremony marking the commencement of the chapel at the college in his diary at 28 October 1845: '1st stone laid at St. Edmunds'; he was at home, where, according to the other entry in his diary for that day, he 'Finished planting shrubs'.

[4] Several drawings are preserved at St Edmund's College but only one of them belongs to this time: it is a 'SE Prospect of S^t^ Edmunds collegiate church', signed in monogram and dated 1845 by Pugin; it shows the chapel complete with a spire which has never been built.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL? London, Friday, 24 October 1845?

Text: MS SAA St G *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ London Friday

My Dear Sir

I have understood that M^r^. Kiley has offered to Subscribe £200 towards the scaffolding of S^t^ Georges Tower.[1] pray do not Lose a moment in securing this & setting the thing a going for it is most fortunate. I do not believe £100 would have paid for the damage the tower would suffer by being left another winter with the present covering—& by the means of the scaffolding as I have arranged it we shall have a good protection. the effect in every way will be Capital for it will add amazingly to the look of the building & like the crane of cologne be the means of ensuring its compleation—I have set out the drawing of the scaffolding & I hope you will not lose a moment in securing its errection.[2]

ever with respect
I remain dear sir
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Probably Richard Keiley, a layman, who served as a member of the St George's Building Committee. A list of extra expenses for St George's among the SAA St G papers includes the cost of a temporary roof over the tower.

[2] The allusion to Cologne is explained in a letter written by Thomas Arnold of Rugby in 1834 and quoted in A. P. Stanley, *The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D.* (London, sixth edition, 1846): at the cathedral 'they left a crane standing on one of the half-built towers, three hundred years ago, and have renewed the crane from time to time, as it wore out, as a sign not only that the building was incomplete, but that the friends of the Church hoped to finish the work whenever they could' (p. 308).

To LORD SHREWSBURY Ramsgate, Sunday, 26 October 1845

Text: MS PC Franklin [33][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate oct. 26.

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am afraid your Lordsip saw Rouen under a very unfavourable aspect for despite the dirt & neglect it is a wonderful old city by dreadfully spoilt & destroyed since my recollection—the cemetry of S[t] Maclou is imedialy opposite the church but through a very narrow entrance like a private passage.

It is quite true about Newman & several more I believe Father Dominick reconciled him.[2] nobody seems astonished & very litte is said in the newspapers. several more will soon follow.

The Bishop of Ripon has quite spoilt the window I designed for D[r] Pusey.[3] he has ordered the angels receiving our Lords Blood to be removed & plain blue glass substuted. also the veronica the coat & dice & several other emblems. very disgusting.

I attended a meeting of the maynooth comission yesterday & matters Seem going on well.[4]

I am very anxious indeed for your Lordsip to write something on the monstrous selection of statues for the Palace at Westminster. there are the names of Wicliff John Knox! Bunyan!—*John Westley*!! &[c].[5] now this is famous opportunity of attacking the selection. your Lordsip is a comissioner & will be in great measure responsible if these pass without comment.[6] you are almost bound to make a protest & nobody could do it better—we should have all the high church men on the right side & the names might be struck out. pray think of this.

Poor Roddis Died at Sutton on the 14.[7] R I P. he was sensible to the last. I am sure your Lordsip will not object to have a small brass plate—with a request for prayers for his soul as Carver of the church.[8] it is really due to him for he was a faitful & Laborious man—had I known him rather earlier he would have been a first rate man.

The convent at Nottingham will commence next week. The first stone of the Collegiate church of S[t] Edmunds old hall is to be laid on Tuesday next.

M[r] Kily has given £200 towards the *Scaffolding* of S[t] Georges tower. I believe everything is going on very well at cheadle &[c]. I have given Denny the strictest injunctions & he writes to me regularly. The weather is now beautiful far finer than it has been during the year—capital for building.

There is a great failure of the Potatoe crop in Ireland which excites great alarm. Bread is very dear & so is rice. there will be great scarcity this winter. fortunately trade is very good.

of course your Lordsip has heard of the Sudden Death of D[r] Baggs. R I P. they should really discontinue the greacian church they are building at Prior Park.[9]

Dr Wiseman has had 2 very narrow escapes one at sea by the breaking down of the steam boat. they were drifting about & taken out by a Lugger—his Lordsip was also overset in one of those wretched French Diligences coming down hill at a furious rate. it is quite a mercy he was not killed. I have written to him to set up a stained glass window commemorating his deliverance with a Diligence in a *quatrefoil* at Bottom.

I figure in *Punch* every week.[10] they wanted a fresh subject so they have taken up Gothic. I trust soon to hear of your Lordsips safe arrival & of the improved heath of Mr Talbot.[11] with kindest respects to Lady Shrewsbury

I remain dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect
your Lordsips devoted & faitful Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Another hand has drawn two parallel vertical lines in the left margin against the passages of this letter dealing with the Bishop of Ripon, the statues for Westminster, Roddis, the convent at Nottingham and the chapel at St Edmund's College, and Wiseman. A cross has been inscribed against the notice of Roddis's death.

[2] Dominic Barberi received Newman.

[3] The Bishop of Ripon was Charles Thomas Longley (1794–1868), subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury. He disapproved of the stained glass which Pugin, commissioned by Pusey, designed for the church of St Saviour, Leeds, which lay in his diocese. Longley insisted, so H. P. Liddon implies in his *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, that the offending window be removed before he would agree to consecrate the church, which he did on 28 October 1845, at a time of acute panic and anxiety about Romanist leanings in the Church of England because of the secession of Newman.

Pugin was not alone in his disgust: Benjamin Webb notes in his diary that on 2 November 1845 he received 'News of Bp of Ripons atrocious conduct at Leeds to Dr Pusey. *God* forgive him' (fol. 18v).

[4] If it was because of anxiety about the disparity between Pugin's design and the funds available to execute it that a meeting on 13 October 1845 resolved, according to the Minute Book of the Board of Works, to write to Pugin 'to ascertain the state in which his work now is, and on what basis he has, or is making, his Plans', Pugin must have talked well at this interview with the commissioners, but perhaps the tone here is hopeful rather than confident, for the shortage of money caused him within a few months to tender his resignation from the appointment.

[5] John Wycliffe (*c.*1329–84), English ecclesiastical reformer; John Knox (*c.*1513–72), Scottish ecclesiastical reformer; John Bunyan (1628–88), English Puritan and author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; John Wesley (1703–91), founder of Methodism.

[6] Pugin refers to the naming of Lord Shrewsbury to this role in his letter of 24 December 1841.

[7] The death certificate of Thomas Roddis, 'Sculptor', records that he died on 15 October 1845 at Sutton Coldfield, aged fifty-one; the cause of death is given as 'Hepatic Disease 12 months Pulmonary Disease terminating in Phthisis'.

[8] 'A Monumental Brass, let into Grey Stone Slab, to memory of Thomas Roddis' is entered to Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 24 February 1847, at a cost of £17. 10*s*.

[9] The church, with what the Buildings of England volume for *North Somerset and Bristol* deems 'without any doubt the most impressive church interior of its date in the county' (p. 115), was designed by J. J. Scoles in 1844 and not completed for many years.

[10] Several times in Volume 9, the volume for the second half of 1845, although hardly 'every week', *Punch* makes explicit reference to Pugin. 'The school of bad designs', a contribution in the early part of August to the debate about the national School of Design, credits him with 'the direction of the greatest amount of decorative work that, in all probability, may be required by Government for half-a-century' (p. 70) and deplores the necessity of engaging foreign craftsmen. Another item, 'Justice. For parliament. (A cartoon)' (p. 150), which probably appeared early in October, suggests by way of a combination of satirical text and illustration a subject for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. About a month later, 'The Cromwell statue question' (p. 186) alludes to the topic, the 'selection of statues', which

Pugin raises here with Lord Shrewsbury; if the figure of Cromwell is 'Disguised' in medieval dress, nobody will recognize him and so nobody will be offended. The last mention of Pugin, apparently in an issue in the first half of December, is 'A card' (p. 238), an illustrated parodic announcement that 'Pugsby' has 'opened a manufactory for every article in the Mediæval line'; perhaps there is an oblique reference to advertising for Hardman's new shop.

[11] Perhaps Bertram Talbot, perhaps John Talbot.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, late October 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I herewith send you a working drawing for 2 processional lamps & I will soon send you an octagon one. I think you will understand it.

I also inclose you the size for that wretched Slab for S[t] Johns wood—the loss on that is most annoying.[2] if I known about the white marble at first I would have refused the job.

I will set out the vanes immedialy & send them to you.[3]

have you seen the last Punch?[4]

Capt Hibberts brother has died suddenly & he comes in possesion of a Large I may say immense fortune.[5] I expect the buildings at Bilton will go on.[6]

I have determined on sending Edward to oscott after Xmass.[7]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter carries the number 30 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO.

[2] The Wallis brass.

[3] Probably the vanes referred to in the letter to Hardman perhaps written on 22 October.

[4] Pugin tells Lord Shrewsbury how he figures in *Punch* in his letter of 26 October.

[5] Thomas Hibbert, 'Gentleman', died unmarried at The Lodge, Dunchurch, at the age of fifty; the date of death on his death certificate is probably 25 October but may possibly be 21 October, and the cause of death is given as 'Erysipelas in the Head and Neck 6 Days'. A 'tombstone commemorating various members of the Hibbert family' (p. [15]) survives in the churchyard of the Church of England parish church of St Mark, Bilton, and Thomas Hibbert is one of those buried in the vault, according to Margaret Edwards in her chapter entitled 'Bilton Grange before 1887' in W. S. Blackshaw, *'More than a school to us': A History of Bilton Grange* (Bilton, 1997). Edwards states that Thomas Hibbert is 'referred to in all legal documents as a lunatic' (p. 16). When he died intestate, his widowed mother, Dorothy Hibbert, as next of kin renounced administration of the estate, and his fortune, derived from 'trade (indeed the slave trade)' (p. 18) in Jamaica, passed to his brother J. H. W. Hibbert. The value of the estate as sworn in the records of the Probate Court of Canterbury (Prob 6/221, p. 241) in July 1847 is £180,000: one may indeed say 'immense'.

[6] Newly empowered by his inheritance, J. H. W. Hibbert commissioned Pugin to design extensions to Bilton Grange. In his elder brother's lifetime, Hibbert did not own his home; the grange and some surrounding farms were from about 1839 'rented for £150 per annum to Thomas Hibbert' (p. 16), according to Edwards. Only on 2 April 1846 did Hibbert buy Bilton Grange, paying £19,000 for the house and 263 acres of land.

[7] There is no record at Oscott of Edward being a pupil there in 1846.

To STUART KNILL Ramsgate, Friday, 31 October 1845

Text: MS SAA K Pugin 5 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ allhallows eve 1845

My Dear Mr Knill

I will send & get the templets of one of the Side windows St Georges & then I send you the design & estimate.[1] I think the subject you propose excellent. I have started the railing for the chapel of the B Sacrament. I will be a fine job. I have made all the frame work of wrought Iron. the badges in Brass.

it will be very strong indeed—thief proof & magnificent piece of wrought iron work. I shall finish off the lady chapel soon after xmass & that will be something to look at.

ever yours most sincerely
✠ AWelby Pugin

kindest respects to your familly.

[1] SGDB enters ten pieces of tracery for the window of St 'Dominick' in a side window at St George's to Stuart Knill of Walworth House at 22 September 1848; the charge is £15.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Sunday, 2 November 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 you are worse than wailes.[2] if you look at the general sketch of the window on the *back of one of the tracery templets* you will see the whole light figured.

2. as regards Mr Hall—I should of course prefer the 3 figures if he can stand the expense—but it will never do to have him in a whole light.[3] he must be kneeling under his patron saint—& another saint in the other light. St oswald was a great saint in that part of the country—& a king would come in well. if he does not approve of St Oswald—he can select some other saint. Say St *Edward.* [*Sketch: window with kneeling figure in lower part*]

3 I am quite certain that Mr Hellyer does not know what a *faldistorium* is.[4] he thinks it is a praing desk as it is so wrongly figured in Bloxams Glossary.[5] [*Sketch: praying desk*] just ask him this for I am sure he cannot want a folding stool. [*Sketch: folding stool*]

4 I am truly grieved to hear about poor Early. you must let me know how he goes on—he is just becoming a most useful man & good men can be ill spared just now.

5 I send you a sketch for Mr. Sharples coronona but how can it be made for £10?[6] you should not attempt it at that price. you must lose—unless it is *very small* & you can make 3 for *stock* at the same time.

6 I also send you his brooch.[7]

7 where is M[r]. *Daniels* Candlestic.[8] he wants it very much for his winter parties. pray send it off. [*Sketch: candlestick*]

8 I will do your pattern book—as quick as possible but you dont think how I am driven—for time.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I shall send this week 2 processional crosses—
a Thurible
an octagon Lantern &[c]. &[c]. all drawn full size.

I will send you more drawings for stained glass imedialy. as for that wretched seal you ought to be ashamed of yourself for ever Entertaining the idea of defiling yourself with such a job. [*Sketch: blank seal*]

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter bears the number 39 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO. At the end of the text, another hand, probably Hardman's, inscribes 'Seal J. M[?]', perhaps in allusion to the seal wanted by John Morris. That seal is already under discussion before Morris writes to Hardman on 19 October; on 1 November Morris reports that he likes the design sent but wants the seal to be of 'the Ecclesiastical shape, the pointed oval, and not round'; on 9 November he adds that he wishes it to be as much like Alford's as possible; MWDB enters to him at 22 November 1845 a steel gilt desk seal with initials at a cost of £1. 6*s*.

[2] Hardman may not have appreciated this thrust. Only a fortnight earlier, on 16 October, in a letter kept in ML, Myers enjoins him 'dont keep the Brass all winter . . . dont become a Wailes'; then on 19 October, in a kindly apology, Myers writes: 'I am sorry you do not take *Wailes* as a joke—you know I meant it so.' It is, of course, not on account of any unpunctuality that Pugin draws the likeness.

[3] Hardman evidently wrote to Hall on Pugin's behalf, as Pugin urges him to do in his letter of perhaps 22 October. Hall's letter, written from Macclesfield on 29 October 1845, is preserved in SGL; he tells Hardman:

I am perfectly satisfied with the design suggested by M[r] Pugin for the window in the Lady Chapel, with the exception of the side lights, which I do not thoroughly understand. I am anxious to know what kind of emblems he would put in them, for I think, it would be much better, to have a proper understanding at the beginning. As the window is in the Lady Chapel, would it not be better to have the Blessed Virgin in the centre light, & the figure of St John my Patron Saint in one of the others, & self kneeling in the third light, initials under: Or my Patron Saint with self kneeling in the second light & some other figure in the third. You can name it to M[r] Pugin & he will give his opinion about it.

A sketch of the window is appended by Hall, in which 'Self kneeling' occupies a whole light.

To the suggestion which Pugin makes here, Hall signifies his assent in a letter to Hardman of 14 November: 'I very much approve of M[r] Pugins idea of having the figure of St Oswald in the third light of the stained window for our Lady Chapel.' He asks the cost of having a figure in each light, and goes on to inquire about the chalice and candlesticks which he has ordered; it is the mention of these items which dictates the filing of his letter in ML. On 8 December, this letter too being held in ML, he reports that the metalwork has arrived and pays £6. 16*s*. for the candlesticks and £2. 10*s*. for the regilding of the chalice; he also undertakes to send soon the size of the window in the Lady chapel with the 'tracery cut out in cardboard'. Hall's letter of 18 December 1845, filed in SGL, thanks Hardman for his estimate of £50 for the window and informs him that it is wanted by Easter. The three-light window of the Blessed Virgin, St John and St Oswald is entered to Hall in SGDB at 3 December 1846 at a price of £50.

[4] Thomas Hellyer (1811–94) was an architect in Ryde, where two churches to his design were built in the early 1840s. From no later than September 1843 he is a customer of Hardman's, always for articles low

in price except for a chalice and ewer costing £26. 16*s*. entered in MWDB at 8 December 1845. He writes a letter of inquiry, held in ML, to Hardman from Ryde on 31 October 1845:

Would you kindly oblige me by sending me a sketch of a Faldistorium about £6 or £7—in Oak complete as I am very desirous of introducing a pair into one of the Churches for which you are now making the plate—I should not regard paying to have the drawing done nicely & carefully—(a perspective). I would make a sketch myself but have no idea of the cause and therefore should appear ridiculous in running to either extreme of poverty or richness. By Complete I mean with proper & appropriate coverings &c.

This is not Hellyer's first approach to Hardman on this subject: on 27 March 1844 he writes to ask the cost of a faldistorium; on the manuscript, which is held in ML, Hardman notes a price of £5 and upwards or, if the article is made of brass, a range from £14 to £18.

[5] In the third edition, published in 1840, of Parker's *Glossary*, a 'Faldistory' is defined as 'the episcopal seat or throne within the chancel of a cathedral' (p. 90) but no illustration is printed. A 'Fald-stool', alternatively known as a 'Falled-stool' or 'Litany-stool', is defined as 'a small desk at which, in cathedrals, churches, &c., the Litany is enjoined to be sung or said'. Two examples, both from the sixteenth century, are illustrated.

[6] On 9 November 1845 Sharples, writing to Hardman from Oswaldcroft, fears that he 'had better leave the coronna for the dining room alone for the present' because he has 'spent so much money in building &c.' Nevertheless, he asks for sketches of it and of a lamp for the hall, because he may 'stretch a point perhaps for both'. On 19 December 1845 he instructs Hardman: 'Pray say to M^r^. Pugin that he need not make a drawing of the Hall Lamp' for it 'will certainly cost too much'. He is glad, however, that the corona will be finished by Christmas; MWDB enters to him at 23 December 1845 'A Brass Corona with 8 Lights & painted with Inscription &c & Chains' for £16. 10*s*.; the inscription may have been 'Walk in the light', which he informs Hardman in his letter of 19 December 1845 is his motto. On the feast of 'S^t^. John the Evang', 27 December 1845, he notifies Hardman that the corona has arrived. His letters are all held in ML.

[7] Sharples assures Hardman in his letter of 19 December that Mrs Sharples 'will be delighted to get' her brooch, and acknowledges its arrival in his letter of 27 December. MWDB enters to him at 23 December 1845 'A Cameo set in Gold Brooch with Enamel Inscriptions & Turquoises' for £13. 19*s*.

[8] MWDB enters to James Daniel at 11 November 1845 'A G. S. Plated & Parcel Gilt 5 Light Stand Engraved & Coloured with Arms &c' for £25. In correspondence kept in ML, Daniel reports to Hardman from Ramsgate on 17 November that he received his 'light standard' on 15 November and is 'highly pleased' with it; he hopes to 'renew' his acquaintance with Hardman and asks to be remembered 'very kindly' to T. J. Burton. On the feast of 'S^t^. Cecilia', 22 November, Daniel informs Hardman that he will direct his bank to pay his account for £31. 19*s*.; and the Birmingham branch of the National Provincial Bank of England advises Hardman of Daniel's payment on 25 November 1845.

This article may be the 'magnificent Pugin candelabrum' which is reported in the Pugin Society's newsletter, *True Principles*, 1 (Summer 1997) under the heading 'An Exciting Find', to have been 'presented to the church of St Peter's-in-Thanet' by a descendant of Daniel, probably in the 1930s. The candelabrum 'stands about four feet high', 'displays the monogram "JD", and the Daniel family motto, *nec timere nec timide* [Latin: neither rashly nor fearfully], in very handsome red and blue enamelled Gothic script'. The anonymous piece in *True Principles* points out that the candelabrum is 'not dissimilar to one drawn by Pugin for Hardman's catalogue', that is, the 'pattern book' of Pugin's next thought in this letter.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Ramsgate, Sunday, 2 November 1845?[1]

Text: MS PC Franklin [90] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S^t^ Augustins—Sunday
in the octave of all saints[2]

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I am now enable to send your Lordsip the working drawings of the school & guildhall. I have quite satisfied myself with the Staircase tower & have introduced a

provision for 3 clock faces which will give it a most picturesque effect—the roof is exceedinly simple & good—of the upper school—I have greatly reduced the height of the gable chimneys in consequence of the height of the Gables—themsels—& I think altogether it will make a very substantial & picturesque building. The conversion I alluded to in my last letter has taken place.[3] the Gentleman made his profession of faith in my chapel yesterday evening—he is a man of great consideration here & it must be productive of great good. Deo gratias—My litle chapel was crammed as well as the hall & passages. children who have *never been* to mass belonging to Catholic parents are deligted to come. in a few months after the school is open there will be a good congregation—The Bodenhams are here. M[rs]. Bodenham has just come from Rome—& yet she was in tears during the whole service. she never saw an old chasuble before, so much for Gothic—she is determined to introduce the true thing in her own place. I am still very unwell & low but I can work & that is a great Comfort. I shall never be a strong man again but I hope to finish my church.

ever dear Lord Shrewsbury
with great respect
your devoted & faithful Servant
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] When the first part of this letter is quoted in App. 8, p. 19, of ST, a date of two years later is given, but by that time Pugin's temporary church was in use. In his letter of 15 February 1846 to Lord Shrewsbury Pugin writes of the school at Cheadle as built; Lord Shrewsbury had left England for Italy, however, some weeks before the date suggested here, and it is strange that Pugin should be sending working drawings after him.

[2] When All Souls' day, usually 2 November, falls on a Sunday, the feast is observed on 3 November; thus in 1845 2 November becomes the Sunday in the octave of All Saints.

[3] Probably James Robert Judge. Judge states in the census of 1851 that he was born in Ramsgate and is twenty-six years of age; he followed his father into the legal profession. The *Catholic Directory* for 1847 notes his conversion during 1846, but in a printed list of 'Persons of note who have lately embraced the Catholic faith', preserved in AAW with the classification W2/2/2(1), Judge is stated, in the section headed 'Other persons of note' which follows lists of members of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford and their families, to have been 'Received 1845'.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 5 November 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I am in great distress. the lining of the arnott stove which contains the coke is burnt completly thgh & fallen to peices. [*Sketch: lining of stove*] pray ask Hawkes if he Can send me 2 other linings.[2] if not a new stove every year will come horribly expensive. pray ask *about this* imedialy.

My Dear Hardman

1 I am quite suprised that I forgot the grass & water for the crosses for M[r] Morris.[3] I fully intended it & must have missed it—in press of business. I now now send them

to you but you *must ascertain under* which *cross the water is to go.*[4] let M^r^ Morris know you have introduced the water & grass.[5]

2. it is no use having a plate for his books.[6] it must be a Wood Block. nothing can more wretched than the S^t^ Eligius done by Heath—& nothing but wood will ever get the richness. the same person who cuts for Pickering would do it beautifuly.[7] the design will cost 2 guineas—& I expect the cutting about 6. or 8. with the printing it will be about a £10 touch.[8] then he will have the block. a plate is beastly.

3 I send you the pastoral staff for scotland.[9] they want it done for about £40 to £45. can you make the head of silver for that & the staff plated. I send you the letter of instructions by which you will see the invocations that are to be twisted in Engraving round the staff. Powell is modelling the Bishop the S^t^ Andrew & the follige & crocket. cannot you cast the head in 2 halves—& solder them together & then put the crockets on.

by tomorows post—you will have all the drawings for the tra of the West window S^t^ Cuthberts.[10] it is a fine job.

I am not surprised at what you say about the glass. Somerville looks an indiferent sort of man—sleepy eyes &^c^ & being a *Cat*—We could not expect much from him.[11]

I am quite rejoiced to hear Early is better. he must be careful.

I am working early & late—making immense exertions to collect Money. every low water I have 6 carts drawing flints.[12]

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

I shall have a lot of drawings for you this week. crosses &^c^. I do my very best. I shall send you—about 4 Prie Dieus of various sorts.

it has ocured to me that it would be a very good thing if that lad you have with the stained glass shop drawing out the cartoons was to come here. he could do it under *my own eye* & with Powell with him in the course of a year of 2 make him really a good fellow. it is a dead loss of time for me to draw out all this binding & leading & the Quantity of windows are so great & for you I must *mark out everything.* I am sure it would pay. let me know. is he a *cat.*

pray *send the inclosed note* to *Miss Talbot Imedialy.* it is impossible for me to come down just now without the greatest inconvence. she must write to me. I cant conceive what she can want to see me about—or why she could not have written herself. she does not think What 3 or 4 loss is to me.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 2 has been assigned to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The Metal sales ledger debits Pugin nine shillings for '2 Cockles for Pedestal Stoves & 2 Grates from Smith & Hawkes' at 12 November 1845. The invoice from the foundry, preserved in the bundle for November 1846 although clearly dated 12 November 1845, advises Hardman that the cockles and 'bottom Grates' have been forwarded to Pugin by rail.

[3] Morris writes to Hardman from Cambridge on 1 November 1845 to point out this omission from the brass which Pugin first mentions to Hardman in his letter probably written on 28 September. Morris's letter is filed in ML. He has received rubbings of the brass and finds it 'not quite so rich as M^r^. Pugin's

design originally intended, for in his letter to me he told me that one was to be based on grass, the other on water: their ends likewise were to be lilies. What was the reason of the change in the design?'

[4] Pugin sends the drawing for the water and the grass on a sheet of the inexpensive blue note-paper he regularly uses for his letters; preserved as BMAG L185.84, it is labelled by him 'Brass M[r] Moris'.

[5] Hardman obeyed, on 8 November. Morris's reply of 13 November 1845 from Trinity College, Cambridge, is preserved in ML: 'I have received your letter of the 8[th]. and I am glad to hear that the Grass and the Water are to be added to my Brass according to it's original design. The Water is to be placed under the right hand Cross with the Initials F. W. M. I should like to have another rubbing of it when it is ready to be laid down. I suppose you know it is for M[r]. Alford's Church, S. Mary's, Wymeswold.'

[6] Morris asks about his book-plate in the letter of 19 October 1845 on which Pugin comments when writing to Hardman probably on 22 October. In his letter of 1 November Morris raises the matter again.

In the copper plate, what I want is a design for the beginning of books &c. about the size of your card of S. Eligius and what I mentioned to M[r]. Pugin was: A Tree or something of the kind like that at the end of 'True principles' with Shield with arms: and on each Side a canopy with the figures of S. John Evangelist and S. Morys; and besides, the Initials, Crest, Motto as he might think best. I will send you all these particulars when you want them. What will this cost: to send me the plate & 500 copies struck off on paper?

[7] Jonathan Pickering, of 18 Shoe Lane, London, is described in the *Post Office Directory* for 1846 as an engraver on wood.

[8] In his letter of 13 November Morris postpones his intention of having a book-plate made: 'I cannot afford to have it done at present, I must therefore beg you to let it stand over. As I wish, however, some day to have it done, could you get the design for it at once and send it me?'

[9] The staff was ordered by Charles Gordon, priest of the church of St Peter, who states, in an undated letter filed in ML December 1845, that he is in the fifty-first year of his ministry and has always worked in Aberdeen. On one of his letters to Pugin, preserved in ML, Pugin writes 'for the Pastoral staff' in pencil at the top of the first page. From Chapel Court, Aberdeen, on 23 October 1845, Gordon writes in it about the 'intended Crosier for our Right Rev Bishop D[r] Kyle', evidently in answer to Pugin's reply to an earlier communication.

You speak of some emblem to show that the crozier belongs to the Northern District of Scotland, and you suggest one of the old Saints of that part of the country. Now our Northern district includes no fewer than 5 of the old Catholic dioceses, each one of which had its own Saints. You speak of an inscription round the Staff. I do not think that an inscription, that is, what is generally meant by an inscription, is very necessary, but I would like very much to have the names of our old Saints engraved upon the Staff. Perhaps in the following Litany form.

St Nethelane ora pro nobis
St Machari ora pro nobis
St Ethernane ora pro nobis
St Devenice ora pro nobis
St Beane ora pro nobis
St Talaricane ora pro nobis
St Noloce ora pro nobis
St Marnane Ora pro nobis
St Moloce ora pro nobis
St Finbarre ora pro nobis
St Duthace ora pro nobis
St Gilberte ora pro nobis
St Colmane ora pro nobis
St Ircharde ora pro nobis
St Magni ora pro nobis

All the above named Saints were Bishops. They are all commemorated in the Aberdeen Breviary. They all had chapels or churches dedicated to them within the limits of the new Northern district of Scotland and all according to the accounts that have been left of their lives, lived, discharged the functions of their orders, and died within the same limits. If all the above 15 names could be brought in, with my[?] *ora pro nobis* in full or contracted after each, I would be very much pleased. If the *ora pro nobis* cannot be brought in after each, a general *orate pro nobis* in the plural may be Sufficient. If the 15 names cannot be brought in, then I would propose St Macharius, St Beanus and St Molocus with an *orate pro nobis* after the 3 names.—Along with this I send an impression of D[r]. Kyle's episcopal seal. The mottoes are Sufficiently clear. The family motto is *Fiat lux*. The episcopal motto is Jac. Kyle Germaniciem. Vic. Ap. in Sept. Scot.

The motto 'Fiat lux', in the Latin of the Vulgate, from Genesis 1:3, is translated in the Authorized Version as 'Let there be light'.

James Kyle, bishop of Germanicia, the northern district of Scotland, was consecrated vicar apostolic in 1828.

Heath's invoice of 2 May 1846 is preserved in BCA in the bundle for that month; he charges £2. 3*s.* 6*d.* for engraving the head and the knop of the pastoral staff. MWDB enters to Charles Gordon of Aberdeen at 23 May 1846 'A Pastoral Staff, parcel Gilt, with Silver Head, set with Stones, and Figures of St Andrew, Staff engraved with Names of Saints &c' for £52. 10*s.*; 'An Oak Box lined with Velvet' for it costs £3. 3*s.* The staff is described and the head of it illustrated in *BG&S*, C9.

[10] Tracery for the west window at Ushaw is entered in SGDB at 15 January 1846; the charge for it and for five figures is £20.

[11] Presumably Thomas Summerfield of the stained glass firm.

[12] Pugin kept a separate memorandum of '✠ Expenses for the errection &c of S Augustins church. Ramsgate'; these accounts survive in MS V & A L.50–1982/3. Payments of £11. 5*s.* for 'flints' and £5. 15*s.* to Foat for 'flints & Chalk' precede the first dated entry, which is an outgoing of £1. 12*s.* 6*d.* to Foat for 'flints chalk sand' at 18 November 1845. The remaining entries for 1845 bring the expenditure on building operations in that year to a total of £277. 19*s.* 3*d.*

	Foat flints chalk	7	2	6
De. 5	Packer for flints	2	6	6
	timber for shield[?] battens &c	25	0	0
	wages—up to end of 1845	40	11	0
De^{c}. 12	Saxby for Bricks	40	0	0
De 14	Packer for flints	4	5	6
	Philpot for D^{o}	2	1	6
	Foat for cartage chalk &c	11	4	9
Dec^{r} 15	Saxby for Bricks	40	0	0
De. 18	Saxby for Bricks	40	0	0
De 20	Packer for flints	4	10	0
	Farley[?] for flints	2	5	0
Dec^{r}. 22	Saxby for Bricks	40	0	0

Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County of Kent* for 1848, lists most of these workmen. William B. Foat, of Effingham Place, was a carpenter; Stephen Packer, of Sion Row, a bricklayer and plasterer; William Saxby, of 138 Addington Place, a builder, who is also listed under 'Livery Stable Keepers, &c.'; and Thomas Philpott, of 44 Hardres Street, is a carpenter. The name Farley does not appear among the trades.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Friday, 7 November 1845?[1]

Text: MS PC [HLRO 879][2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I have written to M^{r} Drumond about Early & expect an answer in a day or two.

I expect to be London some day next week before Early has done.[3]

I do not think I can make a drawing of any kind for 2 or 3 weeks. I have so many things to do. I will get some tracery drawn out for M^{r}. Powys as soon as I get his templets.[4]

The pastoral staff is quite right. I was obliged to alter the possition of S^{t} Andrew. it was too forced before. it will do very well.

The windows D^{r} Tate speaks of will be worth about 10^{s} a foot.[5] he does not mention the width.

[1] The date is suggested by the reference to the pastoral staff, for which Pugin sends the drawings about 5 November. It is possible, however, that the letter should be dated about 9 October, that is, a few days before Pugin tells Hardman, probably on 14 October, that 'Drummond has agreed to go on with his job in *March*'. Alternatively, it may have been written in 1846: Earley was painting at St George's for six weeks early in that year.

[2] The letter is clearly incomplete, the bottom of the sheet being worn or torn away. Of what followed the text printed here, only the word 'me' can now be discerned.

[3] Pugin was in London on 14 November and 15 November.

[4] Horatio (or Horace) Powys (1805–77), educated at Harrow and Cambridge, was rector of the church of St Elphin, Warrington, from 1831 to 1854; he was rural dean of Cheshire for the same period, and later Bishop of Sodor and Man. Pugin is designing a west window for him. In a letter from Warrington on 12 November 1845, filed in SGL, Powys informs Hardman that, as 'directed by M[r]. Pugin', he sends Pugin's 'design for the centre compartment of a circular window' in his church, which is opposite the pulpit and lets in an 'inconveniently strong light'; he would therefore like the 'Colouring as much shaded as possible' and to have the glass at the first opportunity; he will fill the remainder of the window with stained glass when he has money for the purpose. The charge for the trefoil tracery for Powys at Warrington when it is entered in SGDB at 11 December 1845 is £4. 5*s*.

[5] Robert Tate was vice-president of Ushaw; no window is charged to him personally in SGDB.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Saturday, 8 November 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you the patterns for the ceiling at oscott.[2]

2[d] M[r] Phillipps Brass.[3]

3. a Thurible a capital one. you better make 2 of these for Cheadle instead of the common ones we intended.[4] these will sell well.

4[o] a foot for another altar cross.

you are like a man who wants to have his cake & eat it. how Can I keep you supplied with Drawings & come down to Birmingham too?

5 write to M[r] Alford about the stove—& do let me know what I am to do with mine.[5] both are quite burnt through in the inner lining & they have not been lit above 50 times or so each—for we only light them in very cold weather.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The lower left corner has been cut from the sheet. The letter is numbered 40 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin writes about the painting of the chapel at Oscott in his letter to Hardman of 30 September.

[3] The brass for Phillipps is mentioned in the letter which Pugin may possibly have written to Hardman on 8 June 1845.

[4] The only thurible entered to Lord Shrewsbury for Cheadle in MWDB is 'A Brass Turret Thurible' at a charge of £3. 12*s*. at 3 August 1846.

[5] Pugin orders the stove for Wymeswold in the letter to Hardman which may be dated 15 October 1845, and mentions the trouble with his own in the letter of about 5 November 1845. Alford replies to Hardman on 12 November 1845, his letter being kept in ML; he will buy the stove suggested, 'tho' £20 is rather a smart price'.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, about Monday, 10 November 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

There is every possibility of your seeing me next week.[2] we will then arrange the best way of paing for the window drawings which is of course quite a distinct thing from the rest of the work. I think the same plan as I adopted with Wailes. he pays so much for the drawings of each window which is entered as cost—& then you take all the profit on the work but this we will settle. I have 3 more windows ready for you—now—& shall have some more next week.

I send you a *Sexfoil* for ushaw.[3] I am not satisfied with the templet & have written to M^r^. Read to send you another so you will know what it is when it comes.[4]

The draft in my stoves is tremendous but *no coal.* however if I replace the pans only I dont mind that every 2 years.[5] I was afraid of the stoves.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been given the number 43 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin was at Oscott on Sunday 16 November and in Birmingham on 17 November and 18 November, according to his diary.

[3] 'A Sexfoil Trace, Iron Barr, For Ushaw' is entered to Pugin in the Stained glass ledger at 27 December 1845; the price is £8.

[4] James Read writes a workman's letter, preserved in SGL, to Hardman about glass for Ushaw in January 1846.

[5] About two years after Pugin moved into The Grange, MWDB enters to him at 21 November 1846 'One small size 12In Arnott's Stove with loose pans, & Bottom Pan & Rakes' for £2. 7*s.* and 'One Small size, 12In Arnott's Stove—with Bottom Pan, Rakes &^c^' for £2. 10*s.*

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM Ramsgate, Tuesday, 11 November 1845

Text: MS MCO 528/60 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

S^t^ Augustins Tuesday morning[1]

Rev^d^ & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I have thought it advisable before setting out the working Plans to send you my rough ideas of the argmt of the Parsonage at Camelford—I have kept it very plain but still it will have a respectable character.[2] I shall get all the required rooms—& I thought an *oratory* over the porch. I also get a *back* staircase—& 2 waterclosets. an Entrance hall. It is indispensable for me to have a plan or survey of the scite where this house is to be built & the *adjacent Locality*—you will perceive by the compass I have marked how I wish the house to be placed—it is the best position for warming & lighting the rooms with the sun. you must also let me know wether the house is to be built *well* or

cheap—as I should regulate the walls &c. accordinly. regarding fittings may I venture to design panelled ceilings in the withdrawing room & study—tiles for the hall &c.

respecting your brothers house I do not know what to do.[3] I cannot bring myself to touch the debased style of James. beg of your brother to do something like the sketch I send you. *simple pointed*—severe & yet good. if he will consent I can prepare proper working drawing of the elevation but I must have plans & sections of what is *already* built. if however he still adheres to the base period I really cannot work at it—& I am sure you will not blame me. I expect to go to Rugby in the course of a few days.[4] it may be well for him to know this. I am going to execute a stained window for Dunchurch chancel.[5]

You will rejoice to hear that trusting in the blessing of God & that I shall be enable to compleat it I have comenced *my church.*[6] it will consist of nave aile tower in centre, chancel, chantry for myself, & Lady chapel. if I go to Ruby I will endeavour to come to oxford.[7]

ever dear Mr Bloxam with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Bloxam inscribes 'Nov. 12. 1845.' below Pugin's date.

[2] According to *Stanton 1971*, where there is an illustration on p. [166], Pugin 'supplied the plans but no supervision' (p. 206) for this parsonage built at Lanteglos near Camelford in Cornwall; *Stanton 1971* gives a date of 1847–8 but Pugin includes the house in a list of his work 'on hand' in his letter to Lord Shrewsbury of 24 May 1846; he also includes 'parsonage Camelford' (fol. 28) in a list of his work that he makes in his account book, MS V & A L.50–1982/3.

The commission came through Bloxam. When Pugin sent his letter of 8 March 1841 to Bloxam in Oxford, it was redirected to 'Rev. R. Bird's' in Bath. Roger Bird went up to Queen's College, Oxford, in 1816 at the age of sixteen but transferred to Magdalen College before taking his BA in 1820; in 1837 he took the degree of BD. In 1845 Bird was appointed rector of the parish of Lanteglos-by-Camelford.

[3] Since Pugin goes on to talk of Rugby, the brother in question can be assumed to be M. H. Bloxam.

[4] Pugin went to Rugby on 17 November, according to his diary.

[5] As the Catholic church of St Mary at Dunchurch, Rugby, built to Pugin's design, was not yet begun, and as it is to Bloxam that Pugin chooses to mention the commission, perhaps the chancel is that of the Anglican church of St Peter, but the Buildings of England volume for *Warwickshire*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner and Alexandra Wedgwood (1966), makes no reference to glass designed by Pugin there. There is an entry that may read 'window of chancel Dunchurch' (fol. 27) in Pugin's list of some of his commissions in his account book, MS V & A L.50-1982/3.

[6] Pugin tells Bloxam in his letter of 22 September 1845 that he is about to build his church.

[7] There is no evidence in Pugin's diary of a visit to Oxford at this time.

To ANNE PUGIN — London, Saturday, 15 November 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 389] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

It has blown a heavy gale for the Last 2 days.[1] I suppose there are several vessells in the harbour. tell Miss greaves I had yesterday at a first rate place *Boiled Turkey* ***stuffed.*** capital & the oysters & Sauce poured over it. an excellent idea.

My Letters may be sent on *Sunday & Monday* to Birmingham to M^r^. Hardmans.[2] after that I will let you know.

I want Beard the Carpenter to know that I intend to have a ventilator over the privy next the workshop & also in the new privy next the washouse. Like this sketch which you can cut off & give him.[3]

Love to all.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] Pugin notes 'heavy gale' in his diary at various dates round about 15 November but not on that particular day.

Barry notes in his desk diary that on 15 November he was 'at Thames Bank to meet Pugin & give him directions'. A similar record is made for 21 November when Barry was again 'at the works to meet Pugin gave him instructions'.

[2] Pugin was at Oscott on Sunday 16 November and in Birmingham on Monday 17 November and Tuesday 18 November.

[3] Part of the sheet of paper on which the letter is written has been cut away at the bottom left.

To LORD SHREWSBURY — Birmingham, Monday, 17 November 1845

Text: MS PC Franklin [84][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham Monday feast of S^t^ Hugh

I am just going to Bilton.[2]

My Dear Lord Shrewsbury

I was getting extremely uneasy at not hearing from your Lordsip when I received your most interesting letter. please God I live I will certainly go & get some sketches next year at some of those churches—it is above 6 years since I was at evreux—& did not exactly remember the great beauty of the glass althgh I knew it was very fine.[3]

I hope your Lordsip will not go into any dangerous places, I have always heard that the plague is at Palermo. pray be careful. there should be a law made as for the Queen, that you should not go above a certain distance from your dominions—I assure your Lordsip I am always in a most anxious state when you go so far away—& I was so long without having a letter that I became quite nervous. your Lordsip has of course heard that Capt hibberts brother is dead so the Bilton job will go on—business is very prosperous. I have received my final instructions from the Board of works for the Maynooth plans—& I hope to make a fine job—every day brings fresh conversions—Last week a *Lawyer* one of the principal persons in Ramsgate.[4] this has determined me to wait no longer but to commence my church & I have accordingly started the foundations—I have been moved to this by various considerations—first the exigencies of times demand great exertions. everyday we see men

brought as by miracle to the true church in England even at my very door—& who knows how many souls may be lost for want a church.

2^{d}. it seems to me a disgrace to the catholics of England that so famous a spot as the Isle of Thanet where S^{t} Augustin himself Landed should be left without a true catholic church.

3^{d} I am now full of work & energy. I can make any exertion & put a pressure of 40 feet to the square inch. it is easier for me to make £100 now that 50 a few years hence—& it is impossible to say what reverses or misfortunes I may experience & if the church is once up & paid for it will remain—I have every reason to hope for blessing & assistance in this work & indeed within the Last few weeks I have got about £600 of work I could not have hoped for & by working very hard for a few years & living ecconomically I fully expect to build a very substantial & devotional litte church with schools &^{c}. & then I do hope your Lordsip will honour the consecration with your presence. I mean to devote all my ennergies to this work—& accomplish it single handed. I hope 3 years will compleat it.

I have letters from Denny frequently with an account of the progress of works. all Seems going on very satisfactorily. he says Kearns now does his best—& is very attentive since the *Row*.[5] The bells have arrived & will soon be consecrated—& then fixed.[6] The organ is up & they say sounds deligtfully. The schools are progressing rapidly, & the South Porch is finished—the most glorious porch scince the old time.[7]

I have started my stained glass works at Birmingham & they are in full activity. I expect great results from there.

I have just learnt of *Fabers* conversion with several others.[8] it is really glorious—it seems wrong to think of anything but church work in such a time. Newman will be a wonderful instrument in the hand of God—I saw a most interesting letter of his to D^{r} Wiseman. I do hope & trust your Lordsip will not go into any dangerous places—infected with plague &^{c}. it would be positively wrong to expose yourself to unnecessary danger. it makes us very uneasy your being so far away. M^{rs} Hardman the *widow* has gone into the convent & her house is given up to single *converted Ladies* of the oxford *school*.[9] it is quite wonderful.—I hope your Lordsip will not give credit to any reports you may hear about me. several persons have been circulating that I am about to be married but such is *not the case*—I shall look most anxiously for another Letter from your Lordsip & with kindest respects to Lady Shrewsbury believe me ever dear Lord Shrewsbury with great respect

your most devoted & faitfhul Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin[10]

[1] An unidentified hand draws a vertical line in ink in the margin to the left of various passages in the letter.

[2] Pugin's diary confirms that he went to Bilton on 17 November and stayed the night, returning to Birmingham on 18 November.

[3] Pugin visited Evreux in July 1837; he did not return there until late in the summer of 1849.

[4] J. R. Judge.

[5] The '*Row*' may be the trouble about painting which puts Pugin on the defensive in a letter written to Lord Shrewsbury possibly about 5 July 1843.

[6] Pugin notes 'Cheadle bells consecrated' in his diary at 20 November 1845.

[7] Pugin pleads with Lord Shrewsbury to be allowed this feature at St Giles's in letters probably written in November 1843.

[8] 'Conversions in the eastern district' is the heading supplied in the *Tablet*, 6 (22 November 1845): 741, for the letter to the editor written by William Wareing to announce that Faber, seven of his parishioners, and Thomas Francis Knox, BA, of Trinity College, Cambridge, 'made public profession of the Catholic Faith' in the bishop's church of St Felix in Northampton 'yesterday', 17 November 1845. Many young men from Oxford and Cambridge, waiting their cue, soon followed Newman into the Catholic Church, among them Pugin's friend J. M. Glennie, according to 'Conversions', *Tablet*, 6 (29 November 1845): 761, who was received 'On Tuesday', according to the paper.

[9] John Hardman senior's third wife was Mrs Barbara Sumner, née Ellison; she died in 1872. Wilfrid Ward in *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman* (London, 1897), quotes without date a letter written by Wiseman to Charles William Russell (1812–80) at Maynooth, who was subsequently President of St Patrick's College; part of the postscript (vol. 1, p. 435) reads:

I have found it necessary to take a house in Birmingham: fortunately the widow of the founder of our convent, Mrs. Hardman, has retired into it, and had her house next door to let. I have taken it trusting to Providence, and have now three ladies, Miss Munro under instruction, and two young ladies from Littlemore, sent by Mr. Newman to be disciplined in the Catholic life (Miss Woodmasons, Irish), and he is going to send us two more, single ladies well provided, so that it has been a useful establishment already.

[10] Perhaps rumour linked Pugin's name again with Mary Amherst and he wishes to dispel any fear Lord Shrewsbury may have on that account; perhaps word had got out of the understanding which a letter of 1846 reveals that he at some time reached with Miss Greaves.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Friday, 28 November 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / 166 Great Charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; NO 28 1845 in Ramsgate; 29 NO 29 1845; NO 29 1845 in Birmingham

I do indeed think that £5 is too much for that centre at Warrington considering that he has already paid for the drawings.[2] I think when you send it you better say that on measuring it you found there was not so much glass as you expected & that £4 is the price. I am sure it will *pay well* at that. I hope it *looks* ***rich*** & deep in tone. pray tell me.

My Dear Hardman

I send you a sketch for the Lectern.[3] you must tell them that its size is regulated for the convenience of reading more than by the dimensions of the church. it will be a very troublesome expensive thing to make even with the old one at S[t] Chads to look at.[4] I fear you must not attempt it under between £150 to £200. as for a *brass* eagle on a *wooden* stand it would be rediculous. you can tell them that of course it can be made to almost any price but they cannot have a good thing under what I say. I think it will be nearer 200.

I am wanting the patterns of glass very much.[5] I have several drawings waiting to be marked & then I can send them to you. pray Let me have them. I can send you a

good supply of work. they are very *anxious* to *have the cloister windows* at Ushaw. you better write & say when they can go.

they want the *tracery* at *Wymeswold.* you better send that.

I am very unwell indeed—I see no end to troubles & miseries of all sorts—& I have no strength to bear up—as I used to.

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

They want *copper wire for all glass* at *Wymeswold* So see that sent.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter has been allocated the number 73 in the microfilm of this set in HLRO.

[2] Pugin mentions the window for Powys at Warrington in the letter to Hardman which may have been written on 7 November 1845.

[3] Letters about this lectern are preserved in ML 1845; William Cunliffe Brooks (1819–1900) of Barlow Hall, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, negotiates with Hardman. Brooks was educated at Rugby School and Cambridge, entered the Inner Temple as a barrister in 1842, but followed his father into the banking business in his native Manchester; he was an MP for many years and was created a baronet. He writes from the 'Churchwardens Offices Manchester' on 22 November asking 'what is the cost of a brass eagle for letterns', and on 25 November to give the 'particulars' asked for in Hardman's reply of 24 November: 'It is intended to place a lettern in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, and it is thought desirable to have a brass eagle—We have not yet decided whether the *whole* lettern shall be of brass, but I should be glad if could give us an estimate

1 supposing the whole of brass—
2 " the eagle only of brass

and that the rest should be of oak (furnished elsewhere *if* it be not in your line)—

What would be your dimensions? The Church being lofty & large—'. On 23 December 1845, returning the sketches of the lectern which have been sent to him, Brooks reports to Hardman that no decision has yet been made about it.

The church in question is the church of St Mary, St Denys, and St George, Manchester, raised to the status of cathedral in 1847.

[4] Pugin praises the lectern obtained for St Chad's in his letter to Bloxam of 13 September 1840.

[5] It seems that Hardman was to send some of his earliest efforts at stained glass to Pugin for approval; Pugin comments on samples of glass in the letter to Hardman which may have been written about 17 December 1845.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — late November 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/53 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev & Dear M^r^. Bloxam

I will send m^r^. Myers down to Camelford as you wish & in the mean time I should like to have the sketches back—for we can estimate very closely from them before any working drawings are made. I do not know the price of materials there but—I shoud think it would cost the £1500. regarding myself all I should require would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the drawings for Myers is quite capable of carring out the building—from my drawings & I really could not undertake to go so far for so small a work. my time is now so valuable to me that a day is a great consideration & as I am buiding a

church myself—I cant afford to lose a moment—for I devote all the proceeds of my profession to this great work.

ever with respect dear M[r] Bloxam
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

To LUIGI GENTILI — Ramsgate, Thursday, 4 December 1845?[1]

Text: MS Stresa A.S.I.C., A.G. 62, 874[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate. Thursday—in advent

Rev & Dear Father Gentili

I am truly grateful to you for your kind letter—I am quite ready to confess that I greatly injured you in supposing you dictated Marys letters but Scince I found out the contrary I took every pains to retract all I might have said on the subject & wrote to every person to whom I had mentioned my thghts (which were very few) a statement of my error.[3] If I can do anything more—I will most willingly do it. I am quite satisfied that the letters were written without your knowledge or consent—but they were most unkind & after all that had passed quite unjustifiable. it has been a very sad business for me—& was it not for my immense occupations I believe it would have upset me altogether. I am truly grieved you should have any trouble in it & still more grieved that I should have been the cause of adding to it by my rash judgment. humbly begging your forgiveness

I remain with great respect
your most devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The other Thursdays in Advent in 1845 were 11 December and 18 December.
[2] The letter is quoted in *Leetham*, p. 228, where it is dated 1845.
[3] Mary Amherst.

To JOHN ROUSE BLOXAM — Ramsgate, about Sunday, 7 December 1845?

Text: MS MCO 528/64 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Rev[d] & Dear M[r]. Bloxam

I have estimated the house at Camelford—& I am sorry to say it comes to too much money. these sort of houses are so much better & stronger than modern ones that they will cost more. perhaps I have got it too big—suppose the rooms were cut down to 20×14 Dining room 20×14 hall &[c] reduced in proportion. make the

windows square headed—it might then be done for about 1700. in its present state it comes out about £1900—I am very sorry but so it is & it is better to state the case at first. M[r]. Myers has got the prices of walling materials &[c]—& you may rely on the accuracy of what I state—it is impossible to make good job at so low a rate.[1] my own house which is no bigger & only a small chapel more cost me—& it was all prime cost—above £3500—on acount of its being so carefuly finished & carried out—to be sure I am in a very dear part of the country but—even allowing for that it will shew what really good things are worth.

ever dear M[r] Bloxam
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ AWelby Pugin

Perhaps the rector would like to have the drawings & manage as well as he can with the builders on the spot—they do not take so much pains as Myers—about the work & it might come cheaper. of course I always reckon for a good job.

[1] Pugin's diary notes that on Saturday 6 December he 'Settled accounts with Myers'; perhaps Myers came down to Ramsgate and he and Pugin discussed the house for Camelford then.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Ramsgate, Sunday, 7 December 1845?

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/16[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Ramsgate Sunday

My Dear Sir

you are not a man of your word, where is my picture frame? pray let me have also a bill of all I owe you—for I regulate everything at this time & dont like to be debt. I think since we setled I have had my drawing room curtains—2 small picture frames 1 Large D[o]. for my portrait.[2] I am very busy as usual. I hope M[rs] Crace is going on well.[3] I ought *congratulate you.*[4]

ever yours most Sincerely[?]
✠ AWelby Pugin

have you seen the last Punch.[5]

[1] The MS, which is rather damaged, is endorsed '*1845* Pugin Dec[r]'. Except for the line under '*congratulate you*' in Pugin's text, the underlinings on the MS are the work of another hand.

[2] Crace's statement of account with Pugin, MS RIBA PUG. 13/5, enters 'Tapestry & frames' in 1845, at a price of £47. 4*s*.

[3] Marian Alice Crace and Clara Editha Crace were born on 1 November 1845, the seventh and eighth of the twelve children of Crace and his wife, Sarah Jane, née Langley, whom he married in January 1833. Marian married Ernest Deacon in 1869 and had six children; Clara died, apparently unmarried, in 1894.

[4] An unidentified hand adds an asterisk after '*congratulate you*' and annotates 'on the birth of twin daughters'.

[5] Probably for the illustrated satirical item, 'A card', in *Punch*, 9, p. 238.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, Sunday, 14 December 1845

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / 166 great charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; DE 14 1845 in Ramsgate; 15 DE 15 1845; DE 15 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

1 I send you the badge—put into a toleray good shape.[2]

2. I am not going to leave home I expect till after the Epiphany.[3] If you send the glass you must send it direct to Ramsgate & I will return it.

3. Powell will leave on *Friday* next & get home I expect the same eving.

4° M[r]. Halls glass must cost £50 for there are 33 feet in it & a deal of work.[4] I hope you know get out the prime cost of the various windows. you must do this to ennable us to price for the future.

I Expect Bernard Smith will be here at Xmass.[5] things are much in the same state as they were.[6] I am tied hand & foot & can do noything to better them—but we shall see. I work very hard indeed & that is a good thing.

ever dear Hardman
your devoted friend
✠ A Welby Pugin

I have calculated M[r]. Halls window for rich canopies &[c]. if less than that would do—of course I would make a simpler design.

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The number 51 has been allotted to the letter in the microfilm of this deposit in HLRO.

[2] The breaking of the seal has produced the form 'toleray'.

[3] Pugin was at home for the rest of December, according to his diary for 1845; there is no diary extant for 1846.

[4] The window for John Hall is discussed in the letter which Pugin writes to Hardman probably about 2 November.

[5] According to Pugin's diary, 'Mr. Smith . . . came' on 24 December 1845.

[6] The 'things' are of an amatory sort, it seems.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, about Wednesday, 17 December 1845?

Text: MS BCA[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

I think the tracery glass much better than I expected—but the folling would improve it greatly.[2]

1 the *roses* to be done in that very pale Yellow you shewed me & which you used for the Leaves for the liverpool window.

2 The centres of the roses want tinting like the litle quatrefoils in the border so as to shew a bright spot in the centre. [*Sketch: centre with spots indicated*] this I explained to them when I was at Birmingham.[3] if they are left clear they look too thin.

3[d] the litle spandrils of the pale blue want leaves. [*Sketch: spandrel*]

4 the centre of the quatrefoil better be the very pale yellow almost white. [*Sketch: centre of quatrefoil*] Send them off as *soon as possible.*

ever your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The MS is inscribed '1845 Box'. The letter, which carries the number 34 in the microfilm of this collection in HLRO, is written in pencil.

[2] It is assumed that Hardman sent glass to Ramsgate for approval, as foreshadowed in Pugin's letter to him of 14 December 1845.

[3] Pugin was in Birmingham on 17 November and 18 November.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE — Tuesday, 23 December 1845?[1]

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/17 *Address*: M[r]. John Crace Jn[r] / Wigmore Street / Cavendish Square *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

being absent from home I have not yet seen the stuff but will write as soon as I return. I am so ill now that I must give up all that is not indispensable for a short time. if the inclosed sketch will be of any service to you you are very welcome to it. I will send you the balance of your acount very soon. I am very sorry it has been delayed so long but everbody has not booked up as they ought. I assure you it distressed me very much not to send you the whole amount at once, but for once could not help it.[2] it shall not occur again in any future transactions.

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The endorsement '*1845* AWPugin Dec[r] 23[rd].' is unambiguously legible but nothing in the content of the letter, in Pugin's diary which records that he was at home from 21 November on, or in what is known of his life supports the assignment to 1845. The references to 'the stuff' and to Pugin's being 'ill' tie in neatly with the substance of his letter to Crace of 24 December 1844 but, according to his diary for that year, he returned to Ramsgate on Tuesday 17 December and remained there until late in January. The case for 1846 is strong.

[2] The MS is torn and 'I' before 'could' is now missing.

To SETON PATERSON ROOKE[1]

Ramsgate, Wednesday, 24 December 1845?[2]

Text: MS Bodley Dep. c. 589, fol. 270 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

I would leave the Glass for Dorchester Sedilia exactly as it is, it is better than anything new.[3]

[1] S. P. Rooke (1824–1901) was eighteen when he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1843; he was a younger brother of F. J. Rooke, for whom Pugin worked at Rampisham.

[2] The archivist cataloguing the papers of the Oxford architectural society inscribes '1845 in all probability' on Rooke's letter.

[3] This fragment, quoted from a letter of Pugin's, is copied in a letter from Rooke to W. T. Parkins which is preserved among the papers of the Oxford architectural society. 'I heard from Pugin yesterday', Rooke begins, 'in answer to the question of the Glass in Sedilia of Dorchester Church, & he says': then follows the quotation from Pugin's letter, which can be assumed to have been written the day before 'yesterday'. Rooke continues: 'He has sent the Tracings back directed to you at Merton, by post, though I don't know at all, if you are still in Oxford or not: Pugin says he has sent the Tracings back by *post* instead of the heavy wooden Roller, upon wh. they were sent to him, to save Railway charges wh. he had to pay for them; & the expences, both ways, of these come to 3$^{s.}$ 6$^{d.}$ wh. he says I may send in Postage Stamps to him, wh. I will do when I hear from you authorizing me to do so.'

Rooke writes from Lackham House near Chippenham, Wiltshire, on St Stephen's day, 26 December; his letter has no postmark.

William Trevor Parkins, who went up to Merton College, Oxford, in 1841 at the age of nineteen, became ten years later a barrister in London. A former secretary of the Oxford architectural society, he was a member of the sub-committee set up in May 1845 to oversee the project, the only one of its kind undertaken by the society, for the restoration of the abbey church of St Peter and St Paul in Dorchester, Oxfordshire. In his letter of 26 May 1842 Pugin tells Bloxam that he intends to visit Dorchester with Rock in order to examine this church. The work of restoration, carried out from 1846 to 1853, was entrusted to William Butterfield; according to the Buildings of England volume for *Oxfordshire*, edited by Jennifer Sherwood and Nikolaus Pevsner (1974), the church contains four sedilia 'windows of curvilinear, almost Rococo form, decorated with ballflower and filled with stained glass' (p. 579); the glass is still that of the early fourteenth century.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE

Ramsgate, about Thursday, 25 December 1845

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 2/18[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

I wrote to M^{r}. Barry only yesterday—about the scrolls in the hollow of arches—& I advised him to let the scrolls stop at the crown of the arch with the stem running through them. [*Sketch: decoration of arch*] I am sure this is the best plan for it would never do to stop at the springing—& I see no better way than to stop each end of the label as I have sketched. that is what I sent up yesterday to M^{r}. Barry.

with every kind wish of this holy season believe me ever

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[*Sketch: decoration of arch*]

[1] The MS is endorsed '*1845* Pugin December'.

To JOHN HARDMAN Ramsgate, Friday, 26 December 1845?

Text: MS PC [HLRO 865] *Address*: John Hardman Esq[r] / 166 Great Charles Street / Birmingham *Postmark*: Addington Place; DE 26 1845 in Ramsgate; 27 DE 27 1845; DE 27 1845 in Birmingham

My Dear Hardman

I am sure Powell can arrange the centre canopy from the others. for goodness sake save me all you can. I send you the drawing for the spoon—it would be a very good thing to have that young man for the lead lines—the accumulation of windows is so great that Powell will be unable to get through if he has no assistance—& they keep increasing.[1] if you can arrange about his board & Lodging he could come with Powell—& get to work for I cannot be with you till about the 12th & I am now preparing everything—for Powells return so that he may get on with the windows—I have every day fresh orders for glass & & I am sure Powell cannot get through without help. I can arrange to pay you for this young man what you give him & I get that in the cost of the cartoons. It will improve him very much & when he has been here some time he will make an excellent painter for you—let me know immedialy—what you will do. mind ***Powell must be back*** *to* ***day week*** for then I shall have but litte time to arrange all that is to be done while I am away. I must work harder than ever. it is the only thing that keeps me alive & the earnest hope of compleating my church.

ever dear Hardman your devoted friend
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The order for Lord Shrewsbury in MWDB at 30 March 1846 'for Cheadle' includes 'A Brass Boat & Spoon' costing twelve shillings; perhaps that is the spoon meant here, but it is impossible to be sure. Perhaps the 'young man' is the 'lad' of Pugin's letter to Hardman of possibly about 5 November.

To THE EDITOR OF THE *TABLET* Ramsgate, Sunday, 28 December 1845

Text: *Tablet*, 7 (3 January 1846): 5[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir—My attention having been drawn to an incorrect paragraph, copied from the *Kent Herald*, and a very highly-coloured account, appropriately designated a *tale*, which appeared in your TABLET of last week, both relating to my intended building at Ramsgate, I beg to be allowed to make a short statement of facts, to prevent misconception on the subject.[2]

When I determined on fixing my residence at Ramsgate, I naturally turned my attention to the means of reviving the ancient Faith in this part of Kent, which was so remarkable in former times for its sanctity, and having purchased a suitable site facing the sea, I commenced the erection of a church and other buildings, such as priests' house, school, cloisters, &c., connected with it, and bearing in mind the

golden maxim that a *good work in progress is always preferable to a bad or ordinary one finished.*

I commenced on an extensive and well-digested plan, trusting to time and Divine Providence to be enabled to carry it fully out.

The sum required for so large a work will be, of course, very considerable, and I have no other means to devote to this purpose but the emoluments I derive from my professional exertions. Although I am full of hope, yet, considering the precarious nature of these resources, dependent on health, and a variety of contingences, I am truly sorry that any statement should have appeared calculated to raise expectations which may never be realised. All I can promise or hold forth, is to use every exertion to accomplish my great object, and if I am cut off, there will be so much done as may induce others to complete it.

As the erection of these building [*sic*] will (under the most favourable circumstances) occupy the space of many years, I have arranged for the immediate construction of the school, which, by the sanction of the Bishop, will serve for a chapel during the progress of the church.[3]

I have every hope of completing this building by the end of the ensuing summer, and it is very probable that some reports respecting these arrangements have given rise to the absurd statement which appeared in the *Kent Herald*, that the church would be completed by the next season.

Respecting the other remarks made by your correspondent in the *tale*, I will only observe that, although no doubt written in the kindest spirit, nothing can be more painful to my feelings than to have the most ordinary family matters brought before public notice under an exaggerated form. I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

A. WELBY PUGIN.

St. Augustine's, Ramsgate,
Feast of the Holy Innocents.

[1] Pugin's communication appears under the heading 'Catholic intelligence. Letter from Mr. Pugin': see *Belcher 1987*, A38.

[2] Under the heading 'Provincial' and the sub-heading 'Ramsgate', *Tablet*, 6 (27 December 1845): [825], a brief paragraph is copied: 'The foundation is being dug out on West Cliff, Ramsgate, for the erection of a new Catholic church, which is to be an elegant edifice, faced with chipping [*sic*] flints. A cargo of stone has arrived for the purpose, and it is expected to be completed previous to the commencement of next season.' The second item that provokes Pugin is 'A Christmas tale', *Tablet*, 6 (27 December 1845): 822–3; the author is James Jauch, who writes from 'St. Boniface's Catholic German Chapel' in the City of London. Defining himself as an 'old acquaintance' (p. 822) of Pugin, Jauch, having just visited Ramsgate, reports on The Grange, its family and guests and ways, the foundations of the church of St Augustine, and the presence in the port of many German emigrants to America, for whom he celebrated mass in Pugin's house on 18 December, as Pugin notes in his diary.

[3] The bishop was Griffiths.

To JOHN HARDMAN — Ramsgate, late December 1845

Text: MS PC [HLRO 132][1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Hardman

Thursday being the feast of the circumcision Powell[2]

[1] An unidentified, perhaps priestly hand writes a draft of a Latin prayer on the verso of the MS: 'Orate pro animâ Augusti Welby Northmore de Pugin—Cæmentarii—qui multas ecclesias—Cathedrales—Conventuales—Collegiales—et Parochiales—in Anglia—Scotia—et Hibernia—exstruxit—et hujusce Ecclesiae—Sancti Augustini—Fundator fuit. Obiit anno Incarnationis Dominicæ . . . et pro anima Louisae uxoris ejus dilectissimæ—quæ obiit. . . . Quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.' 'Pray for the soul of Augustus Welby Northmore de Pugin—Architect—who many churches—Cathedral—Conventual—Collegial—and Parochial—in England—Scotland—and Ireland—erected—and of this Church—of Saint Augustine—was the Founder. He died in the year of Our Lord's Incarnation . . . and for the soul of Louisa his most beloved wife—who died. . . . On whose souls may God look kindly. Amen.' The Latin is incorrect: the form 'animabus' does not exist.

[2] The feast of the circumcision, 1 January, fell on a Thursday in 1846 and in 1852 but the handwriting is too early for the latter year.

To JOHN GREGORY CRACE

Text: MS RIBA PUG. 1/12[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

Dear Sir

They want to paper a small dining room at Ushaw College. I think the same paper as M[r]. Hardmans printed in colour red & brown yellow would be just the thing. they have written to me about it—so all you have to do is to write to the
Rev[d] C. Gillow

S[t] Cuthberts College ushaw near Durham & say I have given you the order & that you want the dimensions of the room.[2]

yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The endorsement on the MS, '184 *Pugin*', stops short of recording a year; the letter could have been written at almost any time.

[2] Charles Gillow (1818–96), educated at Ushaw and ordained in 1843, later became a priest in the diocese of Liverpool that was created in 1850.

To HENRY DRUMMOND

Text: MS Alnwick C/17/24 *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

at Page 91 of my Glossary you will find an old example of a pectoral cross but if you want one—& will let Hardman know the sum you will give for it—we can arrange you one in the true style but it should have crystals or jewells on it to look well.[1]

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted sert
✠ AWPugin

[1] This letter appears to follow the publication of the first edition of the *Glossary* in 1844, where the illustration of a pectoral cross is printed on p. 91, as Pugin says, and precede the publication of the second edition in 1846, in which because of the expansion of the text the illustration of the pectoral cross falls on p. 97. No pectoral cross for Drummond is recorded in MWDB.

To MICHAEL FORRISTALL? Ramsgate, Sunday

Text: MS SAA St G[1] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ S[t] Augustins Sunday.

My Dear Sir

I inclose you the order for the 4 windows for the side chapels at S[t] Georges. you will perceive by it who are the parties who have to pay. I *did not imagine* that you *were in any way personally responsible* but I thought you knew all about it, and would procure the money from the Donors & forward it to Wailes.

please to take care of this letter. you will perceive by it that I am quite exact as to cost &[c].

I am quite delighted to find the West window pleases you. I think it is the best we have done.

I remain dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert.
✠ A Welby Pugin

The Lady chapel will look twice as well when the Screen is up.

please to let me have a line from you to know that all is right.

[1] Much of the glass for St George's was installed during 1845 but it is not possible to date this letter with precision.

To ANNE PUGIN

Text: MS PC [HLRO 387] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Anne

I fear I shall not get home till diner time on Saturday—so get

2 lbs of muscatel raisins
$\frac{1}{4}$ lb of almonds—
some walnuts
pears—& best apples
for Desert for Sunday.[1]

let M^r^. Powell decanter a bottle of Port & 1 of sherry—get the wax candles in the best candlesticks—let the candles be put in corona in the drawing room. you must have some fish for Diner on Saturday for it is a fasting day.

ever your affectionate father
✠ AWelby Pugin

The other peice of ham is to be boiled so as to be ready for sunday morning & there must be some boiled rice in *the mould* for saturday night.

[1] The letter belongs to the years between the death of Louisa Pugin and Pugin's marriage to Jane Knill in 1848 but it cannot be dated exactly. It seems that Pugin expects guests.

To LORD SHREWSBURY

Text: ST, App. 6, p. 11 *Address*: ? *Postmark*: ?

All Wailes [*sic*] men are occupied on Nottingham, Cheadle and St. George's and he has not a shilling capital so I am obliged to keep up payments to get the work done.[1] He has already sent all the clerestory glass etc., to Nottingham and very soon we shall have some Cheadle glass. The felt is ordered for the roof at Cheadle and I expect it is on its way down.

[1] A receipt from Wailes for £112 being the 'balance for Nottingham' is entered in Pugin's diary for 1844, probably at the date of 22 February when Pugin was in Newcastle. Perhaps, therefore, this fragment belongs to a letter written late in 1843.

To JOHN WEALE?[1]

Text: MS MMA 37.88.1[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I am not aquainted with any persons answering the description of *Romanists* but I know of an excellent *English Catholic* the Rev^d^ J. Dalton

Catholic church. Lynn
Norfolk

who is very clever literary man & would just answer your purpose.[3] having but a small mission he has plenty of time for writing & on very moderate terms—if you mention my name—he will serve you with pleasure.

I remain yours truly
✠ AWelby Pugin

[1] The presence of the MS in a collection where all the other letters written by Pugin are addressed to Weale suggests that he is the likely recipient of this one too. It is impossible to date the letter with any closeness, even to a year.

[2] The letter is quoted in *Belcher 1987*, D165.

[3] Dalton published several books, but apparently not with Weale. He spent some time in Spain and translated Spanish and Italian books; he also wrote a life of F. C. Husenbeth and sent various contributions to the *Orthodox Journal*. In a letter dated 'All Souls', 2 November, written from King's Lynn and preserved in ML 1844, Dalton tells Hardman that he is 'about to translate under M^r^. Pugin's direction, Selections from Father Thiers on Screens, Altars, roodlofts—&c. which will be illustrated with plates'. There is no indication of the use to which these translations will be put; perhaps they were for Weale; perhaps they were for the *Glossary* and are what justifies Pugin's high opinion of Dalton's powers; perhaps, even, Pugin already has his book on screens in contemplation.

To THOMAS WYSE?[1]

Text: MS PC[2] *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

My Dear Sir

I find as I expected the greatest difficulty about this manorial hall. the whole scale of the house is so small that it will not only appear out of character but it will actualy destroy all the convice & acess to Rooms &^c^. acording to the present arrgment of wings you will have a great addition of accomodation—& good rooms suitable to the general scale of the house. what is a great hall without an approach without coresponding kitchen & offices &^c^. &^c^. you may be assured it will involved a great expense. to do anything good in the way of a hall with an open Roof &^c^ you must make up your mind to nearly £2000 addition[?]. I speak from experience & then you will have a feature which does not correspond at all to the character of the building. if you were comencing a Large new building the case would be different, but this is after all but an alteration & as an alteration we are fettered everyway & making a great hall merely stuck on would in my opinion spoil the whole thing—when I made my original sketch I imagined it a much Larger building. I thought we could have built two wings & Drive in thus instead of which it is thus so that the drive must come through 2 gates at a distance from the house as you will see by the drawing I send you. [*Sketch: drive as imagined*] [*Sketch: drive as it must be*] The effect of this will be I expect very good.[3]

I cannot well decide the termination of the terrace wall on either side till I am on the spot—but they can get on with preparing the stone work of which there is a good deal.

The lions & vanes on the piers of gates I must get done in England.

if you approve of these drawings please to send them over to Waterford at once.

I quite agree with you that it is far better to have the chapel on the ground but I do not think it would be advisable make a buring place of it—as it attached to the house. [*Sketch: plan of house marked 'R', 'X', and 'W', cloister marked 'S', and 'chapel'*] what do you think of keeping the chapel where I propose entering it from a Cloister

at S. & then having the billiard room at X housekeepers room at R making a sort of court to the kitchen at W. if you approve of this Let me know by post—as I am going on with the plans—on this principle. I purpose being in london on Monday.

ever dear sir
with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] There is little doubt of the identity of the recipient. Thomas Wyse (1791–1862) was a politician, appointed British minister at Athens in 1849 and knighted in 1857 for his services in that post; he was a member of the Fine Arts Commission overseeing the decoration of the new House of Lords. His wife Laetitia, from whom he was early estranged according to the *DNB*, was a daughter of Lucien Bonaparte. Pugin notes Wyse's address at '17 Wilton Place Belgrave Sq' on the front end-paper [b] of his diary for 1845. Perhaps this letter was written from Ramsgate late in 1844 but it is not possible to date it with security. There is no record in Pugin's diary of a visit to Ireland in that year.

Wyse lived at St John's Manor, Waterford; according to Jeremy Williams, *A Companion Guide to Architecture in Ireland, 1837–1921*, this house was built, of red brick, in the early 1840s. Wyse consulted Pugin about the house, but what exactly was added or altered to Pugin's design is not known. Pugin includes 'M[r]. Wyse House' (fol. 25) in his list of his Irish commissions in his account book, MS V & A L.50–1982/3. In his letter to Pugin of 7 December 1844 Pierce promises to write about Wyse's 'work' on the following day.

What appears to be a letter written by Wyse reporting on a meeting with Pugin about the house is preserved in a typed transcript with some manuscript additions, notably the signature of 'Thomas Wyse', YCBA Pugin 171. The letter is dated from 17 Wilton Place on 23 December 1843; perhaps Wyse writes to one of his sons, Napoleon Alfred (1822–95) or William Charles (1826–92).

I had no time yesterday to say anything about Pugin, and indeed must defer the greater part—with the hundred thousand things I have for your ears when we meet, but I know you and W——opposite are dying to hear what he thinks and says. He is a wonderful man, and I think him as full of sense as enthusiasm.

I got, or rather had, confirmed many of my old axioms. He says—

1. Change nothing—or change well and thoroughly—I hate mongrels—it is poverty or ignorance—can't bear patches of age and style—Will not suffer old panelling—it is impossible to meet any two that agree, and there they are like false grammar, staring you with their blunders day and night in the face.

2. As little expense in material, ornament, &c., as possible—anything will do—the plainer the better, if you have form, proportion, &c. Give me rubble and I will give you better Gothic than all these men who, at enormous waste of money, build castles in valleys and Churches in wildernesses.

3. Truth, truth, truth—no matter what style, keep to it—Suffer nothing to interfere.

4. Convenience first. A convenient house will come out a picturesque one—Most people built [*sic*] the house for shew first, and then think of the convenience. I ask first, what do you want inside, and the outside is sure to be what it ought to be afterwards.

5. A whole—the plan of the entire must be first laid down and thoroughly digested—then build what you like of it, year by year. Tell me what you can spend on it annually—and I will take care you contract in the cheapest possible manner.

6. Get what you can on the spot—and you can get everything anon from my man Pierce at Waterford.

He is now getting a manufactory going for all the details—Chairs, tables, silk and cotton stuff for hangings, and instead of tapestry, for rooms—and doors, (he highly approves of your chair working, the very thing) scutcheons, brasses, and, in fine, everything, at a lower rate than the commonest going furniture. He would have inscriptions in old English letters in stone and painting, and armorial bearings—banners too—everywhere—they are now, he says, to be had for very little in his manufactory and go very far. He delights in seeing "Fais ce que dois," and will have it along the front of the house, quite chivalrous and English of the Pale. Such a dining room as he has suggested, and the cheapest that can be made by the commonest upholsterer, but *grandiose*. He advises all picking up of old painted glass, and tall Knightly Flemish pictures.

Bedächtige Männer schwarzbemäntelt
Mit weissen Halskrausen und Ehrenketten.

He highly approves of your broad walk, fountain, and gate—but must have my grille too—with upright lions with scutcheons—the supporters. The porch most simple and up the front, otherwise a mere Regent's Park Gothic—villainous. The windows must remain, otherwise wall will be too weakened, but mullioned. Give him the plan of the house as it is—and he will have the centre at least habitable for next year, and all Gothic. He delights in the brick, but limestone will do as well as yellow, nay, better in a wet climate. He is to be over in April, and again in August at Waterford.

I had him also on the Tower, Convent, Houses for Tenants, Mausoleum or Tomb—in fine, everything possible. He says he will make the whole, a special district, and insists on planting a cross, or Madonna, at the corner of the Convent wall.

This is but a small portion indeed of our discussion of 3 hours, for I went into all, to the minutest article of furniture, tables, beds, carpets, &c. He said at last, just get up the walls and you will see how I will manage the rest, and at what a cost!

He has given me a general order to see St George's. I am going there immediately. He is building a tower 8 feet thick, not heard of since the Reformation. He tells me Lord Middleton [*sic*] has given him a vast number of commissions—all in thorough Catholic sense, amongst others, a public fountain for the people, with the history of St Patrick round, and a cross I believe in the middle.

He is to have his Book of colored examples of Church ornaments out in March—models, all with authority from antiquity, of every possible thing, from a spoon up to vestments, crosiers, &c.

He is building the Cathedral at Kilkenny [*sic*]. There is no ornament, but such masses. Arches 80—90 feet high. Must be $\frac{1}{3}$ I believe of the Cork Church, already giving way.

He is in horror at Dr Foran's Church, and says Dr Foran himself is now very sorry, he would have saved him money.

He says the Convent will be one of the best things he has done, the truest Nunnery built from the Reformation. He has made the Nuns promise not to do anything, however small, without his advice. He wishes I would keep them to it. He says the situation is indeed magnificent. He has seen nothing finer.

So you see what is before us. I think he will work cheap and gradually, and be on the spot. He says Pierce is thoroughly trained and perfectly honest.

Your affectely
Thomas Wyse

In haste.

The German may be translated as 'Grave men in black cloaks with white ruffs and chains of office'; the source is 'Seegespenst', the tenth poem, published in 1826, in the first cycle of 'Die Nordsee' in *Buch der Lieder* by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). So much of Wyse's letter sounds like a verbatim report of Pugin's remarks that it is tempting to credit him with the quotation too, but Pugin is not known to have read German.

Nicholas Foran was consecrated Bishop of Waterford and Lismore in 1837; his residence was in Waterford. The horrifying church may be the church of St John the Baptist in Waterford, designed by J. B. Keane (d.1859) and visible from St John's Manor.

Preserved in the Franklin collection is a document entitled 'Personal Recollections of Augustus Welby Pugin', apparently a typed copy of a MS written by Winifrede M. Wyse, a niece of Thomas Wyse. Containing much information about Wyse, that, for instance, he formed a friendship with Lord Shrewsbury while they were pupils at Stonyhurst, and that he travelled with Barry in Egypt, the reminiscences throw little light on St John's Manor and the Presentation convent built on Wyse's land at Waterford, even though Winifrede's father acted as 'land agent' (p. 2) there for his brother. What is vividly recreated is the impact of Pugin's presence in her father's house and the memory, recorded on p. 6, of her visit to The Grange with her mother and uncle; the chronology of the document is vague, even muddled at times, but this may well be the visit alluded to in the fragment of a letter which Pugin perhaps sends to Hardman on 8 June 1845.

The Church was not yet begun but the house was simply perfect. A statue of the Blessed Virgin and Divine Infant was the first object seen on entering the hall, the oaken staircase was painted with inscriptions of welcome; even the silver candlesticks, the teapots and every article of plate had their inscriptions, giving life and soul to the whole building and true to the conception of a Christian architect he received us in his robe of office, a kind of cassock copied from old pictures which he always wore within his own

precincts. Two delighted days we passed there despite bad weather, studying his large collection of beautiful sketches, whilst each morning he worked at designs that were urgent and for which he laughingly told us would bring him in £100 (this figure is not very clearly written). But one most unexpected feature in the dwelling were luxurious and easy chairs of the most modern upholstery besides while the mullioned windows showed plate glass beneath, the upper medallions were of coloured designs. This was apparently in direct contradiction for diamond panes and high backed chairs of Elizabethan pattern, but in reality it only showed the combination of practical good sense and high ideas which differentiated him from common men.

[2] The present whereabouts of the MS is not known. The text is taken from a photocopy, the provenance of which is a chief justification for the identification of Pugin's correspondent.

[3] The second page of the photocopy begins at 'The effect of this'.

To AN UNIDENTIFIED CORRESPONDENT[1]

Text: MS Penn VF Lit *Address*: none *Postmark*: none

✠ Birmingham. Saturday night

My Dear Madam

your Letter directed to Ramsgate has only reached me this evening. I shall not be able to send you the plan & estimate of the Bridge before the middle of the week—but you may rely on having it then.—I will send you by Mondays post a better doorway than you have sent. I should prefer a 4 centred arch—I fear that the flint & brick Bridge would be too costly. I will make as good a thing as I can of a timber one, but it is Large job—and if it is to be executed for a litte money it cannot be a very good one—but I will do my best.

I remain dear Madam with respect
your devoted Sert
✠ A Welby Pugin

[1] There is no evidence to indicate to whom or when this letter was written. There is some discussion of bridges in Pugin's letter to Drummond of 2 April 1845, which might seem to yield a slender possibility that the recipient was Lady Harriet Drummond, and Pugin was in Birmingham on Saturday 29 March 1845, but the concern with cost and the fact that Pugin deals with her husband on all other occasions militate against it. The handwriting suggests a time about 1845.

Photographic Credits

Birmingham City Archives *Figs 7, 9, 12*
The Superior and Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory *Plate IV*
The British Library, MS Add 63420 O F28 *Plate II*
David Franklin *Fig. 8*
Magdalen College, Oxford *Plate III, Figs 4, 5, 6, 13*
Viscount Midleton and the Surrey History Centre *Plate I, Figs 1, 3*
Royal Institute of British Architects *Figs 10, 11*
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Archbishop of Westminster *Frontispiece*

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The importance of A. W. N. Pugin (1812–52) in the history of the Gothic Revival, in the development of ecclesiology, in the origins of the Arts and Crafts Movement, and in architectural theory is incontestable. A leading British architect who was also a designer of furniture, textiles, stained glass, metalwork, and ceramics, he is one of the most significant figures of the mid-nineteenth century and one of the greatest designers. His correspondence is important because it provides more insight into the man and more information about his work than any other source. In this volume, the second of five, Pugin resumes his collaboration with Charles Barry on the greatest architectural commission of the nineteenth century: the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. Several of Pugin's major churches are opened, and the volume of his work in the applied arts grows. His most sumptuous book, the *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, is published, becoming one of the chief ways in which his influence spread. He builds a house for himself at Ramsgate, one of the best examples of his domestic manner, and work begins on his own church of St Augustine, possibly his most significant building. He takes on his only pupil, J. H. Powell, who subsequently becomes an important designer in his own right.

Jacket illustration: Detail from front panel of Pugin's *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*

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